

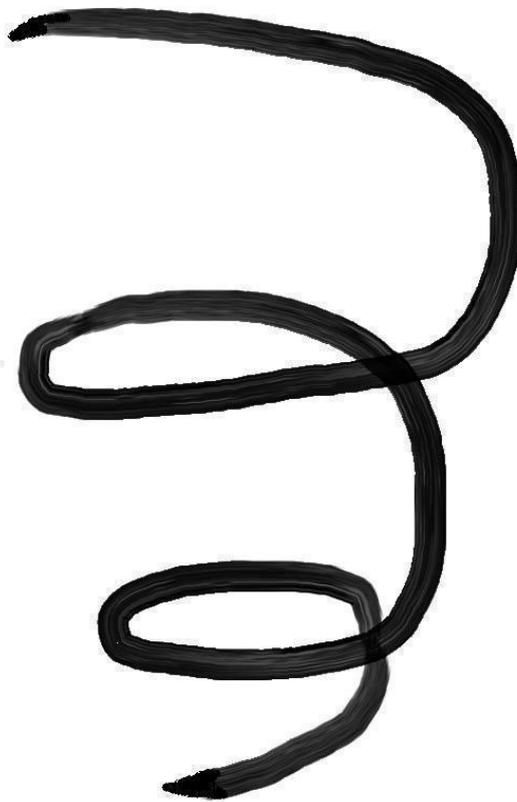


**Linnæus University**

Sweden

## **The Spiral of Negative Intergroup Relations**

- A study on Communication and Identity in Spain.



**Bachelor Thesis, 15 hp.**

**Media- and Communication Studies**

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One last reminder, we are from Sweden and not Switzerland.

We also want to say thanks to 'pappa' Sven who drove us to all our observations and interviews, thank you!



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## **Abstract**

**Titel:** The Spiral of Negative Intergroup Relations  
- A study on Communication and Identity in Spain.

**Author:** Carl Larsson and Isabell Sundman

**Objectives:** The research serves to stress the power of communication and to understand its role to create and maintain Intergroup identification in times reflected by economic crisis and increased human mobilization.

**Method:** Triangulation data and methods, observations, interviews, and framing of analysis.

**Theory:** Communication Accommodation Theory and Social Identity Theory.

**Material:** Observations and interviews.

**Main Conclusion:** We have from our research, conducted in Guardamar del Segura, Spain, discovered that most of the communication between native Spaniards and immigrant Bulgarians is negative non-verbal communication which leads to a division between the two groups. The result of high unemployment and social stress, which the current situation in Spain provides, tend to create stronger ties inside the groups and at the same time enlarge the distance towards other groups. Also, the large amount of non-verbal communication such as observing each other's behavior leads in this case to negative stereotyping and prejudices that creates and maintain the different group's relations in the society.

**University:** Media- and Communication studies, Linnaeus University

**Semester:** Spring 2014

**Mentor:** Tanya Elder

**Examiner:** Göran Palm

**Key Words:** Communication Accommodation, Convergence and Divergence, Upward and Downward, Over-accommodation and Under-accommodation, Intergroup behavior, group identification, self-interest

## **Sammanfattning**

**Titel:** The Spiral of Negative Intergroup Relations

- En studie om kommunikation och identitet i Spanien.

**Författare:** Carl Larsson och Isabell Sundman

**Syfte:** Forskning syftar till att understryka kommunikationens kraft och att förstå dess roll i att skapa och underhålla Intergroup identifikation i tider som speglas av ekonomisk kris och ökad mänsklig mobilisering

**Metod:** Triangulering data och metod, observationer, intervjuer och framing av analys.

**Teori:** Communication Accommodation Theory och Social Identity Theory

**Material:** Observationer samt intervjuer.

**Huvudslutsatser:** Vi har från vår forskning, som genomfördes i Guardamar del Segura, Spanien, upptäckte att det mesta av kommunikationen mellan infödda spanjorer och immigrerade bulgarer är negativa icke-verbal kommunikation som leder till en uppdelning mellan de två grupperna. Resultatet av hög arbetslöshet och social stress, som den nuvarande situationen i Spanien ger, tenderar att skapa starkare band inom grupperna och samtidigt utöka avståndet till andra grupper. Även den stora mängden av icke-verbal kommunikation såsom att observera varandras beteende leder i detta fall till negativa stereotyper och fördomar som skapar och upprätthåller de olika gruppernas relationer i samhället.

**Universitetet:** Medie- och kommunikationsvetenskap, Linnéuniversitetet

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**Handledare:** Tanya Elder

**Examinator:** Göran Palm

**Nyckelord:** Communication Accommodation, Convergence and Divergence, Upward and Downward, Over-accommodation and Under-accommodation, Intergroup behavior, group identification, self-interest

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# 1. Introduction

*In this chapter the general research idea and background will be presented. In addition to this we will also present our research objectives, research questions, delimitations and disposition of our Bachelor Thesis.*

## 1.1 Introduction

“The problem is that they don’t understand them. Communication is very important when to get to know someone. If you don’t communicate with him you won’t understand him”  
- Interviewee S3

Communication is something that we can never escape from and it is evident in all things around us, in materials, verbal language, non-verbal language, clothing etc. (Fiske, 1990:11-12). The way to communicate may differ but the reason for why we communicate is shared, the ability and the need to share beliefs, values and ideas and the ability to make sense of the world is what humans have in common despite diverse backgrounds (Samovar et al., 2010:14-15). Björn Nilsson and Anna-Karin Waldemarson argue that we are born into a world with existing rules and conventions relating to our communication. All cultures have their ways of describing and perceive the world and they do it through communication (Nilsson & Waldemarson, 2007:29, 34-35). In all existing cultures on this planet, there are no cultures surviving without communication (Fiske, 1990:11-12). Even when we think we are not communicating in fact we are, which can lead to perceptions of aggressiveness, rudeness and it can even be frightening to the receiver if the codes we send out is unclear or unfamiliar (Nilsson & Waldemarson, 2007:29, 34-35).

The quote seen above emphasizes the importance of communication in creating and maintaining peaceful relations between groups who do not share culture, values, and beliefs. Hence, our research serves to stress the power of communication and also to understand its role in constituting and maintaining Intergroup relations in times reflected by economic crisis and increased human mobilization.

We have chosen to conduct our research in Spain and the city of Guardamar del Segura due to its interesting circumstances; it is one of the countries that suffered the most from the economic crisis that hit Europe in 2008 and is still today struggling with high unemployment where its youth unemployment has reached 55 per cent. But despite that the immigration from other European countries remains vast and numerous of different groups are currently located in the city (INE).

The city of Guardamar del Segura is located 40 minutes from Alicante in the South of Spain and is a part of Costa del Blanca. Two major groups are today residing in the city, native Spaniards and immigrant Bulgarians who came to Spain in search for a life that includes work, work that provides money, money that provides food on the table and roof over their heads. As we agree with Samovar that claims, that communication can facilitate an understanding for Intergroup cultural varieties if used correctly, it is evident to acknowledge and to understand the role of communication in times of open borders and vast human mobilization as it is characterized of encounters between people with divided beliefs, values, attitudes, and language (Samovar et al., 2010:53).

In order for the research to serve its intended purpose it is important to examine what defines the current communication and also to see how the current communication between native Spaniards and immigrant Bulgarians living in Guardamar del Segura is constructing and maintaining group relations. Hence we conducted seven observations and fourteen interviews to collect first-hand material from natural occurring events. Our theoretical point of departure and main theoretical perspective is *Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)* since it explains how individuals in accommodating communication can contribute to an increase or decrease in distance between them when using non-verbal or verbal communication. The second theory used is *Social Identity Theory (SIT)* which helps us to understand the complexity behind the need for group identification and to examine the underlying factors behind the construction and the maintenance of groups. The methods used are, Triangulation data and methods, observations, interviews and framing for Analysis.

The study is conducted during three weeks in Spain. The language used in the field is solely Castilian which is our third language and which we will highlight additionally in 3.4 Ethical Discussion. We will in this thesis make use of the concepts Castilian

and Castellano to emphasize that Spain is a country divided into regions and nationalities where different languages are spoken, but where the common language is Castellano. Castilian can also be used when one wants to express that something or someone is Spanish.

## **1.2 Background and Delimitations**

### **1.2.1 Background**

Today's vast mobilization of humans shakes the foundations of traditional social structures and is creating a high degree of uncertainty among many people. To flee from such uncertainty people are creating Intergroups where ethnicity, common faith, economic interests or political like-mindedness is shared: "...as people struggle to adapt to the dynamics of modern social life, filled with the push and pull of globalization and traditional ways, identity is becoming an important factor in how they live their lives and with whom they associate." (Samovar et al., 2010:153).

The phenomenon of Intergroup regards more than communication, but we claim that the role of communications is vital in creating positive and peaceful relations between Intergroup in order to diminish uncertainty. As part of Intergroup relations, group identification becomes stronger and more vital in times of crisis as the uncertainty increases. An over-identification to one's Ingroup can occur as an attempt to diminish uncertainty as your own Intergroup offers you a blueprint of the world and how it functions (Aviram, 2007:9).

The separation between Intergroups exists in several areas in Europe today, but our reason for choosing Guardamar del Segura in Spain reaches further than warm sun, the crystal blue water and the cheap beer. Through the Castilian National Statistical Institute we found out that the Region of Murcia where Guardamar del Segura is located, is only one out of four regions in Spain having an increasing immigration currently. Thus, while the population in the rest of the regions in Spain are migrating, Guardamar del Segura is a unique place to conduct research due to influx of immigrants with different ethnical and national origins as for example people with Bulgarian origins (INE., & Red Cross Spain Guardamar del Segura, 2nd meeting).

From our meetings with Red Cross Spain Guardamar del Segura we found out that Bulgarians are not only immigrants in Spain but also one of the most marginalized

social groups in Guardamar del Segura with some of the worst living conditions. Many of them are forced to live in the street and while others are living in shelters without electricity or running water, which makes the Bulgarians one of the major and most extreme Outgroups living in the town and hence important for our research (Red Cross Spain Guardamar del Segura, 2nd meeting).

### **1.2.2 Delimitations**

We were given a time frame of approximately one month to conduct our fieldwork. This time frame not only restricted our ability to conduct fieldwork but also our ability to explore the many other aspects and facets of research in the field of communication and social identity. In addition our contact and collaboration with the Red Cross Spain Guardamar del Segura provided certain limitations because they have routines and special behaviors that restricted our research. With this in mind in addition to our economic situation with a strict budget we did not have the economical instruments to hire interpreters or transcribers to accelerate our work, and which will be further described in chapter 3.4: Ethical Discussion.

The research provides interesting findings by investigating two extremes along the communication spectrum. In our research we decided to compare native Spaniards, as they are culturally and traditionally bound to Spain through their beliefs and behaviors with immigrant Bulgarians being one of the most marginalized groups. The native Spaniards are well aware of the accepted body language, speaking manners as Castilian is their mother tongue. At the other extreme, Bulgarians are immigrants, with a different language, body language and speaking manners. Thus we believe our results will be clear and easier to observe in contrast to other immigrants such as South Americans that share many cultural traits with the Spaniards.

Also, it is important to define native Spaniards as not necessarily needed to be born in the city of Guardamar del Segura but seemed as born and raised in Spain and in that sense they all share the Spanish language, the Spanish culture, values and beliefs. However, it is vital to acknowledge that Spain's complex history divides the country into different national and regional areas which make it rather complicated to talk about shared languages, cultures, values and beliefs in regards of native Spaniards. But we

consider Castellano, the one language shared in all areas of Spain, to bind people together as languages in itself are infused of culture, values and beliefs.

### **1.3 Research Objectives and Research Questions**

For us as media and communication students with specialization in peace and development issues it is of interest, as earlier mentioned, to research the power of communication and to understand its role in creating and maintaining Intergroup relations in times reflected by economic crisis and increased human mobilization. It is important to know why and how communication becomes an important factor in the creation and the maintenance of peaceful Intergroup relationships through your own group identification, and how to use communication as either a tool to initiate conflict on the one hand or as an engine of peaceful contact between Intergroups on the other hand.

Answering the following research questions should help us answer to the given general research problems and will hopefully provide relevant information that can be used to structure functional and positive communication between Intergroups:

- *How does the current communication pattern between native Spaniards and immigrant Bulgarians in Guardamar del Segura establish and maintain Intergroup relations?*
- *What are the main challenges in communication between native Spaniards and immigrant Bulgarians?*
- *What is the outcome of the communication between native Spaniards and immigrant Bulgarians in Guardamar del Segura?*

# 1.4 Disposition

In this first chapter, we have provided relevant information regarding the background, research problem, questions and objectives. In order to address these issues chapter two discuss previous research conducted in the field. Chapter three outlines the theories and research which we found suitable to analyze our data. Chapter four describes the methods used to collect data. In our fifth chapter, Empirical Results and Analysis, we discuss our data together with our analysis and how the empirics are related to our theories. In our last chapter, chapter six: Conclusion, the empirics will be discussed and summarized, evaluation previous research will be given, and suggestions for further research will be discussed.

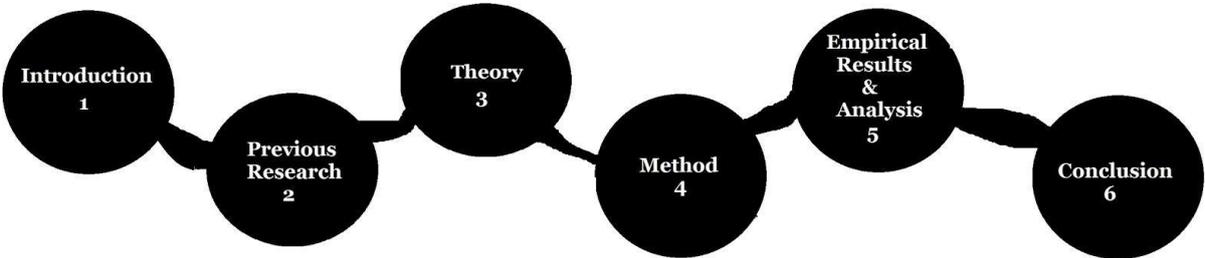


Figure 1: Graphic model of the disposition

## 2. Previous Research

*In the first part of this chapter we will present similar research that has been done within the field. Later in the chapter, we are doing a deep dive into previous research of the two theories; Accommodation Communication Theory (CAT) and Social Identity Theory (SIT) that will be presented further in its entirety in chapter three: Theory.*

### 2.1 Overall Research of the Presented Area

During the past 50 years various researches has been done in the field of e.g. economic, anthropology, social psychology and on the history of migration. Thomas F. Pettigrew is one of the most successful scholars in the field of social psychology and has written: *Reactions toward the new minorities of Western Europe*, where he argues that earlier researches in the field of immigration and Intergroup relations come from the U.S. and mainly the African-American group. Although, the history of immigration in the U.S. is interesting, the Afro-American group has a different legacy than the new migration patterns that occurs in Europe; hence it necessitates and deserves further research which is geographically and culturally anchored in the historical realities of Europe (1998:78). Pettigrew claims, that European migration is different, since the newcomers often have escaped their countries due to political or economic reasons. It is important to form and create a European view on the relations between different groups living in Europe (Ibid).

Rossitsa Rangelova and Katya Vladimirova in their essay: *Migration from central and eastern Europe: the case of Bulgaria*, focus on the relations of ethnic groups in Europe, specifically the many Bulgarians that have emigrated since the end of the Soviet era. Their research provides proof of Bulgarians migrating towards the E.U. and how they leave their newly founded nation due to the lack of economic resources and the distrust they have with social and political development in their own country. They describe the Bulgarians as wanting “to make a large amount of money in a short space of time”, when leaving the nation (2004:10).

Furthermore, in interviews conducted in 2003 with Bulgarians living in Spain it was revealed that many of them moved to find employment and to support their families with remittances. The jobs they are able to get often related to house cleaning,

construction and caring for small children and elderlies (Rangelova & Vladimirova, 2004:21).

In another economic study conducted in Spain, Eugenia M. Markova, reveals how Bulgarians are useful labor force, and how immigrants, legal or illegal are performing in societies (2006:2). In her research she demonstrates that illegal Bulgarians may be up to 40 percent cheaper to hire compared to Spaniards since they normally come without knowing the language and are victims for long working hours and low-paid.

Anthropologist Paul A. Silverstein writes that immigrants are often targeted in policies or by people in power as problems and monsters to be afraid of. Historically, Jews, gypsies and currently Muslims have been that monster, or the 'enemy' that one should fear, in all to label and control humans (Silverstein, 2005:366). However, as Silverstein explains that although immigrants or minorities are systematically labeled different and as being the problem, they also have a positive impact in the sense that there is a hope for new solidarities between different groups and instead of focusing on all the negative aspects of immigration researchers should view all the positive and converging factors that relates to differentiation of people (2005:377).

Bulgaria became a member of the E.U. in January 2007, and Bulgarian citizens could hence enjoy the free movements that follow with the membership in the Union (E.U.). As mentioned numerous studies have been done in the field of migration but still we claim that there is an existent knowledge gap, as none of the previous studies examine how immigrant Bulgarians and ethnic Spaniard's Intergroup Relations are formed and maintained through communication. We consider our research to take one step further to fill the gap.

## **2.2 Previous Research of CAT and SIT**

### **2.2.1 Communication Accommodation Theory**

One of the first studies conducted in the field of CAT regards a study of bilingual language in Canada between French Canadians and English Canadians and how their differences in ethnicity may change the way people communicate with each other (Giles et al., 1973:177). Based on Giles own ideas of how convergence in speech behavior may accommodate people from different groups in a society (Giles et al., 1973:179), he found

that those accommodating towards a foreign language also became socially approved while those not accommodating themselves to a different language behavior had difficulties to be approved (Giles et al., 1973:186-187).

In another study from 1996 non-verbal communication behavior was observed between a talk show host and his guests on the CNN Network Larry King Live show. The focus was on how different social status can be a factor when accommodating non-verbal communication behaviors. Some of the results proves that people with higher social status in the show were accommodated by the talk show host while people from lower social status that were featured in the interviews had to accommodate themselves in their conversations with the talk show host (Gregory Jr. & Webster, 1996:1231).

Furthermore, verbal and nonverbal behaviors based on status, gender and ethnicity has been investigated in Australia by Jones et al. in their studies of Chinese students (1999:127). The researchers believed that Chinese students would build their group identity based on their role as students before their ethnic identity of being Chinese. Among the outcomes, social status was the highest parameter in the accommodation of communication with others (Jones et al., 1999:128).

In contrast to earlier studies focused on FtF (Face-to-Face) communication, Computer-mediated communication (CMC) has also been studied in order to determine how interaction on the internet functions. In 2012, research was conducted into how communication between different groups occur online (Riordan et al., 2013:85). By using two test groups in the study; one where strangers interacted with each other and a second where friends communicated with each other, the result demonstrated that strangers take longer time in composing the texts and are careful to higher degrees compared to friends who use shorter times in their strategies for communication. Hence when one has a history or can relate to each other, the need of using strategic communication compared to as being strangers decreases (Riordan et al., 2013:92-93).

On the basis of these earlier studies, we find it interesting to measure how accommodation of communication both verbally and non-verbally plays an important role or not. Like us, Jones et al. measure both verbal and nonverbal communication in his studies and Gregory Jr. & Webster comes to the conclusion that social status affects accommodation of communication.

### **2.2.2 Social Identity Theory**

A lot of research has been conducted on Intergroup behavior and Intergroup relations and we believe the reason for it is linked to how the theory came to exist, from the need to explain the cause of the murder of millions of people in the Holocaust during World War Two. The answers were believed to be found within group processes and Intergroup relations and the area was researched with great perseverance (Hornsey, 2008:205).

Previous research within the field of Social Identity Theory such as the Self-Categorization Theory has contributed to develop the theory by adding the concept of stereotyping. Stereotyping explains how we make sense of the world by categorizing people into different groups as a result of our limited ability to process social information (Hornsey, 2008:209). Self-Categorization Theory describes the cognitive process of categorization and to create sense of group identification and behaviors that we associate with group memberships, such as stereotyping and ethnocentrism. The context is an important factor to acknowledge when talking about stereotyping (Hornsey, 2008:207-208).

The theory has also been used to explain crowd violence and rioting where the concept of *Deindividuation* is used. *Deindividuation* is the shift of one's personal identity as an adaptation to the social context where the phenomena take place. The context offers high cohesiveness and anonymity to members of the group with lower self-awareness and which leads to increased anti-social behavior. The reason for rioting has been many but the most prominent may be Steve Reicher's theory who claims that crowds are gathered for a reason and they bring with them shared sets of norms and values. Crowds often consists of Intergroup components and even though crowds often act in an aggressive and violent way there exist logic behind their attacks and the answer is symbolic Intergroups identification. The phenomenon creates social identity before, during and under the attack, for the individuals taking parts in the violence (Hornsey, 2008:210).

Researches focusing on social influence, submission and power have all done so with point of departure in the Social Identity Theory. The concept of depersonalization means that superior Ingroup provides information regarding norms and values which needs to be followed and it creates implicit shared compliance. "From this perspective, embodying the prototype of the Ingroup is what maximizes influence, influence is the

basis of power, and power leads to control over resources. This is a reversal of the traditional approach to power, which suggests that control over valuable resources is what defines power, power allows for influence, and mutual influence leads to the formation of psychological groups” (Hornsey, 2008:210-211).

### **3. Theory**

*In this chapter we will begin by presenting our theories of choice and arguments for using them. Furthermore we will use them to understand and explain our research objectives and questions.*

#### **3.1 Theory in general**

Our first theoretical approach is Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) and it is to be found within the field of intercultural communication. The theory explains how accommodation of communication between individuals in a society can either increase or decrease the distance when using non-verbal or verbal communication. Our second theoretical approach is Social Identity Theory and originates from social psychology, an interdisciplinary subject in relation to media and communication. We regard Social Identity Theory to be an appropriate theory in order to understand the complexity of the human need of group identification. As well to examine the underlying factors behind the creation and the maintenance of Ingroup vs. Outgroup identities.

##### **3.1.1 Communication Accommodation Theory**

Coming from the paradigm of intercultural communication, CAT (Communication Accommodation Theory) has its roots in Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT). It is closely associated with the socio psychological arena and is today an integrated, interdisciplinary part of communicative interaction (Giles et al. 1991:1).

In the 70's Howard Giles, a researcher from Cardiff University in the U.K. started to question how differences in interpersonal Face-to-Face (FtF) communication were changing. In his work *Accent Mobility: A model and some data* (1973) he extended former research done by Labov (1966, cited in Giles, 1973) who had mainly focused on the contexts of the interpersonal consequences of speech.

He created a model of how individuals changes accent depending on their will to be more or less accommodated by others (Giles, 1973:90). As an example, Giles uses the local accents of Liverpool, Birmingham and Cardiff when describing differences in the speech (Giles, 1970:89-90).

Giles and Bourhis (1976) conducted a now classic, study in Wales where different accents and ethnic groups were watching a theatre. The study was based on how two different audiences; a bilingual welsh group and an Anglo welsh group watched movie theaters in English and Welch. The results showed that those speaking bilingual languages tended to have less problems with English accents while those only speaking Welsh had the opposite reaction; they did not approve of the English accent (Giles & Bourhis, 1976).

With time the theory developed and changed from being used primarily in laboratory experiments and based strictly on linguistic dimensions of communication to being extended and used to study different real social settings (Giles et al., 1991:4).

In the 80's, researchers working with the theory changed from seeing the communicative interaction as objective actions where there was no consideration of the individuals past or the experiences between individuals and it was clear that depending on context and background people would adapt or change verbally or non-verbally to each other, e.g. if a person was black and another was white their strategies for interaction would change (Coupland, 2010:23).

To this day and age, SAT has developed from focusing mainly on verbal communication and language into becoming an instrument to measure non-verbal communication in different discursive dimensions of social interaction (Giles et al., 1991:7).

It is important to understand what accommodation really means; at-one level accommodation means how we as human beings change our behavior to either gain solidarity with others or to distinguish ourselves from others. At a second level, patterns of codes or language selections based on our background, social constructions and behaviors in micro and macro levels of communication are significant parts when approaching others (Giles et al., 1991:2).

The theory describes how individuals *convergence* or *divergence* when speaking with each other in FtF situations. Giles, with his use of ‘accent mobility model’ proved that people in social contexts accommodate their voices and speaking behaviors to be better approved and accepted in their environment (Coupland, 2010:22). Some examples of this may be how a travel agent adjusts their tones and body language when speaking to customers in order to sell and win confidence (Coupland 1984, cited in Coupland, 2010:22). Other examples may be in the health sector where health professionals interact with patients; depending on the accommodation of communication the patient will be advised clearly or unclearly (Watson & Gallois, 1998). In fact, there are several reasons for humans or groups to convergence or divergence to other individuals or groups in their communication (Giles et al., 1991:3).

*Convergence* is usually defined as a strategy to adapt to others communicative behavior. In this adaption, speaking behavior, tone, smile among others are included, hence non-verbal and verbal communication is at the core of the theory (Giles et al., 1991:7). On the other hand, *Divergence* is the opposite of Convergence. In this social reaction mechanism to others, groups or individuals may break away from others by refusing to adapt. Hence distance, integrity and identity will be preserved (Giles et al., 1991:10).

The concepts of convergence and divergence can be further divided as *upward* or *downward*. Giles et al., means that *upward* is when one tries to accommodate from a local accent to a more regional or to gain approval from a higher standing individual or group in a social setting, hence there will be adaption made to gain prestige and interest. While in contradiction, *downward* means that there is a change or adoption made to speak to lower standing classes, individuals or groups, i.e. elderlies speaking less sophisticated to younger persons (Giles et al., 1991:11).

Moreover, *Over-accommodation* and *Under-accommodation* are two concepts used when trying to adapt in a social situation. *Over-accommodation* means that one tries too hard to be accommodated so that the receiver of the message will not respond as originally planned by the sender. Other examples may be when personal at a retirement home speaks in a simple language with elderlies, where the elderlies do not like or appreciate the adaption towards them. In the opposition to this, *under-accommodation* is when groups or people never changes or even avoid

communicating with other individuals or groups in order to stay in control or power, i.e. dominant groups in societies avoid changing to accommodate strangers or minorities (Coupland, 2010:25).

### **3.1.2 Critical discussion**

According to Nikolas Coupland a prominent researcher within the field, the definition of what accommodation really means has changed and needs to be questioned. He implies that from being a laboratory based theory in the beginning with few questions raised it now has suffered from being used in numerous contexts around the globe. As Coupland says: “The model has, in one sense, been a victim of its own success” (Coupland, 2010:24). However, he believes the theory has a strong impact and the theory is contributing to the society by answering some of the questions in social situations where interactions appear (Coupland, 2010:26).

We are aware of the limitations, such as only observing the specific field of communication. It means that many other factors, such as social class, age or gender may be of importance but of low interest in this specific theory. It is in the interlocutor’s interest to accommodate to others and which is irregular behavior and a factor that should be seen as limitations. At the same time, we see the utility in using this specific theory within the intercultural communication. We believe that the theory will help us in our research objectives and questions made in the introductory chapter (Chapter 1) as the theory’s clear concepts and sharp focus on how communication between individuals or groups in societies accommodates or not is useful for us.

## **3.2 Social Identity Theory**

Social Identity Theory (SIT) developed by Henri Tajfel emerged in the early 1970’s as an attempt to explain the psychological factors behind the onset of the Holocaust. The need to explain what caused the murder of millions of people was built on frustration and the answer was sought in group processes and Intergroup relations. However research regarding Ingroup favoritism and bias in Intergroup behavior begun earlier than that and Muzafer Sherif was the prominent researcher within the field back in the mid 1960’s (Tajfel et al., 1979:187).

SIT originates from the ‘minimal group paradigm’ in which participants were divided into different groups on the “basis of meaningless and arbitrary criteria” (Hornsey, 2008:205). As the ‘minimal group paradigm’ was based on group belonging without any actual value the participants did not have to deal with history or context which can seem that they were psychologically empty. Despite previous history and context the participants were responding according to a predictable pattern which Henri Tajfel explained as them obeying a norm of ‘competitive group behavior’. In order to explain where the norms derived from he developed Social Identity Theory (Hornsey, 2008:206).

Intergroup is the existence between two or more social groups and SIT has a strong focus on how the social context affects intergroup relations and has in contemporary times been influential in regards of explaining group processes and intergroup relations. The theory has also played an important part in redefining group-mediated phenomena and extends, today, further than within the frames of social psychology (Tajfel, 1982:3 & Hornsey, 2008:205).

Intergroup behavior needs to be understood from two perspectives, *group* and *group identification*. *Groups* can both be external and internal, and possible external groups can be Norwegians, the economic students at Linnaeus University or the people waiting for the bus together, while internal group is the group you feel a deeper belonging and *group identification* to. No intergroup behavior can occur if there is no Outgroup; ‘them’ needs to exist in order for ‘us’ to exist (Tajfel, 1982:2). There exist three mental components for people to connect with each other through identification and form groups of value.

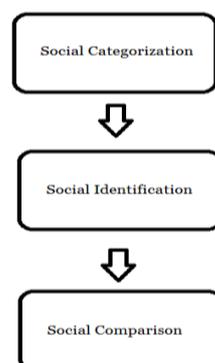


Figure 2. Originated from Saul Mcleod 2008, modified by Larsson and Sundman 2014 (McLeod 2008).

Social Categorization; we need to categorize and confer identities of people in order to understand our social world, for example Bulgarians, Spaniards, darker skin, lighter skin. By defining others we also define ourselves which gives us a self-identity and a sense of belonging to the social world.

Social Identification; the group you categorized yourself to be the group in which your *self-identity* is based on and your self-esteem will be directly linked to the sense of group belonging you feel towards your group, thus social comparison is vital.

Social Comparison; is the need for your group (which you have categorized yourself to and your self-esteem depends on) to distinguish from other groups, vis à vis the Outgroup. The difference must be superior for the Ingroup to affect your self-identity positively (Hornsey, 2008:206).

Also, self-interests are interlinked to your group belonging and your belongingness needs to provide a positive outcome which can only happen if your group identification is favorably distinguished from 'them'. The need to be superior is vital in order to gain self-interest which is an important factor to include due to the context in which the thesis is being conducted, namely that Spain is experiencing economic crisis where the competition for work is vast (Tajfel et al., 1979:1987).

*Prejudices* can be explained from the need for social comparison. As group identification and thus self-identity is created and maintained in comparison with the Outgroup the comparison must be positive for members of the Ingroup to gain positive self-identity. (Tajfel, 1982:2 & Hornsey, 2008:207).

Ingroup competition can lead to hostile Intergroup relations where the Ingroup has to favorably distinguish itself from the Outgroup which generates *Ingroup bias*. However, hostile competition does not solely have to be the reason for Ingroup bias; it also derives from the need to enhance the cause of Ingroup and where Ingroup existence and performance is perceived as the supreme (Tajfel et al., 1979:188-189). There are four different factors for Ingroup bias to be communicated;

1. One's self-identity and one's group identification are strongly interlinked.
2. The characteristic of the Ingroup in Intergroup comparison must in the given context be important and salient.

3. The comparison Outgroup must be seen as significant and attributes to compare between the groups must be.
4. The actual positions between Ingroup and Outgroup must be unclear.

This leads us to the concept of *Stereotyping* which is defined as a mental image of another person, group or institution that is shared by a large number of people. Stereotypes are often, but not always, accompanied by *Prejudice* that consists of favorable or unfavorable predispositions against members belonging to other groups or institutions (Tajfel, 1982:2).

*Ethnocentrism* is a term used to describe the Ingroup and the Outgroup. The inner core of the explanation is the egoistic feelings and actions made upon shared values that one thinks are the right actions or beliefs. In certain cases the development of ethnocentrism is related to the background of the immigrants that will statue an Outgroup (Tajfel, 1982:8-9). Social Identity Theory is suitable to understand the relation between communication group identification within our context and it is adequate to analyze the content of our empirical materials.

### **3.2.1 Critical discussion**

Criticism has been aimed towards the theory for simplifying Intergroup identification since other factors other than just enhancing your self-identity plays an important role in group identification, such as language, culture and history (Hornsey, 2008:204). We agree with the criticism and consider it to be one of its weak points. Despite the mentioned criticism we consider Social Identity Theory to be suitable for our research as it works well as a complementary tool to Communication Accommodation Theory. Also, we believe that the theory is adequate to analyze the complexity of the human need of group identification and the underlying factors behind the creation and the maintenance of Ingroup vs. Outgroup identities.

We are mainly using the original theory developed in 1979 which still has strong theoretical presence in several contemporary researches dealing with social psychology of Intergroup relations, hence strengthening the theories validity (McLeod 2008).

### 3.3 Summary of the theories: CAT & SIT

CAT is a theory founded in the 70's by Howard Giles. During his researches, Giles, saw that when people meets other people in FtF (Face-to-Face) situations they tend to change their behavior in accommodating others depending on their accents. The theory is developed to be used not only in the field of accents, where it was at first named as a speech accommodation theory but into the broader spectra of communication, where not only verbal ways of speaking were acknowledged but also nonverbal behaviors were studied.

Within the theory, one can find the basic concepts of *Convergence* and *Divergence* as a fundament for the theory. Giles means that convergence leads to people in a social setting adopting and changing their communication behavior in a way to become closer to other interlocutors. People tend to do this due to social winnings as becoming accepted or to gain economic winnings. The opposite of this is divergence where people are not changing and not accepting others in the communication in order to keep a distance towards others. This may be a behavior to remain in power or to protect a certain interest.

SIT developed by Henri Tajfel in the 70's, derives from the field of Social Psychology where the main focus is on the existence between two or more social groups in a social context and how these relations affects Intergroup. The theory has in contemporary time's been influential in regards of explaining group processes and Intergroup relations.

Tajfel means that Intergroup behavior needs to be understood from two perspectives, *group* and *group identification*. *Groups* can both be external and internal, and possible external groups can be Norwegians, the economic students at Linnaeus University or the people waiting for the bus together, while internal group is the group you feel a deeper belonging and *group identification* to. Furthermore, "we" can never exist as an Ingroup without "them" as an Outgroup.

In three steps; Social Categorization; Social Identification; and Social Comparison, the theory describes the need to categorize people into different fields, as blacks or whites, the need to find a self-identity in a certain group and a need for people in groups to be different from other groups.

Moreover, the theory also points at concepts as Ingroup bias, ethnocentrism and stereotyping of other groups. These concepts are all natural elements of human existence.

### **3.4 Concepts**

Our first concept we have chosen to use is a concept developed by Samovar et al. to help us conceptualize immigrant Bulgarians and native Spaniards:

#### **Immigrant Bulgarians**

Are people born and raised in the land of Bulgaria that share the same values and beliefs. They also share the same language, rituals, common traditions and worldview. History, myths and narratives (Samovar et al., 2010:156-157).

#### **Native Spaniards**

Are people born and raised in the land of Spain that share same values and beliefs. They also share the same language, rituals, common traditions and worldview. History, myths and narratives (Ibid).

Additionally, we have chosen to use a concept developed by Marilyn Brewer on Ingroup and Outgroup identity as we think it further and clearly explains the meaning behind Ingroup and Outgroup:

#### **Ingroup and Outgroup Identity**

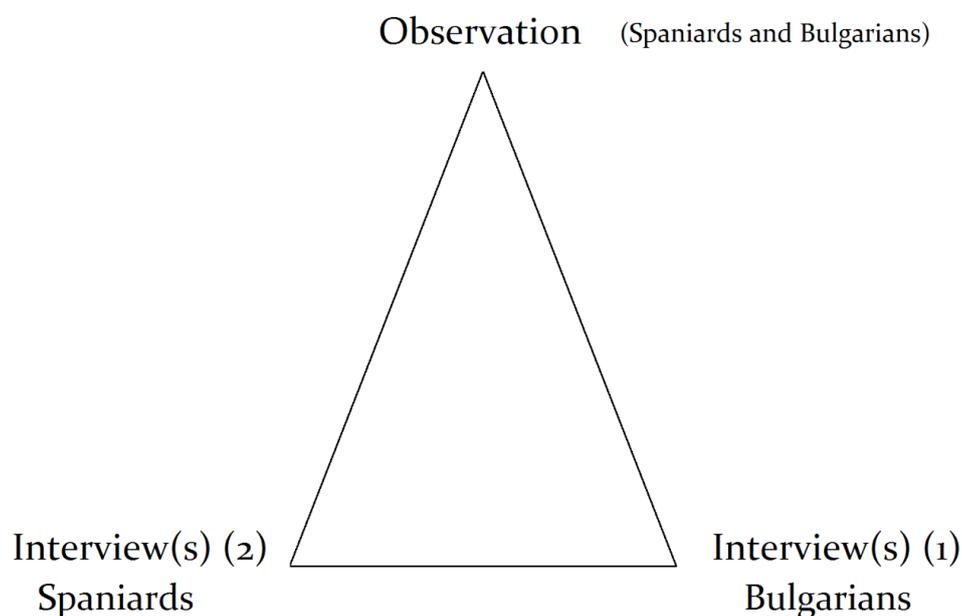
Is conceptualized as a prior familiarity and preference for one's own group that creates a group identity and separation to another group with different behavior. Hence your Ingroup will be regarded as having higher status in regards to other groups that will be regarded as an Outgroup (Brewer, 1999:430).

## 4. Method

*In this chapter we will present our methods to obtain data. We will first present our preferred methods in obtaining data with focus on validity. In the end of the chapter we will present or designed model describing how we intend to understand the data and transform it into empirical results.*

In total we made seven observations and fourteen interviews to enable enough data into empirical results. In the end of this study, under Appendix one can find the interview questions asked to the immigrant Bulgarians, see: *Interview template for the Bulgarians*. The questions asked to the native Spaniards and the questions asked to staff and volunteers of the Red Cross Spain Guardamar del Segura, see: *Interview template for the Spaniards and Red Cross Spain Guardamar del Segura*.

### 4.1 Triangulation of Data and Methods



*Figure 4: Triangulation model created by: Norman Denzin (Silverman, 1993:156) modified by: Larsson & Sundman, 2014.*

Norman K. Denzin discusses the advantages and limitations with observational studies. According to Denzin observation consist of several hinder; our roles as researchers and our focus on the present might blind us from previous events which occurred before us becoming part of the context, the chosen interviewee may not be representative for all

people active in the context, we may change the context solely by our present so the objects for the observations and interviews become skewed. We also face the risk of identifying too much with the interviewee that we lose our distance and may be blind for the occurring activities. Denzin implies that the use of multiple sources of data as a part of the methodology decrease the risk for misinterpretation. Hence we began our research with participant observations where field notes and recording was included. The aim of the observations was to account for the situated phenomena taking place and build a base for the interview templates that would be at use in the next step, conducting interviews with the two main Intergroups within our chosen context (Silverman, 1993:156-158).

#### **4.1.1 Observation**

The observations are inspired from Interactionism as it concerns the creation of symbolic orders via social interaction. The focus on identity reflects the connotation of observations as the observer is also a participator. The concept used by Norman K. Denzin is 'participant observation' as it involves to share the life of the objects being observed as well to learn their symbolic world, to understand their viewing point, to comprehend the fixed character of interaction and to view their social processes from first-hand data (Silverman, 1993:47-48).

Every location needed two observations each as it was important for us to collect first hand data that would explain to us the routines and naturally occurring event regarding the communication between native Spaniards and immigrant Bulgarians. We are aware that it requires more than two observations per location to truly see every day routines, but time limitations gave us the opportunity to visit the sites only twice. The exception is our observation outside supermarket Mas y Mas, only one observation was conducted as no communication between native Spaniards and immigrant Bulgarians occurred, hence an additional observation would have been a waste of time.

We brought paper, pen and a Dictaphone with us to every observational occasion. Silverman argues the use of recordings makes it possible for the researcher to re-analyze material and/or to examine in greater detail. Thus recording and later transcribing of data allowed us to be selective in our choice of data as we used recording frequently in our interviews (Silverman 1993:116,119). However, the Dictaphone has certain

limitations when trying to blend into the surroundings. We experienced this when we saw the how invasive the Dictaphone could be to people or when the context of the observations are too noisy for it to be used in.

#### **4.1.2 Interview**

According to Denzin, open-ended interviews facilitate for the interviewee to use their own ways of defining the world, no fixed schemes of questions is suitable to all interviewee and it leaves space for the interviewee to raise important issues not contained in pre-scheduled questions, hence our interviews were constructed as open-ended conversation between us as researcher with our participatory role and the interviewees (Silverman, 1993:94-95).

All the interviewees were promised anonymity due to the sensitive position both the Spaniards but especially the Bulgarians are in. Anonymity helped to create a safe space for the interviewees to open up and provide honest response without any risk of their responses impacting them negatively.

We find it is important to stress that the interview persons referred as RC in the interview spoke out as a native Spaniards and not as Red Cross staff or active volunteers, with the exception when staff and active volunteers received additional questions based on their professional role. We acknowledged that the staff and volunteers of Red Cross Spain Guardamar del Segura have a special approach in the communication with Bulgarians due to their professional role; therefore the information they possess differs and made it important to ask additional questions.

We received help from the Red Cross Spain Guardamar del Segura to get in contact with the immigrant Bulgarians. The Bulgarians selected for the interviews were considered suitable because of their ability to speak Castilian which was important in order to understand them and for them to express themselves in a language they were more comfortable of speaking than e.g. English. It reduces the communication noise even though Castilian is not their mother tongue and their ability to express themselves as freely as they do in Bulgarian will always be limited. We could see clear patterns after

interviewing eight Bulgarians and we consider therefore that we had collected enough data for us to answer our research questions.

We wanted to interview Spaniards being mobile in the city of Guardamar del Segura as the chance of them communicating with the Bulgarians in any form would be greatest. The promised anonymity hinder us to give further explanation regarding the nature of mobilization of the Castilian interviewees as we would put their anonymity at risk due to Guardamar del Segura being a small town.

## **4.2 Criticism of Method**

### **4.2.1 Criticism Triangulation of Data and Methods**

We are subjective due to our history and experience in life. Hence we will interpret findings and data into our world. Even if we have theories and methods that are ‘water proof’ there will always be a risk involved when seeing and understanding phenomena. However, by using the triangulation model we diminish the risk and enhance the research validity by examine phenomenon from three independent angels (Silverman, 1993:96).

The model is suitable as it gives knowledge learning according to the situation and it is flexible in the context it is used in, and in regards of qualitative researches the triangulation model enhances first hand data directly from the environment where the research is taking place (Silverman, 1993:153).

### **4.2.2 Criticism of the Observations**

There are difficulties in observing practices and natural occurring activity when staff and volunteers from Red Cross Guardamar del Segura are constantly present, and of course it had an impact on the result. We asked to visit Bulgarians on our own in order to reduce the impact of this factor, but we were not allowed to do so (Silverman, 1993:96). However, Red Cross helped us to come in contact with the Bulgarians and this study would not have been possible without neither Red Cross Guardamar del

Segura or the contact we had with the Bulgarians. Therefore, we argue that the results we received with the presence of the Red Cross are still greater than the result we would have reached without the collaboration.

The observations gave us a good foundation for our interview templates just as it was intended. Through the observations, we also got a good picture how the communication between Red Cross Spain Guardamar del Segura and the Bulgarians occurred.

#### **4.2.3 Criticism of the Interviews**

Open-ended interviews can lead to the interviewee having problem to decide what is relevant or what is irrelevant due to the researchers vague and unclear role as interviewer and the same passivity of the interviewer can lead to a restraint for interviewee to open up and talk, which Hamersley and Atkinson means is a form of social control (Silverman, 1993:95-96).

We created interview templates even though it can hamper interviews being open-ended conversation. The interview template was complied with the observations as time to create trust and openness was limited, also, to avoid the risk of conducting interviews that wouldn't provide valuable empirics due to lack of engagement or feelings of inconvenience which would have created problems. The interview templates are designed to be flexible and easy to walk away from in order to make the interviews to feel like an open-ended conversation between us and the interviewees.

#### **4.2.4 Criticism against the Framing Model**

One of the mayor risks in regards of the analysis of the collected data is that we will collect data showing dramatic happenings and hence we forget to acknowledge the data that is less dramatic and with a more the natural occurring nature that is of importance for the research's validity (Silverman, 1993:37). By using frames based on Communication Accommodation Theory and Social Identity Theory we can see what is being visible within the frames, and then ask what is left outside. Hence avoid the risk of important data falling out of the scope.

### **4.3 Ethical Discussion**

One of the major delimitations regarding the research is that we cannot speak Bulgarian and according Samovar et al. language is not only the main tool for sharing ideas, values, beliefs etc., it is also the primary transmission of culture, and culture as we understand it would not exist without language. Words, meanings, grammar, syntax is all embedded of culture (Samovar et al. 2010:26). Without an understanding of the Bulgarians culture through language we cannot fully understand how the culture has affected the Bulgarians identity as a separate and distinct individual, including behaviors, beliefs, and attitudes and nor the importance of group belonging including traditions, language and origin (Samovar et al. 2010:154).

We also face the same problem, but not to the same degree, in regards of our communication with the Spaniards since we speak Castilian very well, but not fluently. Since we lacked monetary resources we didn't have the opportunity to hire an interpreter or transcriber to help us with our empirical data.

### **4.4 Red Cross members**

In this research we have collaborated with the Red Cross Spain Guardamar del Segura. The role of the Red Cross members is indeed special and hence we will explain about them.

The Red Cross members that are part of this research works weekly to support humans in need. At the office in Guardamar del Segura some of the members are working full-time and are paid while other members are volunteering without payment. They all are committed to help humans in need. Some of the volunteers do not have a specific education aimed for help work but are working with heart and soul to make the society better. The paid staff mostly has a higher degree to be able to be responsible for actions taken.

In order to help others, the Red Cross members go by car to visit human in need in their shelters. They stay in close contact to support with food, water and bureaucratic needs such as VISA-papers and social documents to enable health care and schooling for children.

#### 4.4.1 Critical discussion Red Cross members

In contradiction to other groups in the Spanish society, the Red Cross members work weekly and in close relationship with many of the people on the social bottom. Since they do this they have a perspective that is special compared to other citizens. They visit the shelters; they get to know people by name, their origin and history. By this they develop a special relationship towards groups that otherwise would have been ignored.

The Red Cross members cannot be seen as a neutral group in this research. Hence we will always see them as Red Cross members, although the ones we have met and used in this study are native Spaniards.

#### 4.5 Framing model for analysis

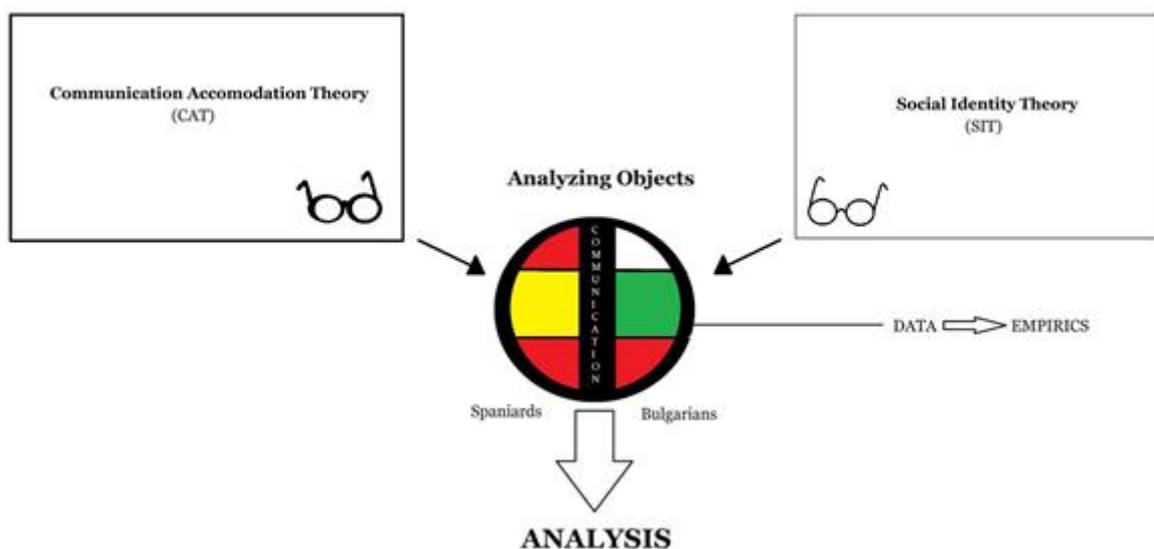


Figure 3: Framing model for analysis originated from Goffman (Silverman, 1993) modified by Larsson & Sundman, 2014.

The model (*figure 3*) is based and developed from the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) and the Social Identity Theory (SIT). The two theories will be combined to analyze the data obtained from the observations and the interviews conducted with the immigrant Bulgarians and the native Spaniards. We clearly show that we are interested in the communication aspect in their relations and thus we have created a thicker line between the two countries with the word *Communication* in between. In the final segment of the model, the empirical results lead to our analysis by using Communication Accommodation Theory and Social Identity Theory.

## **5. Empirical Results and Analysis**

*In this chapter we will present our empirics that we found during our fieldwork. We will categorize the empirical data so that it will be easy to understand and take part of our findings. Next to our empirical results you as a reader will find analysis where we use the theories CAT and SIT. In the end of this chapter we present a short summary of our empirical results and analysis.*

### **5.1 Empirical Results in general**

We conducted our fieldwork in Guardamar del Segura during three weeks in April of 2014 to collect empirics. Using the framework and the theories CAT and SIT, we have arranged the empirical results and analysis into four categories: verbal and nonverbal communication; Group Identification and Intergroup relations. In our efforts to make all the empirical data collected easy to follow, interesting and understandable we believe the construction of the four categories is in many ways the best way to communicate the results.

### **5.2. Frame: Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)**

#### **5.2.1 Verbal Communication**

One of the main findings of our study is that one of the main reasons that Spaniards and Bulgarians are unable to interact with each other is the language barrier.

Already in our first phase, the observations, we could see that language barrier was a vast component. In the context of the Bulgarians livings, outside the Mercadona supermarket, Mas y Mas and at the square plaça Vega Baixa in Guardamar del Segura there are systematic evidence that the Castilian language among the Bulgarians are low. In our observations, the Bulgarians almost never speak with other ethnicities. Instead they speak with each other in their mother tongue – Bulgarian.

#### ***Convergence***

As a sign of accommodation and a progress toward each other, *Convergence* often leads to changes and strategies by individuals to become closer to others (Giles et al., 1991:10). As signs of this; we have noticed that the staff of the Red Cross are adapting their way of talking in the communication with the Bulgarians in comparison with

how they communicate with each other or with other Spaniards, change of pace and less salient body language are two of those signs. This citation captured from Observation 3 can be analyzed as a *Convergence* accommodating behavior by the Red Cross staff in their efforts to communicate and understand the Bulgarians. Among the Red Cross members, RC1 speak slower and more accurate when communicating with Bulgarian which gives an indication of a will to adapt towards the other interlocutor. “I speak more slowly with more hand gestures for them to understand me better.”

Among the Bulgarians it is the employment market that normally has provided the Bulgarians with language skills allowing them to work with other Spaniards, As the financial crisis has created high rates of unemployment interactions are low between native Spaniards and immigrant Bulgarians. A sign of this is when the Bulgarians, if they have a job, would like to speak with Spaniards and converge in their communication behavior. Interviewee B2 said on the question regarding communication with Spaniards: “not right now because I have no job.”

Also an adapting behavior among the Bulgarians is when interviewee B3 says, “... and talking too, when people talk they talk well. Here when people talk to you it is friendly, not in Bulgaria”, this is a sign of comfort in the new country and also a *Convergent* accommodative behavior from the Castilian society and the Spaniards in the sense that the Bulgarians perceive the society to embrace them.

### ***Divergence***

From the perspective of *Divergence*, where the individuals tend to speak or act differently leading to a greater distance in the social interactions we can see that both observations and interviews showed evidence of this tendency (Giles et al., 1991:10).

As examples of this, in our first observation, we saw that the elderly couldn't speak Castilian. In our observation from the supermarket Mercadona, the Bulgarians never spoke with other people and instead only spoke to each other. According to the theory of *Divergence* we can see that the lack of speaking the same language leads to a divergent attitude in the Castilian society: The levels of greeting among the people observed were restrictive and only one out of all the people observed did a Castilian

greeting with kisses on the cheeks [...] Elderly people in the area cannot speak Castilian and could not communicate with the Red Cross staff in their conversations.

Some of the immigrant Bulgarians did not adapt to the Castilian language pointing at a non-accommodating behavior where the Bulgarians will stay by their own language. Interviewee B2 said: "... I have a small problem with people due to me not understanding the language", and interviewee B3 says, "I can't speak the language very well as I have no contact, if I had a work and was surrounded by Castilian I would understand more and more, but I am talking all days only with Bulgarians and have no chance to learn."

Among the Spaniards in our interviews we found that there is no interest for the Spaniards to speak with the Bulgarians unless they can gain anything from it; S1 believes that it is hard to communicate with the Bulgarians because of the language differences and that they are more violent than Spaniards in their way of communicating. He also believes it is hard to have conversations with the Bulgarians because they change between the two languages Bulgarian and Castilian. "It is hard to communicate with the Bulgarians, one reason is the language and another reason is that they are violent, they are violent."

Among the Red Cross workers only one out of three tries to accommodate their behavior to converge with the Bulgarians, the other two help workers, RC2 and RC3 never change in their communication, this is how RC2 says that she never changes the way she communicates with the Bulgarians, "I am the same, I am the same to the whole world. I speak in the same way to the whole world, for me everyone is the same". In accordance with that RC3 claims: "I never change my tone or voice", when communicating to Bulgarians. According to the concept of *Divergence* they try to keep a distance to the Bulgarians they help. Since they earlier mentioned that they do believe that the language gap is too big, interviewee RC2 confess that there are issues in the communication because of language problems means that it is not easy to communicate with the Bulgarians because it demands confidence. When people don't know each other and the language is different it is hard to communicate. Not knowing each other's languages might lead to a clash because the lack of communication. "For me it is the language. Man, many of them still doesn't know the language and to speak in Castilian still comprises a certain awkwardness" The third interviewee, RC3 also agree that language is the biggest problem in regards of communication, "the

language is the biggest difficulties in communication, if they don't understand the language well there will be problems" This convinces us of that language is a great barrier and hence a diverging factor.

### ***Under-accommodation***

It is possible to see that not changing as a behavior might be a case of *Under-accommodation* on the part of the Spaniards. This is hence a sign of staying in power or keeping other minorities at a distance (Coupland, 2010:25). As an example of this many times the Spaniards are speaking faster and the Bulgarians cannot understand them. Interviewee B4 says, "... a lot, there exist a lot of difference, they (native Spaniards) speak much faster here. The people here are difficult to listen to as they speak much faster. "Another example of this under -accommodation among the Spaniards is when interviewee S1 never changes his way of speaking or communicating with the Bulgarians because he is Castilian and he speaks Castilian which is the reason for him to not change. " No, I am Castilian and I speak Castilian."

### ***Downward Behavior***

As a sign of this type of behavior, where one will change toward an easier and simplified behavior in order to accommodate others (Giles et al., 1991:11), interviewee RC1 as earlier mentioned under *Convergence* uses a strategy of being a majority speaker in Castilian toward a minority foreigner (ethnic Bulgarian) in order to accommodate others. This type of strategy leads to higher levels of understanding between the two groups observed and interviewed.

## **5.2.2 Non-verbal communication**

Since everything more or less is communication (Fiske, 1990:11), we can see that being easily identified by ones the skin color; face or eye color separate the Bulgarians from the normative Castilian look. During our field work we saw that both *Convergence* and *Divergence* were used by the interlocutors. We found out that *Convergence* was used by the Red Cross members and that *Divergence* many times was used by the Spaniards in order to maintain a clash between themselves and the Bulgarians. The clothes used by the groups investigated are also different from each other and gives signals and communicate differences.

## ***Convergence***

Giles et al. mentions that in power relations, especially for immigrants, *Convergence* is of high importance to gain higher social and economic status (1991:20). In Observation 3 we found that the Red Cross members are adapting their way of talking in the communication with the Bulgarians in comparison with how they communicate with each other or with other Spaniards; change of pace and less salient body language are two of those signs. We can also see that the Red Cross members do try to change in order to communicate with the Bulgarians. This is evidence of an effort to diminish the distance between the Red Cross staff and the Bulgarians. RC1 uses more extensive body language in the communication with the Bulgarians, “I do a lot of gestures and things for them to understand me.”

Among the Spaniard interviewees, S3 believes that it is first through a closer contact that we will understand more and learn about others: “I cannot tell if a person is Bulgarian or not just by first glance. However, there are two classes of Bulgarians: Those that have dark skin color and those that are lighter. It is not until you speak with them that you know if they are Bulgarians or not. According to the concept of *Convergence* this may lead to a higher grade of adaption to the Castilian society, since when speaking to and accommodating others a higher grade of tolerance will be reached.

## ***Divergence***

According to our concept of *Divergence* it is clear that there is a distance between the Red Cross staff and the Bulgarians. One reason might be their role as professionals that the Red Cross have. The Castilian norm of kisses at both cheeks is normative in Spain and the majority behavior. The greeting behavior will maintain a clash between the groups since we saw in our observations (1 and 3) with the Red Cross and the visits in the Bulgarian homes, that the levels of greeting among the people observed were restrictive and only one out of all the people observed did a Castilian greeting with kisses on the cheeks.

The immigrant Bulgarians non-verbal communication is expressed through their different clothes. In observation number 5 at Plaça Vega Baixa in Guardamar del Segura we saw that The Bulgarians is wearing “layers of sweat clothes with lots of colors and patterns”. In addition: what sets them apart and makes them easy to distinguish is their hair which is mostly and in a hair tie. Their hair accessories are

often decorated with rhinestones. The shoes worn by the Bulgarians or mostly sandals or sneakers. This differentiation from the Spaniards who wear primarily well-made clothes with fine lines and expensive fabrics. Ballerina shoes or high heels are common for the Castilian women to wear and for the Castilian men it is more common to wear more dress shoes or sneakers. Spaniards have very often very manicured and modern haircuts which itself communicates a certain economic advantage. Everything mentioned also applies for the Castilian children even though within the contexts of playground.

By dressing differently immigrant Bulgarians are *Diverging* from the society norms and hence remains distinguished from the Spaniards. Interviewee S1 says that he can easily identify Bulgarians by their face and the way they dress, “yes, I can identify it from their face. Their clothes, how they speak I can identify them. Interviewee S2 means claims that it is possible to identify Bulgarians through their skin and that they live in ghettos and that is an easy way for the Bulgarians to be separated from other citizens, “I identify on how they walk, the color of their skin.”

Another view of how immigrant Bulgarians are different from native Spaniards comes from interviewee S3 who thinks that of course, if you don't know the Bulgarians and see them in the streets searching for garbage you will automatically think that people from Bulgaria are bad people, it an universal thing, “people get afraid and they think that the Bulgarians are dangerous, but you have to eat to live.”

A Castilian Red Cross member, RC2, explains: “that the Bulgarians diverse through their expressions in their eyes and their skin as it is darker than others.” another member, interviewee RC3, says, “that it is easy to identify Bulgarians by the look in their face.” Giles et al., talk about costs and wins in accommodation of communication, and means that in all efforts to accommodate towards others or distinguish to others there will be gains and losses. In this case, being different, not knowing the language, living in ghettos, are a cost for the Bulgarians to adapt to the Castilian society (1991:20-21).

### ***Under-accommodation***

As a sign of this concept during our observations (Observation 2 and 6) at the supermarket Mercadona in Guardamar del Segura, The Bulgarian women didn't say a word to the people passing by and were ignored to a great extent. When analyzing this situation it is important to understand the context and the interpersonal situations,

something Giles (1973:89) mentions. Using the perspective that CAT provides, we can see that being a beggar on the street and being a customer to the supermarket comes with different manners and beliefs. To us, it is evident that the Bulgarian women are in a low social position, with low economic resources, being an immigrant and low skills in the Castilian language. In their meeting with Spaniards and other ethnic immigrants, such as West Europeans, they are in a sense lowest on the social stair begging for money. With this concept we found proof for an ignorance and avoidance of the Bulgarian women by the people passing by on their way in and out to the supermarket. We argue that not looking at, or not speaking to the Bulgarians is an ignorant behavior and hence Under-accommodating.

### ***Upward behavior***

If the Bulgarians would try to be *Upward* in the accommodation communication to the Spaniards, they would have changed or tried to be more like the ruling higher class, which in our case is the Castilian dominant society. Hence, this could be a sign of not wanting to become accustomed to the majority (Giles et al., 1991:11). As a sign of this concept interviewee B8 doesn't change tone or body language when communicating with Spaniards. She feels that she act the same way when communicating with Spaniards as with Bulgarians, "no normal, everything is normal, the same" which is a strategy to not accommodate toward the majority, native Spaniards.

### ***Downward behavior***

We can use this concept, when a Spaniard lowers his usual normative behavior into a slower tempo and less gestures in order to be clear and accommodate the communication. Interviewee S4 says that he changes his speed and gestures more and speak shorter sentences in English to make him understood in the communication with Bulgarians, "I speak more slowly, and make more gestures and speak short sentences in English."

## **5.3 Frame: Social Identity Theory (SIT)**

### **5.3.1 Group Identification**

The first out of seven observations took place in one of the shelter located in the outskirts of Guardamar del Segura where 25 Bulgarians between the ages of five to forty co-exist. The living standard is low based on our observations of dirty grounds, no isolation in the houses, old furniture, broken furniture but foremost the lack of electricity and running water. The second shelter we visited is placed about five minutes by car from the first shelter and is located in the shadows of a luxurious newly built neighborhood; neither do they have access to running water or electricity. Standing on the compound in the middle of the shelter one can see a building crane outside the compound constructing new buildings. There is furniture standing outside in the compound. The ground is half broken and dirty.

#### ***Immigrant Bulgarians***

The economic crisis that has hit Bulgaria is, according to the interviewed Bulgarians, far more severe than the crisis in Spain, hence many have left some or their entire family in the country they origin in the quest for a better life. These factors and shared feelings of longing and uncertainty, which one should not even embark to speculate on, may strengthen group identification of being ‘a Bulgarian in Spain’ (Tajfel, 1982:2). Interviewee B4 means that it is important to have relation to other Bulgarians because they share the same language, culture and they have the same position here.

How strong the *Group Identification* between immigrant Bulgarians were differed depending on economic status and living conditions, if you could afford to rent an apartment you mainly socialized with the members of the family and did not have much interest in socialization with other Bulgarians living in the area. The majority of the interviewees described how the immediate family is the most importance in life and in Bulgaria one is not very open to other people outside the family. However, the strongest sense of group identification between Bulgarians was to be found between the people living in the shelters, regardless of them being related by blood or not as they were the most vulnerable and where the need of support was the greatest. Hence, the Bulgarians living in the shelters gained the most and it was in their *self-*

*interest* to communicate and identify with the people who share and understand the same culture. Interviewee B2 told how Bulgarians help each other when it is needed, “they help me and I help them. I have a friend who is sick, he had an operation, he had no money so I borrowed him money for medication.” Interviewee B6 also believes his relations to other Bulgarians is important: He has relations to other Bulgarians in Spain to help each other when it’s necessary with e.g. money- and language problems. To have the same language and culture is important in this relation, “ he helps me, I help him, when you need money” B4: Right now she speaks a lot with her neighbors because it is close and because they are from the same country, “...I talk only to my neighbors because they live close and they know about my country ( She is living in the shelters that are hidden by the luxurious newly built apartments where the second observations took place and all of her neighbors are immigrant Bulgarians).”

Since, we believe, that the Bulgarians with sufficiently economy to cope with independent living do not share the same sense of group identification it might be possible to say that *group identification* and *self-interest* is directly linked to the prevailing economic situation and living standards and their and not per se their identity as a Bulgarian.

As mentioned, the Bulgarians living in Guardamar del Segura value the communication with their families in Bulgaria as very important, however since calling from Spain to Bulgaria is very expensive they can only call home as often as their economic situation allows them: ...When there is no problem I don’t call because the mobile always lacks saldo... it is expensive to call my country, very expensive. Interviewee B5 calls home to Bulgaria two – three times a week to his grandmother, friends mainly through Skype,” two or three times every week, I call my grandma, my friends. Through Skype. it is important to call home to my family in Bulgaria. Interviewee B6 says that” it is important to phone home to talk because it is family and he has not met them in over 10 years:”It’s my family, man”.

Interviewee B8 calls home whenever she wants because they have access to Internet and mobile phones. She thinks it’s important because she has family and friends back home in Bulgaria that she wants to stay in contact with, “Always, whenever we want because we have Internet now, we have movil and yeah. It is important because he (her husband) has his family there, and so do I, my grandma and grandpa and that’s why we

want to talk to them.” The value connotation and the sense of group identification as Bulgarian becomes stronger in times of crisis and overshadows the economic sacrifices it means to call home or obtain the mediums that it requires such as mobile phones (Tajfel, 1982:2).

### ***Native Spaniards***

Interesting patterns were to be found in the collected empirical data regarding the Group Identification of the Spaniards. The native Spaniards view regarding the Bulgarians was restrained and polite when they spoke from their personal, perspective however, their opinion became more open and honest when they spoke on behalf of their identity as Spaniards. It was then revealed that the Spaniards general opinion of the Bulgarians were that their presence and their need for help impacted on the Spaniards chance of employment, and that they receive more social help than the Spaniards do and thus that they are not welcome in Guardamar del Segura. Their opening up and revealing their actual opinion when speaking out on the basis of their group membership is a pattern of strong *Group Identification* and *Intergroup Behavior*. No Intergroup behavior can occur if there is no Outgroup; ‘them’ needs to exist in order for ‘us’ to exist (Tajfel, 1982:2).

Interviewee S2 says that in general the public opinion is bad: “They are bad”. “...In general people in Guardamar del Segura are negative about people from eastern Europe. The Bulgarians is viewed as a threat in the search for jobs.” They work for less money and that is a big problem. There are prejudices against Bulgarians in Guardamar del Segura, e.g. they don’t want them to be here, they are bad people, and they take our jobs. In general people in Guardamar del Segura are racists. In general they want Bulgarians to leave, interviewee S2 says. Interviewee S4 explains that he has a lot of heart and soul in his Castilian identity. He is a fighter he says. Interviewee S4 also believes his belonging to Castilian group will reward him with: “Money”. He consider group belonging is important to not feel alone. The reward of belonging to the Castilian group and sharing all their common believes is to find job. Although the situation right now is really bad and unemployment rates are high, interviewee S1 says that: “It’s important to know and communicate with other people to find work.”

The communication between Spaniards and Bulgarians is challenged by *Ingroup bias*, which according to Tajfel, must be understood in the light of people’s need to

categorize and confer identities of people in order to understand their social world e.g. Bulgarians has darker skin and they speak a different language. By categorizing immigrant Bulgarians as a different and separate group the Spaniards is also defining themselves which gives them a self-identity and a sense of belonging to the social world. The group in which Ethnic Spaniard categorized themselves is connected to their *self-identity* and their *self-interest* will be directly linked to the sense of group belonging. Thus social comparison with immigrant Bulgarians is vital and they must distinguish themselves as being superior to have a positive effect on the Ingroup *self-interest* (Tajfel et al., 1979:190).

Differential feelings towards the Outgroup is reflected in previous experiences, feelings and information that all leads to different measures where Ingroup bias is one, and since no forum really exist for describing and perceiving each other's world through verbal communication the current non-verbal communication between the *Intergroups* is a factor for Ingroup bias. On the other hand, *Ingroup bias* towards the Outgroup may not be the actual reason for the Spaniards reluctance to verbally communicate with the Bulgarians. Since previous experiences, feelings and information has not been shared, there is no chance to discover whether they like the *Outgroup* as much as the *Ingroup*, thus communication between the *groups* are impeded stereotyping and prejudices (Tajfel et al., 1979:189).

There exist an understanding and compassion from Spaniards for the Bulgarians reason to immigrate to Spain and they recognize the Bulgarian is—perseverance in their attempts integrating into Castilian society. Some of the Bulgarians try to find a new life and some don't, says S3. Those who are able to assimilate succeed to a greater extent. It is hard for the Bulgarians to change their culture because they have their customs and behaviors; claims S3 as an explanation to the current situation in Guardamar del Segura, “Their culture is difficult to change.”S4 believes that the Bulgarians are interested in integrating into the Castilian society and that it would be beneficial for all parts if the integration works well. He thinks that the Bulgarians are assimilating well, “if they (immigrant Bulgarians) are more integrated in the society it would be beneficial for all of us.” Both interviewee S2 and S4 believe that Bulgarians moved to in Spain to find better situations: Interviewee S2 believes that they come here for a better economic and political situation.”

## ***Ethnocentrism***

To understand Ingroup identification versus Outgroup identification and to understand a group's egocentric feelings, and their actions it is important to discuss *Ethnocentrism*. The conducted interviews made with the Spaniards demonstrate that there is no motivation to communicate with the Bulgarians other than within professional contexts. It is clear that their ethnocentrism contributes to a stronger Ingroup identity and to stronger conviction that the values, beliefs possessed by the Spaniards are correct and while the Bulgarian's differs in an undesirable way and hence communication with one's own group is preferred (Tajfel, 1982:8-9).

The current communication which majority is non-verbal communication occurs only when the Spaniards see the Bulgarians searching for food and metal in trash cans, and not when they are performing customary actions, values and beliefs, and in which conveys negative images of the Bulgarians. This is a fine example of dominant non-verbal communication which may enhance the plausible existing ethnocentrism of the Spaniards as they see Bulgarians behavior as unwanted. The Bulgarians are not welcome and that they are bad people. They are a threat in the employment market. It's the Bulgarians fault that Spaniards are without jobs, "a lot of Castilian people are unemployed due to them, due to them!"

It may not be surprising to discover that the Bulgarians considered their communication with the Spaniards to be friendly and warm since it is in their *self-interest* allowing them to improve their Castilian language skills and develop vaster networks which can increase their chances to employment. B6 says that he communicates with Castilian people when he and his Bulgarian friends search for metal in the street, "Always, we talk to Castilian people when we are searching for metal." More surprising is the opinion of the Spaniards who agree that the communication between them is characterized as being warm and friendly groups since Intergroups refers to a relationship. Despite, the Spaniards general stereotyping and prejudices. Prejudices can be explained through the need of social comparison; group identification and hence self-identity is created and maintained in comparison with the Outgroup where the comparison must be positive for members of the Ingroup to gain positive self-identity (Tajfel, 1982:2 & Hornsey, 2008:207). Since the verbal communications between the Intergroups are extremely limited the negative

non-verbal communication seems to enhance the group *identification* of the native Spaniards.

### **5.3.2 Intergroup Relations**

The most common answer for not communicating or having Castilian friends is, according to the Bulgarians, the high rate of unemployment. Interviewee B3 means that the key is to find a job and then things will be better: “If I get a job then things will be better and I will get respect from the Spaniards”. If he walks on the street every-day without a job people will say: “Look! what a piece of shit.” Interview B8 feels that because of her unemployment situation she doesn’t have the economy to do things and both are factors which makes it hard to assimilate, “when you don’t work you can’t do anything, when you don’t have money what can you do?”

According to Tajfel et al., Ingroup favoritism often derives from conflicting interests as in this case involves the hunt for employment in a Spain where work hardly exist and where the social help is perceived to benefit only members part of the Outgroup. The Ingroup favoritism found in Guardamar del Segura leads to stereotyping where the general mental image of the Spaniards regarding the Bulgarians are often that they just want to engage with their own people and everything is about them, “how can people then engage with them? “, says S2. The stereotyping is accompanied by prejudice that consists of unfavorable predispositions against members of the Outgroup (Tajfel, 1982:2). There is a general opinion in the society regarding the immigrant Bulgarians that both interviewee RC1 and RC2 agrees upon is not good and which is based on the Castilian not knowing them. Also, there are prejudices against Bulgarians like: that Bulgarians are bad people, “Worse than us” and “Trash”.

The existing and dominant non-verbal communication that occurs when the Spaniards sees the Bulgarians searching the trash for food or metal in garbage bins communicates an image of the Bulgarians to be bad people living of the trash they find in the street. The lack of verbal communication and the existing and dominant non-verbal communication contributes to further strengthen stereotyping and prejudices and thus the division between the two groups as the Spaniards wish to distinguish themselves even further from the Outgroup consisting of Bulgarians. As Björn Nilsson and Anna-Karin Waldemarson explains in their book

*Kommunikation: Samspel mellan människor* from 2010: Even when we think we are not communicating, in fact we are, and that could lead to a perception of aggressiveness, rudeness or even frightening to the receiver (Nilsson & Waldemarson, 2007:29, 34-35).

Interviewee B3 says:” of course, if you don’t know the Bulgarians and see them in the streets searching for garbage you will automatically think that people from Bulgaria are bad people”. As an example he says that if he has a job no one would care of his identity as a Bulgarian. But when he has no employment people in Spain might consider him as ‘the Bulgarian boy collecting metals on the street’. “There are people who say yes and there are people who says no, as I am looking for metal in the streets and they say look at that Bulgarian. If there was work they wouldn't say that but it doesn't so they say huh what is he doing?”

Communication can function as an engine to create peaceful *Intergroup relations* as communication creates understanding, but the problem is the lack of motivation from the Spaniards to communicate with the Bulgarians as they see no self-interest to do so. Self-interest is interlinked to Intergroup profit, thus the Ingroup difference from Outgroup must be in favor for the own group to gain, e.g. job self-interest, monetary self-interest, or increased self-esteem and which they do not find other than in the communication with their own Ingroup (Tajfel et al., 1979:187).

## **5.4 Summary**

### **5.4.1 Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)**

#### ***Verbal***

The Bulgarians would like to converge in their behavior towards the Spaniards more but cannot because of unemployment. Some of the Red cross members converge in their communication and some do not, due to interest of being understood. Elderly immigrant Bulgarians cannot speak Castilian, which is a problem in the daily communication in the Spanish society. Some of the Red Cross members diverge in communication by not adapting their communication towards the immigrant Bulgarians. the native Spaniards are not interested in speaking with immigrant Bulgarians unless there is a gain, such as employment. Some of the Red Cross members do use downward behavior when trying to accommodate Bulgarians to enable a better and understandable communication climate. The Spaniards under-accommodate Bulgarians to maintain a gap in the power relations.

#### ***non-verbal***

The Bulgarians wear different clothes, looks different and are forced to adopt survival strategies in the streets which keeps them separated from others in the society. This leads to a larger distance between the immigrant Bulgarians and the native Spaniards. In their work some of the Red Cross members accommodate the immigrant Bulgarians by changing behavior in their presence. In a large portion, the nonverbal communication leads towards a society where misunderstandings on daily basis are a factum. The large amount of divergence and low amount of convergence keeps people diverse.

## **5.4.2 Social Identity Theory (SIT)**

### ***Group Identification***

The immigrant Bulgarians in Guardamar del Segura are a strong group. Through our theories we have found that base their Group identity by having the same background, traditions and history. Also language is an important parameter in defining the group. Many Bulgarians also call home to keep in contact or to help their families and friends back home, which is a strong indicator of a Group identity. Since the financial crises and the immigrant Bulgarians situation are severe and acute, they have to help each other in order to survive, which enrich the group identity.

On the other hand side, the native Spaniards, as a majority group in Spain is a strong Ingroup since they share the same history and traditions, not to mention the language. Since the financial crises affected the native Spaniards too, the link and ties between native Spaniards becomes stronger during the crises.

### ***Intergroup Relations***

native Spaniards and immigrant Bulgarians living in Guardamar del Segura are separated by strong group identification and hence the communication is based on their group identity.

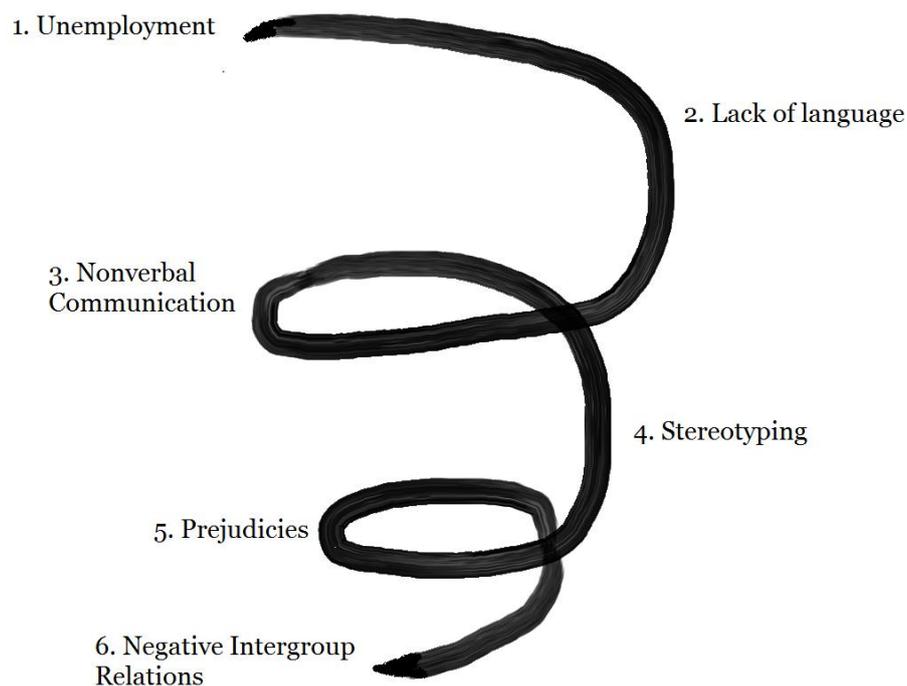
The existing and dominant non-verbal communication that occurs when the Spaniards sees the Bulgarians searching the trash for food or metal in garbage bins communicates an image of the Bulgarians to be bad people living of the trash they find in the street. The lack of verbal communication and the existing and dominant non-verbal communication contributes to further strengthen stereotyping and prejudices and thus the division between the two groups is enhanced.

Self-interest is interlinked to Intergroup profit, thus the dissimilarity between Ingroup vis à vis the Outgroup must be in favor for the own group to gain e.g. jobs self-interest, monetary self-interest, or increased self-esteem and which they do not find other than in the communication with their own Ingroup.

## 6. Conclusion

*In this chapter we will summarize our main finding in order to give a clear and concise picture of what our Bachelor Thesis contributed to, in regards to Intergroup communication. Furthermore we will also argue for our points of notice and recommend further research of importance.*

### 6.1 Conclusion



*Figure 5: 'The Spiral of Negative Intergroup Relations' developed by Carl Larsson and Isabell Sundman (2014).*

We want to connect our conclusion to the aim of the research and the first step is to return to the analysis through the spiral of negative Intergroup Relations (see figure 5) where our main conclusion is that 1, unemployment leads to lack of language which is communication noise between native Spaniards and immigrant Bulgarians. Due to low levels of verbal communication with each other, 3, non-verbal communication is present to a greater extent. This non-verbal communication is mostly leading to a negative, 4, stereotyping between immigrant Bulgarians and native Spaniards. The stereotypes of the immigrant Bulgarians is negative and thus results in, 5, prejudices. When the prejudices are negative as is the case in our research, it results in negative Intergroup Relations.

***How does the current communication pattern between native Spaniards and immigrant Bulgarians in Guardamar del Segura establish and maintain Intergroup relations?***

The current non-verbal communication (earlier explained in the analysis) is today the main medium of communication between native Spaniards and immigrant Bulgarians, hence it is what we consider to be the largest contributor to establish and to maintain Intergroup relations between native Spaniards and immigrant Bulgarians, and the relation is negative as it is infused by stereotyping and prejudices.

The immigrant Bulgarians are unaware of the prejudice that surrounds them. It may be possible that the immigrant Bulgarians are so segregated from the Castilian society that the prejudices aimed towards them doesn't even reach them or they may be in such position of dependence of the Castilian society in their quest for a better life that they have to ignore the prejudices attitudes.

From our empirical data we have acknowledged that the lack of work leads to segregation between the people living in Guardamar del Segura and reduces the chance to communicate with each other. To have a workplace to go to would give the individual meaning and motivation to communicate with the other Out group, and also, provide platforms for positive non-verbal and verbal communication. Since Spain is in a financial crisis and high rates of unemployment are a fact, the problem is both linked to socio-political sphere and thus more complex than just being linked to communication.

***What are the main challenges in the communication between native Spaniards and immigrant Bulgarians?***

In our analysis we mention that language is a component that leads to communication difficulties between native Spaniards and immigrant Bulgarians. We found that many of the observations and the interviewees had low contact and interaction in the daily life. It is through the verbal communication and language, that we can explain, share feelings and are able to function in society.

The CAT showed in numerous cases that high levels of *Divergence* and *Under-accommodation* will maintain a distance between immigrant Bulgarians and native Spaniards. This distance is based on a communication climate that is more nonverbal

than verbal. When interactions between Spaniards and Bulgarians is rare, non-verbal communication such as clothing, eye color and body language will become the major communicative linkage between the groups, and hence result in clashes of difference.

We see that there is a low interest to adapt to each other. From the Castilian side many of the interviewees had low interest in knowing the Bulgarians or to interact with them. Likewise from the Bulgarian side, many of our findings points in the same direction where it is interesting to learn the language only if there is an economic gain, something that can be strengthen by Giles et al., where economic and social approval encourage *Convergence* in higher grades. In the essence of the financial crises and unemployment, the Bulgarians are perhaps forcefully *Diverging* in the communication with the Spaniards (1991:20).

Since the financial crises the situation for many individuals in Spain has led to high unemployment rates, mentioned in the introduction (Chapter 1). Here we can see that with no jobs, communication also suffers between groups and individuals in a society, something that will lead to *Divergence* and *Maintenance* in the communication accommodation.

### ***What is the outcome of the communication between native Spaniards and immigrant Bulgarians in Guardamar del Segura?***

As the bridge between Castilian society and people in need such as the immigrants (the Bulgarians in our study) in Guardamar del Segura, the Red Cross is undoubtedly working extensively to keep all people in the Castilian society by providing help with food, living and other necessary elements in people's lives. However, no one of the members at the Red Cross had an interest in engaging with the Bulgarians. Moreover, only one out of three changed his/her behavior to accommodate the communication even though clearly the language barriers were high.

Through CAT, we can see that *Divergence* once again is high and maintaining differences between Red Cross members and the immigrant Bulgarians. Here, a *Convergence* behavior like one of the Red Cross members used could ease the gap in the communication.

We would also emphasize the important link that the Red Cross Spain Guardamar del Segura has, in regards to the occurrence of prejudices and stereotyping. Without their

help, the situation in Spain would have been much worse. Their programs and experiences from the field will play a major role in the communication between groups in the Castilian society.

In the beginning of this study we reflect over Intergroups, conflicts and crises. As part of the deeper analysis of this thesis, we have found that lack of communication and positive Intergroup relations leads to a divided society. With the history of elimination of the Jews during World War II and the Genocide in Rwanda, where specific ethnic groups in the society are blamed and accused of causing problems, the same pattern is repeating itself. As Markova mentions, the Bulgarians are blamed for 'taking our jobs' and 'it is their fault that Castilian people are without employment', when they in fact, are victims of prejudice and stereotyping that derives out of negative Intergroup relations (2006:11).

## **6.2 Feedback on Previous Research**

Paul A. Silverstein mentions that being a foreigner or outsider is a systematical issue that can be both negative and positive. We believe, in this thesis that most immigrant Bulgarians that we have interviewed and observed are outsiders and not integrated in the Castilian society. They are also blamed for being a problem, while researchers have found proof of Bulgarians being paid 40 percent lower wages compared to native Spaniards (Markova, 2006:2). As a coin has two sides, the Bulgarians are welcome to do the 'dirty' job - while on the other side - they are the villain who destroys the society (Silverstein, 2005:377).

One of the ethical problems we found with our research is linked to the fact that some of the interviewees found the study of no value and thus did not participate. They did not like that the study was strictly theoretical and not helping the people taking part in the research. This is a good reminder of the different interests involved in research. For us as researchers, we see the data as main importance, while those without water, food and roof over the head have another agenda.

We have seen that the theories of CAT and SIT have worked well together; this shows once again that the theories are open and applicable to other theories.

The main context that we work within is the inter-ethnic perspective. Something that has been tried before through the history. In this study this approach has worked well. Our objectives and questions are answered with the theories as good frames.

Out of many parameters, such as culture, economy, gender, history, many conclusions are possible to make. We believe that if people have the right reasons to communicate - they will. As a provider of this, the Castilian state and E.U. could build up greater programs and incentives to build up, e.g. language learning and intercultural programs in the school of the young, so that the next generation will learn and create an understanding of us people being different.

### **6.3 Further Conclusion and Suggestions for Further Research**

We have seen that different cultures, history and language play a major role in Intergroups relations. We can also see that when societies bloom and the economy is strong, employment leads to adoption of language and cultural manners. Hence it would be interesting to see further research in the field of economy and communication, power of balance; gender, or social status.

one of our suggestions is to examine how Intercultural Communication could be applied within the context we have studied and how it can promote positive communication. As our research has reached the conclusion that there is an existing communication problem which leads to negative Intergroup relations further studies could serve to focus to find solutions to specific intercultural communication that could facilitate to create peaceful and positive Intergroup relations. A possible field study could be to explore those areas where actually foreigners in Spain learn to speak Castilian and compare those contexts towards contexts where foreigners are left out from the society with low levels of Castilian. This could be interesting since the outcome could answer if the language is an issue inside the field of communication or if there are other issues to address in addition.

We all are familiar with media's influence in shaping people's opinions regarding social matters and the power they possess when they are working together. Thus it would be interesting to conduct a quantitative analysis to see of how often the Castilian media reports on immigrant Bulgarians and how often they are being portrayed from a negative angle versus a positive angle. In the calculation the most

popular (as in the media which reaches out to most Spaniards) and influential media in Guardamar del Segura is included while the rest of the media generating residual would be excluded. The research would then continue by conducting semiotic analysis of the text content which the media features associated with reports of immigrant Bulgarians in Guardamar del Segura. The result from the quantitative analysis and the semiotic analysis could together establish the underlying conventions, identifying significant differences and oppositions in an attempt to model the system of categories, syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations, connotations, distinctions and hence serve to understand the media's influence in creating group identifications, us and them, and further see what effect it has on the creation of Intergroup relations. A media analysis could contribute to enhancing our understanding of Intergroup relationships.

As we have walked through the process of making this study, we have noted that economy and employment is important for positive Intergroup relations. Therefore we call for others to continue studies on how employment or contributions to a society can be a positive factor in developing a nation that is inclusive and tolerant.

An interesting research approach could be a comparative study of how communication between native Spaniards and the accepted Outgroups occurs, how it establish and maintain peaceful Intergroup relations. This could be compared with the results of our research of how current communication between Spaniards and Bulgarians contribute towards establishing and maintaining Intergroup relations that lacks those components. The research would serve to determine the answer of our thesis which is; the reason for lack of communication between Spaniards and the Bulgarians is competition for work and the Bulgarians dependence of the Castilian society.

*“No one is born hating another person because of the color of his skin, or his background, or his religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite.”*

- The late Nelson Mandela

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## **Appendix**

### **Interview Template for the Bulgarians (10-11.04.2014)**

#### **Soft Questions**

1. Age.
2. Gender.
3. Occupation.
4. Education
5. Origin.
6. Length of stay in Guardamar del Segura.
7. Where and how did you learn Castilian?
8. How are your living conditions?
9. In addition to the Red-cross do you receive any other help with (housing, food, water, electricity)?
10. How do you find Spain? What is good and what is bad?
11. Why did you migrate to Spain?
12. Do you feel that the Castilian society is welcoming you?
13. Do you have any Castilian friends?
14. What are your overall feelings in regards of the Castilian people?

#### **Communication Questions**

1. Where in everyday life in Guardamar del Segura do you communicate with Spaniards?
1. In what situations do you communicate with Spaniards?
1. Do you find it easy or hard to communicate with Castilian people?
1. In your majority of the communication with Spaniards is it directly or through others?
1. How often do you communicate with your friends and relatives back home in Bulgaria?
1. Is this communication with your friends and relatives back home important to you? Why is it important to you?
1. When communicating with Spaniards, do you feel that your language, tone and body language changes? Why do you think that is and how does it make you feel?
1. When interacting with Spaniards, do you feel comfortable? Why or why not?
1. Do you feel vulnerable when communicating with Castilian people, institutions, organizations etc.?
1. In the communication with Spaniards do you feel welcome or rejected?
1. Do you feel motivated to create relations with the Castilian language and culture?
1. Have you as a Bulgarian experienced prejudices and discrimination during your time living in Spain?

## Identity Questions

1. Do you have strong connections with other Bulgarians?  
What is the reason for that (same language, history, rituals, etc.)?
1. Is there any events created to make you feel welcome into the society in Guardamar del Segura? In what situations does such event occur?
1. Do you feel that you can communicate yourself/ your identity when you speak with Castilian people or do you feel like you become another person?
1. As a Bulgarian, do you feel respected in the Castilian society? Why?
1. Do you feel like you have to change who you are in order to assimilate to the society of Guardamar del Segura?
1. How do you identify yourself as a person?
1. What does it mean to you being a member of a group which consists of other Bulgarians?
1. What does your group of belonging reward you with?
1. Since your arrival in Spain do you feel that you have multiple identities? How does it make you feel?
1. As a group what does Bulgarians think of Spaniards?
1. Is your social status affecting you in your assimilation in Spain?
1. What are the biggest-vs.-smallest similarities between Bulgarians and Spaniards?
1. Is your identity stronger as a person compared to your group identity? Which is the group?
1. Is motivation in life your own life or the life of your family?

# **Plantilla Entrevista para los búlgaros (2014.04.10-11)**

## **Preguntas suaves**

1. Edad.
2. Sexo.
3. Ocupación.
4. Educación.
5. País de origen.
6. Duración de la estancia en Guardamar del Segura.
7. ¿Dónde y cómo ha usted aprendido español?
8. ¿Cómo es su condición de vida/vivienda?
9. ¿En adición de la Cruz Roja, recibe usted cualquier otro tipo de ayuda (la vivienda, la alimentación, el agua, la electricidad)?
10. ¿Qué te parece España? ¿Qué es lo que usted encuentra bueno y malo aquí en España?
11. ¿Por qué ha migrado a España?
12. ¿Usted se siente acogido/bienvenido en la sociedad española?
13. ¿Tiene usted amigos españoles?
14. ¿Cuál es su impresión general de España?

## **Preguntas de Comunicación**

1. ¿Cuándo en la vida diaria en Guardamar del Segura se comunica con los españoles?
1. ¿En qué situaciones se comunica con los españoles?
1. ¿Le resulta fácil o difícil comunicarse con los españoles?
1. ¿En su mayor parte de la comunicación con los españoles usted se comunica directamente o a través otras personas?
1. ¿Con qué frecuencia se comunica con amigos y familiares en su casa en Bulgaria?
1. ¿Es la comunicación con amigos y familiares en casa importante para usted? ¿Y por qué cree que es importante?
1. Al comunicarse con los españoles, ¿Usted se siente que cambie el lenguaje, el tono y el lenguaje corporal? ¿por qué lo hace y cómo se hace sentir?
1. Al interactuar con los españoles, ¿se siente cómodo? ¿Por qué o por qué no?
1. En la comunicación, ¿siente amenazado por: el pueblo español, las instituciones, las organizaciones?
1. En la comunicación con los españoles ¿se siente bienvenido o rechazado?
1. ¿Usted se siente motivado para crear relaciones con el idioma y la cultura española?
1. Siendo búlgaro como usted, ¿ha tenido experiencias prejuiciadas y de discriminación?

## Cuestiones de identidad

1. ¿Usted tiene relaciones fuertes con otros búlgaros? Si es así, ¿por qué es esto así? ¿mismo idioma, historia, rituales, etc.?
1. ¿Hay eventos creados para que usted se sienta como en casa en la sociedad en Guardamar del Segura? Si es así, ¿en qué situaciones ocurre esto?
1. ¿Cree usted que es posible comunicarse a sí mismo cuando habla con españoles o se siente como otra persona?
1. Usted siendo búlgaro, ¿se siente respetado en la sociedad española y cuál es la razón de esto?
1. ¿Usted se siente como tiene que cambiarse para poder asimilarse a la sociedad de Guardamar?
1. ¿Cómo se identifica a sí mismo como persona?
1. ¿Siendo parte de un grupo de personas búlgaros, que significa esto para usted?
1. ¿Este grupo, que le recompensa?
1. ¿Usted siente que tiene múltiples identidades y si es así? ¿Cómo te hace sentir?
1. Como grupo ¿qué piensan los búlgaros de los españoles?
1. ¿Cree usted que su estatus social afecta su asimilación en España?
1. ¿Cuáles son las igualdades y diferencias, más grandes contra más pequeñas, entre búlgaros y españoles?
1. ¿Es su identidad más fuerte como persona en comparación con su identidad de grupo? ¿Cuál es el grupo?
1. ¿Es la motivación en la vida de su propia vida o la vida de su familia?

# **Interview Template for the Spaniards (14-15.04.2014)**

## **Soft questions**

1. Age.
2. Gender.
3. Occupation.
4. Education.
5. Length of stay in Guardamar del Segura.
6. How are your living conditions?
7. How is the current situation in Spain, work etc.?
8. How has the situation affected your life?
9. Do you consider EU's system of open borders being something positive or negative? Why?
10. Do you have Bulgarian Friends?
11. What do you think the Bulgarian's main reason for migrating to Spain is?

## **Communication Question**

1. Is it easy to identify a person with Bulgarian heritage by first glance?
1. What does signify a Bulgarian?
1. How can you identify a Bulgarian from another immigrant?
1. Do you communicate with the Bulgarians?
1. How frequently do you communicate with the Bulgarians?
1. Where in everyday life do you communicate with the Bulgarians?
1. Do you change your pace, body language or your tone of voice when you communicate with the Bulgarians?
1. Do you consider it easy to communicate with the Bulgarians?
1. What are the biggest difficulties in communicating with the Bulgarians?
1. Do you have any interest or motivation to integrate with the Bulgarians?
1. Is the communication with the Bulgarians friendly and open?
1. Is there one group of immigrants living in Guardamar del Segura that you prefer to communicate with over others?

## **Identity Questions**

1. What is your opinion regarding the Bulgarians in Guardamar del Segura?
1. What is the general opinion in Guardamar del Segura regarding the Bulgarians?
1. Do you think that the Bulgarians are trying to assimilate themselves in Guardamar del Segura, learn the language, understand the culture etc.?
1. Do you know or are you involved in events or attempts which aim to make the Bulgarians feel welcome into the society?
1. What are the biggest-vs.-smallest similarities between Bulgarians and Spaniards?
1. Are you aware of any prejudiced aimed towards the Bulgarians?
1. Do you consider the Bulgarians to be threat in the search for work?
1. Is your identity as a person stronger compared to your group identity? Which is the group?
1. What does your group belonging reward you with?

1. Is it important to feel group belonging?

## **Red Cross Questions**

1. How are the living conditions of the Bulgarians?
1. How frequently do you meet up with the Bulgarians?
1. How do you consider the communication between Spaniards and Bulgarians?
1. What are the biggest communication issues with the Bulgarians?
1. Does the Red Cross create assimilations possibilities for the Bulgarians?
1. How is the Red Cross helping the Bulgarians?
1. Do you think the Bulgarians identify you as a Spaniard or a Red Cross help-worker?
1. Do you believe that your communication as a help-worker from Red Cross differs in comparison with a normal Spaniard?
1. Do you believe that your role as a member of the Red Cross gives you a certain authority of the Bulgarians?

## **Plantilla entrevista para los españoles (2014.04.14-15)**

1. Edad.
2. Sexo.
3. Ocupación.
4. Educación.
5. Duración de la estancia en Guardamar del Segura?
6. ¿Cómo son sus condiciones de vida?
7. ¿Cómo es la situación actual en España, el trabajo, etc?
8. ¿Cómo ha afectado la situación de tu vida?
9. ¿Usted considera el sistema de fronteras abiertas de la UE es algo positivo o negativo?  
¿Por qué?
10. ¿Usted tiene amigos búlgaros?
11. ¿Qué cree usted es la razón principal para búlgaros de migrar a España?

### **Comunicación**

1. ¿Es fácil identificar a una persona con patrimonio búlgaro por primera vista?
1. ¿Qué significa un búlgaro?
1. ¿Cómo se puede identificar a un búlgaro de otros inmigrantes?
1. ¿Usted comunica con los búlgaros?
1. ¿Con qué frecuencia comunica usted con los búlgaros?
1. Cuando en la vida diaria comunica usted con los búlgaros?
1. ¿Cambia usted su paso, el lenguaje corporal o el tono de voz cuando se comunica con los búlgaros?
1. ¿Usted cree que es fácil comunicarse con los búlgaros?
1. ¿Cuáles son las dificultades mayores de la comunicación con los búlgaros?
1. ¿Tiene usted algún interés o motivación de integrarse con los búlgaros?
1. ¿Es la comunicación con los búlgaros amable y abierta?
1. ¿Hay un grupo de inmigrantes que viven en Guardamar del Segura que usted prefiere comunicarse con sobre los demás?

### **Identidad**

1. ¿Cuál es su opinión con respecto a los búlgaros en Guardamar del Segura?
1. ¿Cuál es la opinión general en Guardamar del Segura con respecto a los búlgaros?
1. ¿Cree usted que los búlgaros están tratando de asimilarse en Guardamar del Segura, aprender el idioma, entender la cultura, etc.?
1. ¿Sabe usted o está usted dedicado en los intentos que tienen objetivo de hacer los búlgaros sentirse bienvenidos en la sociedad?
1. ¿Cuáles son las similitudes más grandes contra más pequeños entre los búlgaros y españoles?
1. ¿Sabe usted de cualquier prejuiciosa dirigido hacia los búlgaros?
1. ¿Se considera a los búlgaros una amenaza en la búsqueda de trabajo?
1. ¿Piensa usted que su identidad como persona es más fuerte en comparación con su identidad de grupo? ¿Cuál es el grupo?
1. ¿Qué hace su grupo de pertenencia que te recompensará con?
1. ¿Es importante sentir pertenencia a un grupo?

## **Cruz Roja**

1. ¿Cómo son las condiciones de vida de los búlgaros?
1. ¿Con qué frecuencia te encuentras con los búlgaros?
1. ¿Cómo considera usted la comunicación entre los españoles y los búlgaros?
1. ¿Cuáles son los mayores problemas de comunicación con los búlgaros?
1. ¿Crea la Cruz Roja posibilidades de asimilación para los búlgaros?
1. ¿Cómo está ayudando la Cruz Roja a los búlgaros?
1. ¿Cree usted que los búlgaros identifica a usted a un español o un trabajador de la Cruz Roja?
1. ¿Cree usted que su comunicación como una ayuda de trabajo de la Cruz Roja es diferente en comparación con un español normal?
1. ¿Usted cree que su papel como miembro de la Cruz Roja le da una cierta autoridad entre los búlgaros?