Group Identity, Ethnic Separatism and Multiple Out-Groups: The Basque Case

BORJA MARTINOVIC1*, MAYKEL VERKUYTEN2 and JEROEN WEESIE1

1Department of Sociology, Utrecht University, Heidelberglaan 2, 3584 CS Utrecht, The Netherlands
2Department of General Social Sciences, Utrecht University, Heidelberglaan 2, 3584 CS Utrecht, The Netherlands

ABSTRACT

Within the context of the Basque Country in Spain we examined how ethnic (Basque) and national (Spanish) identification relate to the evaluation of Spaniards, Basques, Andalusians and Catalans. On a sample of adolescent participants we tested a structural equation model which considered identity content (Basque separatism) as a mediator of the relationship between group identifications and group evaluations. While Spanish and Basque identification were associated with a positive evaluation of Spanish and Basque in-groups, respectively, the evaluation of out-groups that are relatively similar to the in-group were not affected by identification. In contrast, dissimilar out-groups tended to be evaluated more negatively by higher in-group identifiers. Basque separatism mediated the negative relationship between Basque identification and the evaluation of Spaniards and of Andalusians as a prototypically Spanish subgroup. It is concluded that identification relates differently to the evaluation of different out-groups, and that the ideological content of identity plays an important role in determining intergroup relations. Copyright © 2010 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Key words: identification; ethnic separatism; evaluation of multiple out-groups

INTRODUCTION

Various intergroup models have been proposed to understand the complexities of multiple social identities and how these relate to intergroup evaluations. The common in-group identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), e.g. argues that intergroup relations can be improved through identification with a more inclusive superordinate identity, such as the nation state. A number of studies support this idea (see Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) but it has also been pointed out and shown that subgroup recognition facilitates the acceptance of the superordinate category (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Stone & Crisp, 2007). These models are mainly concerned with situations in which the different subgroups are sufficiently, but

* Correspondence to: Borja Martinovic, Department of Sociology, Utrecht University, Heidelberglaan 2, 3584 CS Utrecht, The Netherlands. E-mail: b.martinovic@uu.nl
not necessarily equally (i.e. the in-group projection model of Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999), included in the superordinate category.

However, in real-life there are also examples of subgroups that want to keep apart or break away from the superordinate category. Groups that strive for independence and autonomy from the superordinate nation state are a clear example. These groups tend to make separatist claims on the basis of a shared ancestry and/or linguistic and cultural distinctiveness (Smith, 2001). Historical and political studies of human groups reveal many examples of countries that split up, independence movements that want to be ‘master in their own house’, and regions that claim some sort of autonomy.

Social psychological research on separatism, segregation and schism tends to focus on the relationship between two groups (e.g. Bourhis, Montreuil, Barrette, & Montaruli, 2009; Klein & Licata, 2003; Sani & Reicher, 1998, 2000; Sindic & Reicher, 2009). However, actual political changes typically happen in a context in which different parties or groups are involved, and the relationships between these groups matter for the direction that the changes can take (Subasic, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008). An example is the Basque Country in Spain.

There are various ethnic subgroups in Spain and these subgroups are differently representative of the overarching Spanish national category. For example, apart from Castilians, who are the most prototypical Spanish group, Andalusians are also generally considered to be representative of the superordinate Spanish category. In contrast, the Basques and the Catalans have relatively strong separatist movements and a strong perception of being culturally and linguistically different from the other parts of Spain (Hooper, 1995). Ethnically and linguistically Basques form an endemic community whose origin and arrival to the Iberian Peninsula remain a mystery (Collins, 1990; Zulaika, 1988). Basques are also citizens of Spain, but throughout the last decades they became increasingly known for their nationalistic claims and separatist movements (Clark, 1979, 1984). It should be noted, however, that this does not mean that autonomy is supported by all individuals living in these regions. One reason for this is that a large proportion of the population in the Basque Country emigrated from other parts of Spain. In addition, Basque identity does not have to imply the right to self-determination with its concomitant negative attitude towards prototypical Spanish groups. It can have different social and political meanings for different people.

Our question is to what extent people identify with ethnic Basque and national Spanish identity, and how these identifications are related to their attitudes towards Basques and Spaniards, as well as Andalusians and Catalans. Considering the importance of the content of collective identities (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001; Turner, 1999) and the particular intergroup situation in Spain, we investigate the role of Basque separatist ideology as a mediator between Basque and Spanish group identification and the evaluations of these groups. We use structural equation modelling to examine the relationships.

Multiple out-groups

A number of social psychological studies have examined the relations between minority groups in terms of, e.g. horizontal hostility (e.g. Rothgerber & Worchel, 1997) or an ethnic hierarchy (Hagendoorn, 1995). Theories such as belief congruency offer an explanation for the different evaluations of out-groups (Biernat, Vescio, Theno, & Crandall, 1996; Rokeach, Smith & Evans, 1960). These theories do not focus on the motivation to achieve a
distinctive social identity but rather argue that the degree of (dis)similarity in basic beliefs, worldviews and group goals affects people’s out-group evaluations. Similarity, particularly belief similarity, would lead to attraction. Sharing a common goal (e.g. autonomy) as well as a common predicament and ‘enemy’ can lead to a stronger perception of similarity and to greater attraction. Thus, out-groups that are more similar will be liked more, particularly by high in-group identifiers who are most focused on groups and group differences. At the same time, out-groups that have goals that are incompatible with the goals of the in-group will be less favoured, especially among high in-group identifiers.

Because Spaniards in general and Andalusians as a prototypical Spanish group tend to oppose Basque self-determination, it can be expected that Basque ethnic separatism functions as a mediator between Basque identification, on the one hand, and the negative evaluation of these two groups, on the other hand. High Basque identifiers are expected to more strongly support Basque separatism which implies the endorsement of goals and norms that are contradictory to the Spanish State. Basque separatism cannot be reconciled with a superordinate Spanish identity making a negative evaluation of Spanish groups likely.

However, in addition to identifying with ethnic Basques, people living in the Basque Country can also identify simultaneously with the national (superordinate) Spanish group (Dekker, Malová, & Hoogendoorn, 2003). It can be expected that individuals with higher Spanish identification will be less supportive of the Basque separatist claims that are threatening to and incompatible with the unity of the Spanish State. Like a black sheep that is derogated because of violating an in-group norm (Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988), a subgroup might be derogated because it undermines or deviates from the superordinate category. In other words, Basque separatism can be expected to mediate the negative relationship between Spanish identification and the evaluation of Basques.

Moving on to groups with compatible goals, Spaniards are expected to evaluate a prototypical Spanish group—Andalusians—positively, as these two groups are united by the idea of a unitary Spanish State. Furthermore, the Basque Country and Catalonia are, despite clear differences, similar in many ways. In Catalonia there is also a relatively strong nationalist movement and a perception of being culturally and linguistically different from other regions in Spain. Catalans are not a prototypical Spanish group and do not pose a similar threat to Basque self-determination. Hence, Catalans are probably not evaluated negatively by Basque identifiers. On the contrary, there might be a direct positive association between Basque identification and the evaluation of Catalans. Goal compatibility and the sharing of a common enemy (‘Madrid’) can lead to a higher perception of similarity and increased attraction (Alexander, Brewer, & Herrmann, 1999; Rothgerber & Worchel, 1997). Spanish identifiers, on the other hand, might view Catalans negatively, mainly because of the fact that they are a non-prototypical group in Spain that claims a substantial degree of autonomy. However, Spaniards and Catalans are antagonistic towards each other for their own specific (historical) reasons, which do not directly relate to the Spanish–Basque conflict. Following this reasoning, Basque ethnic separatism should not mediate the relationships between Basque identification and Spanish identification, on the one hand, and the evaluation of Catalans, on the other hand.

In-group identification and evaluation

Next to out-group evaluations, we also consider the most direct outcome of group identification, i.e. a positive evaluation of the in-group. Brewer (2001) argues that ‘in-
group positivity’ is a general principle applicable to every social group. The in-group is psychologically primary because it satisfies the need to belong and to know who one is. In addition, according to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), people’s self-esteem derives in part from their group memberships and therefore they are inclined to evaluate their in-group positively. Hence, the attachment of the self to the in-group can be expected to lead to a positive evaluation of that group. Thus, we expect a direct positive association between Basque identification and the evaluation of the Basques, and between Spanish identification and the evaluation of Spaniards.

To summarize

We expect, first, that Basque ethnic separatism functions as a mediator between group identifications and the evaluation of Spaniards, Andalusians and Basques, but not Catalans (H1). Thus, people who identify strongly as Basque are expected to be supportive of Basque separatism, and therefore to evaluate Spaniards and Andalusians more negatively, whereas people who identify strongly as Spanish should evaluate Basques less positively because of their opposition to Basque separatism.

Secondly, the evaluation of Andalusians as a relatively prototypical Spanish group is expected to be positively related to Spanish identification, and the evaluation of Catalans as a group with autonomy goals comparable to the Basque Country is expected to be positively related to Basque identification (H2). Third, because the autonomy goals of Catalans threaten the idea of a unified Spanish State, we hypothesize that Catalans are evaluated more negatively by higher Spanish identifiers (H3). Furthermore, we expect a direct positive relationship between Spanish identification and Spanish evaluation and between Basque identification and Basque evaluation (H4).

METHOD

Data and participants

Our study involves secondary analysis of survey data that were collected in 1996 with the purpose of studying regional-national attitudes among Basque adolescents (Dekker et al., 2003). In the present paper these data are used for examining a different phenomenon: the Basque adolescents’ evaluations of different subgroups in Spain. Some of the items on separatism that were used in the study of Dekker et al. (2003) are in the present research included as predictor of group evaluations.

The questionnaire was administered in the Spanish language. The participants in this study formed a quota sample of secondary school students in the Basque Autonomous Community, which is part of the Spanish State and consists of the provinces of Vizcaya, Álava and Guipúzcoa. In total, 25 schools with 774 participants were selected in the three provinces. The participants were between 14 and 18 years of age (M = 16; SD = 1.4). In total, 51% of the sample is female.

Measures

For the analysis of group evaluations, four target groups were chosen: Spaniards, Basques, Andalusians and Catalans. The choice of these groups was based on a small pre-test in which we asked 37 people from Spain to rank eight sub-groups in terms of their Spanish
prototypicality: Castilians, Cantabrians, Basques, Valencians, Andalusians, Galicians, Catalans and Asturians. The participants were asked to express the views of the Spanish population in general and not their personal opinion. On a scale ranging from 1 to 10, Castilians were considered the most prototypical Spaniards ($M = 9.3$, $SD = 1.01$), followed by Andalusians ($M = 8.3$, $SD = 1.63$), whereas Basques and Catalans had the lowest scores ($M = 4.2$, $SD = 1.96$ and $M = 4.9$, $SD = 2.31$, respectively) for Spanish prototypicality. The scores for the other groups were in between. Because the dataset contained no measure for the evaluation of Castilians, we decided to focus on Andalusians as a prototypically Spanish group and Basques and Catalans as two atypical groups.

The dependent variable group evaluation was measured for each of the four groups by means of 24 traits that are commonly used in research on group stereotypes (see e.g. Katz & Braly, 1933; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008). Participants were asked to indicate whether the trait was (1) or was not (0) typical for the target group. Factor analysis with maximum likelihood extraction and oblimin rotation was performed to determine the underlying dimensions for each group. For all four groups a two-factor solution was found with the first factor containing positive traits and the second factor negative traits. Variance explained by the first factor ranged between 15 and 20% and variance explained by the second factor was between 11 and 16%. Subsequently, only those traits that loaded on the same factor across all four groups were selected. This resulted in 10 positive and 10 negative traits. The positive ones were: sociable, tolerant, easygoing, trustworthy, intelligent, attentive, efficient, industrious, honest and skilful. The negative traits were: dominant, arrogant, stubborn, aggressive, cruel, sly, suspicious, ambiguous, susceptible and egoistic. For each group a single global evaluation score was defined as the number of positive minus the number of negative traits. The score ranges from $-10$ for the participants who agreed only with all negative traits to $+10$ for those who agreed only with all positive traits.

Basque identification was measured by six statements: ‘I feel Basque’, ‘I like to be Basque’, ‘I feel I have a common origin with other Basques’, ‘I feel I am a member of one Basque family’ and ‘I feel I have Basque blood’. These statements correspond to questions typically used in social psychological research assessing the evaluative and affective dimensions of group identification (see Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). For the answers 4-point scales were used ranging form ‘completely disagree’ (1) to ‘completely agree’ (4). A higher value stands for a higher degree of identification. For Spanish identification the same six items were used, the only difference being that the word ‘Basque’ was replaced by ‘Spanish’. A factor analysis of these 12 identification items, with maximum likelihood extraction and oblimin rotation, confirmed that the items represent two separate constructs, one referring to Basque identification and the other to Spanish identification. Two additive scales were constructed. For Basque identification Cronbach’s $\alpha$ was .93 and for Spanish identification the alpha was .96. The scales were negatively correlated ($-.49$, $p < .001$) (see Table 1).

Basque ethnic separatism was measured by eight items. The questions were: ‘Lapurdi, Baja Navarra and Zuberoa, the parts of France in which there are people who speak Euskera [i.e. the Basque language], should unite with the Basque Country in a separate and independent state, Euskadi’, ‘Navarra should unite with the Basque Country in a separate and independent state, Euskadi’, ‘I want an independent state to be established in Euskadi’ ‘Basques who live in other regions of Spain, should have Basque Country’s protection’, ‘Basques who live in France, should have Basque Country’s protection’, ‘The Basques should not mix with other Spaniards’, ‘The Basques should not mix with other
nationalities’ and ‘Persons who are not Basque and live in the Basque Country should leave the Basque Country’. All questions were measured on a 4-point scale and Cronbach’s alpha was .90. A higher score indicates stronger endorsement of Basque ethnic separatism.

Analysis

After inspecting the descriptive findings, the hypotheses were tested using structural equation modelling. The structural model was fitted with Mplus software (version 4.2). The data contain a fair number of missing values for group identifications and Basque separatism. For example, 38% of the cases have (one or more) missing values for the Basque identification items, and 49% of the cases have missing values for the Spanish identification items. Traditional methods for dealing with missing values such as listwise deletion or mean imputation can lead to severely biased estimates of path coefficients as well as their standard errors, unless the highly unrealistic assumption is met that missingness is completely at random (Little & Rubin, 1987). By fitting the model using the full-information maximum likelihood method assuming multivariate normality we are making much weaker assumptions with respect to the problem of missing values. Furthermore, participants are nested within schools. Therefore, as part of a preliminary analysis, we estimated null models in SPSS for each of the variables. The variance found at the school level turned out not to be higher than 9%. Moreover, we do not test any hypotheses about school differences. For these reasons we decided against the estimation of a more complex multilevel model.

RESULTS

Descriptive results

A paired sample $t$-test showed that Basque identification is significantly higher than Spanish identification, $t(337) = 17.07, p < .001$ (see Table 1). The results of a one-sample $t$-test reveal that on average the participants do identify with the Basque identity: the mean score is significantly higher than 2.5, which is the ‘unobserved’ neutral midpoint on the scale, $t(482) = 28.36, p < .001$. Spanish identification is on average significantly below the midpoint, indicating that the participants do not identify strongly with the Spanish group, $t(393) = 8.95, p < .001$. As to Basque separatism, one-sample $t$-test shows that the mean

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Spanish identification</td>
<td>2.08</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Basque identification</td>
<td>-.49**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Basque ethnic Separatism</td>
<td>-.65**</td>
<td>.62**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Evaluation of Spaniards</td>
<td>.56**</td>
<td>-.33**</td>
<td>-.48**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>3.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Evaluation of Basques</td>
<td>-.17**</td>
<td>.24**</td>
<td>.23**</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>3.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Evaluation of Catalans</td>
<td>-.12*</td>
<td>.11*</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>-.08*</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-.40</td>
<td>2.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Evaluation of Andalusians</td>
<td>.28**</td>
<td>-.13**</td>
<td>-.33**</td>
<td>.41**</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Identification and separatism variables range from 1 to 4, with 4 meaning strongly identified or very much in favour of separation, while group evaluations were measured on a scale ranging from −10 to +10.

*p < .05; **p < .01.
score is significantly below the midpoint, \( t(366) = -7.03, p < .001 \), which means that the participants do not have strong separatist orientations. In addition, Table 1 shows that there is a positive correlation between Basque identification and Basque separatism (\( r = .62, p < .01 \)) and a negative correlation between Spanish identification and Basque separatism (\( r = -.65, p < .01 \)).

For the group evaluations (see Table 1), Basques are the most positively evaluated group, followed by Spaniards, Andalusians and Catalans. Paired sample \( t \)-tests with Bonferroni adjusted \( p \)-values were used to determine whether the differences in the means are significant. For the evaluation of Andalusians and Spaniards no significant difference was found. Basques, \( t(774) = 3.49, p < .001 \), Spaniards, \( t(774) = 1.2, p < .001 \) and Andalusians, \( t(774) = 1.14, p < .001 \) were more positively evaluated than Catalans. Additionally, Spaniards, \( t(774) = -2.28, p < .001 \), and Andalusians, \( t(774) = -2.35, p < .001 \), were viewed less positively than Basques.

The evaluation of Spaniards was unrelated to the evaluation of Basques, positively related to the evaluation of Andalusians (\( r = .41, p < .01 \)), and negatively related to the evaluation of Catalans (\( r = -.08, p < .05 \)). The evaluation of Basques was not significantly related to the evaluation of Catalans.

**Structural model**

The structural model shown in Figure 2 has 4\(^2\) of freedom, but turned out to have an excellent fit with an insignificant Chi-square (\( \chi^2 = 2.73, df = 4, p = .60 \)), a root mean

![Figure 1. The Proposed Model.](image-url)
In order to test an alternative direction of influence, a model was examined with Basque separatism determining Basque identification and Spanish identification, rather than being a mediator of the relationship between group identifications and group evaluations. This alternative model had a worse fit, with a significant Chi-square ($\chi^2 = 50.56$, $df = 4$, $p = .000$), RMSEA of .123 (90% C.I. = [0.094, 0.154]), and CFI of .95. Thus, the proposed model (Figure 2) provides a better fit to the data than this alternative model.

The associations of the proposed model are presented in Figure 2. In addition, in order to examine the proposed pattern of mediation, direct and indirect effects were investigated (see Table 2). We expected Basque separatism to mediate the relationship between group identification and the out-group evaluation of Basques, Spaniards and the prototypically Spanish Andalusians. As shown in Figure 2, both Basque and Spanish identification are indeed strongly related to the endorsement of Basque ethnic separatism: the more participants identify as Basque the more they are in favour of Basque separatism, and the more they identify as Spanish the more they oppose Basque separatism. Basque separatism, in turn, is negatively related to the evaluation of Spaniards and Andalusians, while it is positively related to the evaluation of Basques. These findings are in line with the expectations of hypothesis 1. Looking at the direct and indirect effects presented in Table 2,
it is clear that Basque identification affects the evaluation of Spaniards and Andalusians only indirectly through Basque separatism. The more the participants identify as Basque, the more they support Basque separatist ideas, and the less positively they view the Spanish groups that prevent them in achieving this goal. However, the decomposition of effects shows that Spanish identification is not related to the evaluation of Basques. Thus, hypothesis 1 holds only for the path from Basque identification to out-group evaluations.

For the evaluation of similar out-groups it was found that the effect of Spanish identification on the evaluation of Andalusians and of Basque identification on the evaluation of Catalans are both positive but not significant. Thus, our second hypothesis about a direct positive relationship was not confirmed. It remains, however, that these similar groups, unlike some of the goal-conflicting groups, are not viewed negatively by high identifiers. Interestingly, Table 2 shows that, while there is no direct effect of Spanish identification on the evaluation of Andalusians, there is an indirect effect via Basque separatism. The more people identify with the Spanish identity, the more they oppose Basque separatism, and the more positively they evaluate the prototypically Spanish Andalusians.

Further, we predicted a direct negative association between Spanish identification and the evaluation of dissimilar Catalans (Figure 2). It turned out that Spanish identification was indeed negatively related to the evaluation of Catalans, which is in line with H3. As expected, Table 2 indicates that this effect is only direct, and not mediated by Basque ethnic separatism.

Confirming hypothesis 4, in-group identification is positively associated with in-group evaluation. Participants with higher Spanish or Basque identification evaluate their Spanish or Basque in-group more positively (Figure 2). For Basques this relationship is only direct, which is in line with the expectations (Table 2). In contrast, for Spaniards part of the effect runs through Basque ethnic separatism. This implies that people who identify as Spanish, next to directly evaluating their in-group favourably, also have a positive view of the in-group due to the fact that they oppose Basque separatist goals.

**DISCUSSION**

Social psychological research on separatism, segregation and schism predominantly focuses on the relationship between two groups, such as the dominant majority group and an ethnic minority group (e.g. Bourhis et al., 2009; Sindic & Reicher, 2009). However,
real-life and politically tense intergroup contexts often involve multiple groups and the relationships between these groups typically matter for social and political changes (Bar-Tal, 2004; Subasic et al., 2008). Furthermore, the evaluation of others is not only determined by who those others are but is also shaped by the ideological content or political meaning ascribed to one’s own collective identity (Livingstone & Haslam, 2008; Reicher & Hopkins, 2001).

We tested a model of the effects of ethnic and national identification on group evaluations, and we examined the mediating role of Basque separatist ideology. The results indicate that the associations between in-group identification and out-group evaluations depend on the nature of the groups and the intergroup context. Moreover, the results indicate that these associations can be mediated by ideological notions, such as ethnic separatism. More specifically, we found that Spanish identification was negatively associated with the evaluation of Catalans, who are a non-prototypical Spanish group that strives for some form of autonomy. As expected, this relationship was not mediated by Basque separatism that predominantly involves the Spanish–Basque dispute. Further, the simple correlations indicate that Spanish identification was positively and significantly related to the evaluation of the more prototypical Andalusians. In contrast, the correlations show that Basque identification was negatively related to the evaluation of Andalusians, who disapprove of the Basque quest for independence, and positively to the evaluations of Catalans, who, like Basques, strive for independence. Although these latter relations turned out not to be significant in the structural equation model, the findings indicate that in-group identification does not result in a negative evaluation of all out-groups.

There is a history of tensions and conflicts over Basque self-determination and independence (Clark, 1979, 1984). This intergroup situation makes it likely that Basque identifiers see Spanish groups as antagonistic or as an obstacle, while Spanish identifiers see the Basques in a similar way. Considering the ongoing tensions over the question of Basque autonomy it was predicted that group identification will be related to group evaluations because of its influence on the endorsement of Basque separatism. The findings support this prediction and indicate that the endorsement of separatism is an important mechanism through which group identification can affect group attitudes. Basque identification was positively related to Basque separatism which, in turn, was negatively related to the evaluation of Spaniards in general as well as of Andalusians in particular. The full mediation found indicates that the separatist goals are indeed at the core of the Basque–Spanish antagonism.

Contrary to the expectations, Spanish identification was not directly or indirectly associated with the evaluation of the Basques. However, a positive relation between Spanish identification on the one hand, and Spanish and Andalusian evaluation on the other was found, and this relationship was mediated by Basque separatism. Spanish identification was associated with a decreased support for Basque separatism, and opposition to this separatism, in turn, was related to a more positive evaluation of Spaniards and of the prototypically Spanish Andalusians. This suggests that in-group evaluation is not only direct, as predicted by social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), but can be strengthened in intergroup situations which involve tensions and conflicts that make it important to ‘stick together’ and be united.

The present research further highlights the importance of examining multiple identities or the fact that most individuals are simultaneously members of multiple social groups (see Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Verkuyten, 2005). Our study indicates that it is important to examine ethnic identification in relation to national group identification. People living in
the Basque Country can identify with Basques as well as with Spaniards. The results show a significantly stronger Basque identification than a Spanish one. Furthermore, a negative association between Basque and Spanish identification was found, and both identifications turned out to be differently related to the group evaluations.

In conclusion, we have examined the relationship between group identification and intergroup relations by focusing on the Basque case. Social psychology has paid little attention to multiple identities and the evaluation of out-groups in a politically tense context. This is unfortunate because it is important to examine these issues in order to be able to make a contribution to our understanding of contemporary conflicts (Bar-Tal, 2004; Gibson, 2006). Many societies are ethnically, culturally, linguistically and religiously diverse, and within societies there are important differences in regions and social settings. Hence, future studies should contribute to a further understanding of identification processes and multiple group evaluations among real-life groups and in various intergroup settings. In doing so it is important to examine not only multiple identities but also different dimensions of group identification because these can be differently related to out-group attitudes (see Ashmore et al., 2004). Furthermore, it would be interesting to see if the current findings can be replicated on an older sample of participants who, compared to adolescents, have more stable and integrated identities and political views. In addition, our study was cross-sectional which means that we cannot draw firm causal conclusions. The proposed model (Figure 1) fitted the data better than an alternative model that we tested but a different design (e.g. longitudinal) is needed to examine the directions of influence more adequately.

Further, it is interesting and important to examine different group judgments because categorization effects may depend on the type of social judgment such as evaluations, stereotypes and attributions. We have used a global evaluative measure but the content of group stereotypes is also important for understanding the intergroup relations in Spain and the Basque Country in particular. The stereotype content model, e.g. proposes that group stereotypes of warmth and competence can be predicted from structural relations in society, in particular from perceived status and competition with other groups. In addition, these stereotypes correlate strongly with emotional prejudices (see Cuddy et al., 2008). Furthermore, stereotypes might also refer to group virtue (e.g. ‘terrorists’) that makes actions and claims morally acceptable and justified or rather unacceptable and illegitimate (Leach, Ellemers, & Barreto, 2007; Myers & Stohl, 2010). Future research is needed to examine the role of stereotype content in the Spanish–Basque context, and in situations of group separatism and schisms more generally.

REFERENCES


