



# Language Policies, Ideologies, and Attitudes, Part 2: International Immigration, Globalization and the Future of Catalan

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## Abstract

This, the second of two articles on Catalan language policies and their sociolinguistic effects, reviews research related to the current policy called the *Pla per la Llengua i la Cohesió Social* (Plan for Language and Social Cohesion) inaugurated in 2004. The Plan addresses a situation in which Catalan is stable demolingually but in which globalization and international immigration are seen as long-term threats to the language's vitality. In addition, language planners were and remain concerned with preserving social cohesion in a much more linguistically and culturally diverse society.

We show that this policy builds on and maintains the infrastructure of the prior Normalization policy discussed in Part 1. Nevertheless, it presents a late modern ethos in favor of societal multilingualism that transcends the position in favor of bilingualism aimed for by Normalization. We argue that research on Catalan society's response to this policy shows some difficulties with implementation and a continuing preoccupation with traditional essentialist ethnolinguistic concerns by some Catalonians. However, we also find that this late modern ethos of multilingualism is assumed by large segments of Catalan society as a representing forward-looking desirable cosmopolitan identity. The article ends with an overview of how recent political developments in relation to Catalonia's political status are linked to language policy and use.

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## 1. Introduction

This is the second of two articles reviewing research on Catalan language policies, their social and historical contexts, and their potential impact. Part 1 centered on the 1983 policy called *Normalització Lingüística* (*Linguistic Normalization*) slightly revised in 1998. This part reviews research surrounding the current policy called *Pla per la Llengua i la Cohesió Social* (*Plan for Language and Social Cohesion*, hereafter the *Plan*) inaugurated in 2004.

Briefly, Normalization was designed to help revitalize Catalan in a context of societal bilingualism after centuries of decline broken by shorter periods of revival. The project of bilingualism was in good part a compromise between incompatible Catalan and Spanish monolingual goals imagined to be held by different social actors. As such, it rested on the planners' high modern views that languages are 'fundamental component[s] of personal and group identities and ... clearly bounded objects separate from one another' (Pujolar and Gonzalez 2013: 138). Yet researchers beginning with Boix (1993) reveal a more sophisticated bottom-up response. Language choice was often seen by everyday Catalonians not so much as between the two languages as whether, how, when, and why to be bilingual. In other words, many ordinary Catalonians did not actually subscribe to monolingual ideals. The Plan begins, interestingly enough, by assuming this more late modern perspective but in the context of relative stability in the linguistic vitality of Catalan but now perceived to be threatened by enormous socioeconomic and demographic changes.

## 2. *Research on Language Policy: Motives, Concepts, and Implementation of the Plan for Language and Social Cohesion*

Spain came late to globalization and post-industrial prosperity, but once there, the arrival of international immigrants – often unaware of local sociopolitical issues (Marshall 2012) – was substantial and rapid (Alarcón and Garzón 2013, Fernández-Huertas Moraga and Ferrer i Carbonell, forthcoming : 4). Whereas it took Europe around 45 years to arrive at a 10% immigration level, Catalonia's immigrant population went from 2.8% in 1995 to 14.7% in 2007, 17% of the adult population according to (Alarcón and Garzón 2013). At least one prominent Catalan sociolinguist sees this demographic change as a serious challenge.

Immigration can have a potentially detrimental effect from the standpoint of language and identity, especially in societies that are not very large demographically and speak languages that are not widespread. (Bastardas-Boada 2012: 98)

Bastardas-Boada goes on to argue that the goal for language planning consequently needs to be stable multilingualism with a clear role for Catalan. Other researchers point to two barriers to immigrants' acquisition of this language. First, immigrants tend to settle in mainly Spanish-dominant neighborhoods (Huguet and Janés 2008), which limits their exposure to Catalan. Second, Catalans tend to accommodate to Spanish whenever speaking with those sometimes mistakenly perceived – based on presence of L2 features or even physical appearance such as visible minorities as non-proficient Catalan-speaking (Woolard 1989, Galindo i Solé 2008, Boix 1993, Codó 2008, Boix-Fuster 2012, Marshall 2012, Pujolar and Gonzalez 2013, Alarcón and Garzón 2013). This use of Catalan as 'we code' (Codó 2008: 189) can suggest to immigrants that the language is not needed or even desired for them. These two factors can augment pre-existing preferences for international languages (Woolard 2008, Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009). Latin Americans appear particularly prone to this view (Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009, Huguet and Janés 2008, Alarcón and Garzón 2013).

The Plan responds by envisioning Catalan as 'the backbone of a multilingual educational project and an intercultural educational model which aims at social cohesion' (Generalitat de Catalunya 2009: 4). As such, it assumes a youth focus and a late modern ethos by appealing to a universal cosmopolitanism in place of traditional ethnonationalism (Woolard and Frekko 2013). The institutional slogan *Català, una llengua comuna* ('Catalan, common language') stresses the social opportunities that knowledge of Catalan may offer and avoids identity issues 'probably because identity in Catalonia is in evolution and reconstruction' (Riera Gil 2013: 161).

In terms of infrastructure, the Plan does not displace but builds on Normalization by adding two socializing elements (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004). The first includes educational *reception* mechanisms aimed at the more than 13% of students under 16 who enter schools upon arrival from another country. The core element here is the *Aula d'Accollida* (AA, from now on), 'Reception Class,' added to the pre-existing asymmetric (i.e., favoring Catalan in the school) bilingual model (see Part 1). AA priorities include (a) linguistic immersion, (b) social integration, (c) the development of oral competence, and (d) personalized attention leading to positive emotional relationships with teachers as local linguistic and cultural models. AAs are conceptualized as 'open' or 'semi-open' resources not limited to one classroom. From day one in school, newcomers are integrated into the regular classroom with other classmates in all subjects, in the case of open AAs, or in most of them in semi-open AAs (Trenchs-Parera and Patiño-Santos 2013).

Nussbaum and Unamuno (2006), Trenchs-Parera and Patiño-Santos (2013) and Newman, Patiño-Santos and Trenchs-Parera (2013) have identified a number of challenges to this effort. Some arise from ethnocentric attitudes. For example, AAs are sometimes located in isolated

areas of schools in barely reconverted classrooms, an evident sign of marginalization. Also, many autochthonous parents avoid schools that are seen as too heavily immigrant. Furthermore, there are systemic problems resulting from contradictions between the goals of promoting social integration and providing effective Catalan language instruction. Students are supposed to leave the AA when they reach only a high beginning level in Catalan and at most after 2 years to prevent a segregated immigrant-only educational system. Yet these guidelines grossly underestimate students' needs for academic success in a new language (Collier 1989). Another deficiency is that mainstream and even AA teachers are often given only minimal training for teaching students with developing Catalan skills, far less than the training for English teachers, for example. As a result, the very reception mechanisms the Plan creates can restrict Catalan to the classroom, entangle educational orientation with language attitudes, and limit immigrants' educational attainment.

Yet Arnau, de Aysa and Jarque (2013), Trenchs-Parera and Patiño-Santos (2013), and Newman, Patiño-Santos and Trenchs-Parera (2013) have found that those challenges have sometimes been met by bottom-up teacher initiatives. Some teachers have essentially reinvented Content Language Integrated Instruction (CLIL) without any actual training in this highly regarded approach. Others have immersed themselves in the study of the language and culture of their immigrant students on their own time and without external support. Some teachers have found ways to provide newcomers with academic support beyond the 2-year limitation of the AA and others, following institutional guidelines, have brought the languages of immigrant families into the school.<sup>1</sup> These innovations, all pointing at open AAs as the best fit, have spread through professional networks and thus have become increasingly common.

For adults, education infrastructure aiming at immigrants' social and linguistic integration has also been built on prior framework of Catalan classes for Spanish speakers from elsewhere in Spain (Arnau and Vila-i-Moreno 2013).<sup>2</sup> These classes are part of a community-wide infrastructure promoting language socialization including the following:

- Voluntary activities such as *Parelles Lingüístiques* 'Language Partners', (more than 10,000 in 2014).
- *Plans d'entorn* – literally, community plans – projects that link schools with their neighborhoods.
- The *Voluntariat per la Llengua*, 'Language Volunteer Corps', which aims to improve the language skills of immigrants and reduce text locals' tendency to use predominantly Spanish with them.
- Institutional campaigns as *Dóna corda al català* ('Wind [your] Catalan up') in 2005 or *Encomana el català* ('Pass Catalan on') in 2009, which encourage the use of Catalan in interpersonal exchanges (Marshall 2012).

Elsewhere, institutional responses to immigrant language issues have been more haphazard. Moyer (2011) and Moyer and Martín-Rojo (2007) discuss multilingualism in a public health clinic. Clinic management imposed top-down measures that often marginalized immigrant patients' actual languages and linguistic practices, and bottom-up initiatives to improve communication with them were not always welcomed. Moyer reports that multilingual signs made by a health worker were removed and the worker reprimanded. The motive was fear that the signs might discomfort autochthonous patients and give the impression that the clinic serves a largely immigrant population. Codó (2008) discusses even less Catalan use in an immigration office since there the language was primarily limited to in-group communication among native Catalan staff.

A second thrust of current Catalan language policy responds to globalization: an increase in third language instruction by adding CLIL to the traditional Foreign Language curricula. This

is part of a general move to language teaching strategies aligned with recommendations favoring free circulation of EU citizens (Pérez-Vidal and Juan-Garau 2011). The largest component is, in effect, an increase in the presence of English in primary schools, secondary schools, and higher education.

Promoting a local language like Catalan alongside the ultimate global one, English, may be seen as pursuing ‘(apparently) opposing’ objectives (Escobar Urmeneta and Unamuno 2008). However, there does not appear to be much opposition despite some concern about domination by supposed ‘Anglo-Saxon’ cultural values (discussed by Vila 2013). Moreover, Ramírez and Serra (2013) show that at the end of primary schooling, students at schools with Catalan, English, and Spanish as languages of instruction have better results in the acquisition of all three languages than traditional schools holding socioeconomic status constant.

The economic crisis that began in 2008 thwarted many government plans and lowered expectations. However, the Catalan Education Department has maintained some foreign language and CLIL training for teachers. The Generalitat (i.e., the Catalan Autonomous Government) is also promoting new university B.A. degrees for pre-service teachers taught entirely in English and has made a high-beginning level in English, French, German, or Italian compulsory for all university bachelor degrees. Aware of the importance of this trend, many schools have increased the number of classes taught in English as a strategy to attract students.

### 3. Sociolinguistic Context and Impacts: Research on Language Attitudes, Ideologies, and Behaviors

A manifestation of the late modern nature of the Catalonian sociolinguistic situation is how frequently the notion of cosmopolitanism – a reformulation of the interrelated concepts of language, nation, and identity (Woolard and Frekko 2013) – has come up. Trenchs-Parera and Newman (2009) note that more cosmopolitan-minded locals are more accepting of newcomers. Cosmopolitanism is also associated with the valorization and commodification of Catalan. For example, cosmopolitan attitudes have been observed in groups ranging from autochthonous youths to adult new speakers who may learn Catalan for pragmatic professional reasons or personal fulfillment (Frekko 2013, Soler 2013). For many immigrants, cosmopolitan stances are solutions for unease with traditional nationalist political rhetoric in Catalonia (Corona et al. 2013, Newman, Patiño-Santos and Trenchs-Parera 2013, Pujolar and González 2013, Woolard 2013). Woolard and Frekko (2013) argue that, even for natives, Catalan identity is becoming divested from its ethnic core, which ‘is replaced with a “civic” identity that marshals Catalan as a resource for constructing cosmopolitan selves’. Pujolar and González (2013) relatedly observe that the language is undergoing a process of ‘de-ethnicization’ and of relaxation of what are considered its authentic features.

This is not to say that ethnonationalist strictures have vanished. Recently, Vidal (2014) – a Catalan journalist – created a minor media storm with a jeremiad against Spanish contact features titled *El Bilingüisme Mata (Bilingualism Kills)*. Less strident media voices – (Gomà 2015; Pla Nualart, 2015) – are arguing that the survival of Catalan necessarily calls for a ‘21st-century Catalan’ that *everyone in Catalonia* can identify with (ARA, 2015: 3). By this, they mean essentially a loosening of prescriptive strictures, avoidance of archaisms, and acceptance of lower registers. Yet, even for these writers, a strain of purism continues with reference to Spanish contact effects:

Interference [with Spanish] will always be a more fearful and powerful enemy than an outdated norm. However, being permissive with a *Catanyol* that invalidates Catalan as a sign of identity is as lethal for the future of the language as falling for a cleansing maximalism that leads to a fake, Latin-like and elitist Catalan. (Pla Nualart 2015: 4)

Immigration has indeed increased the presence of syncretic repertoires, which have been traditionally circumscribed primarily to various contextualization cues keyed to performing roles (Woolard 1998, Vann 2007). Marshall (2009) and Corona et al. (2012, 2013) show the incorporation of Catalan lexicon into a mixed variety of Spanish as a way of ‘performing the identity of “a Latino in Barcelona”’ (Corona et al: 2013:8). A related example of decoupling of fixed social identities and language use is the association of language code with context. Nussbaum and Unamuno (2006) and Unamuno and Patiño-Santos (2009) examine schools with student bodies of local Spanish and Latin American origins, and they point to the following patterns of predominant linguistic use:

- Peninsular (i.e., from Spain) Spanish and Latin American language practices dominate the neighborhood.
- Catalan dominates academics.
- Both Catalan and Spanish appear variably with local peers and teachers in other school spaces such as the schoolyard, hallways, or study rooms.

Ongoing research by the second author and Victor Corona is showing a wide variability in the kind of Spanish used by younger-arrived Generation 1.5 Latino immigrants. Some are dialectally indistinguishable from locally born youths, whereas others maintain intact home-country varieties even when brought to Catalonia at very young ages. Still others show the mixed pattern discussed by Corona et al. These authors also show enforcement of Peninsular norms against Latin American Spanish by teachers, although this neo-colonial prescriptivism is perhaps less pervasive than what Patiño-Santos (2008) found in Madrid schools.

Attitudes regarding Catalan among Latinos appear paradoxical. Overall they express negative opinions more than any other group (Huguet and Janés 2008, Newman, Trenchs-Parera and Ng 2008). Yet those negative feelings do not appear as tied to identity as with those autochthonous youth who reject Catalan. That minority sector of Spanish-background youths seems far more locked into an older ethnolinguistic binary than Latin Americans do, although a larger proportion of that group expresses negative opinions towards that language.

As for immigrants from non-Spanish speaking origins, Trenchs-Parera (2013), Trenchs Parera, Larrea Mendizabal and Newman (2014), and Trenchs Parera and Tristán Jiménez (2014) find flexible multilingual abilities put into practice daily among adolescents but little linguistic hybridity. In self-reports, Chinese participants describe a highly compartmentalized multilingualism: (a) Mandarin and vernacular Chinese varieties are used at home and in family-run businesses, (b) Catalan dominates in academic settings, and (c) Spanish predominates in peer social communication and with customers in family-owned businesses. However, observations and interviews with parents and teachers paint a different picture. Catalan appears in interactions between young relatives, with local friends and in institutional settings when students act as language brokers. Korean and Japanese show up in popular culture, and English can appear inside and outside the school when command of Catalan and Spanish fails (see also analysis of this phenomenon in other contexts by Codó 2008 and Moyer 2011).

While flexible multilingualism has become newcomers’ normal practice in secondary schools, recent research is tracing significant age-graded changes in autochthonous children’s language preferences particularly with the onset of adolescence (Bretxa i Riera 2014, Rosselló i Peralta and Ginebra Domingo 2015). Both studies find that initially Catalan dominant children tend to become increasingly bilingual, and those who began bilingual or acquired Catalan in early schooling move toward more exclusive use of Spanish. These changes are greater in media consumption and interactions with teachers but less noticeable in peer and family interactions. Catalan, as the language of instruction, seems to have a very feeble influence in the

development of linguistic practices between peers with the same predominant language. Nevertheless, this pattern may reverse itself in adulthood. Woolard (2011) found increasing use of and identification with Catalan among some adult participants who had rejected the language as teenagers.

As for adult immigrants, studies by Vila and Salvat, eds., (2013), Sabaté i Dalmau (2014), Estors (2014), and Larrea Mendizabal (in progress) coincide on the importance of social networking with locals in the development of positive attitudes towards Catalan. Estors studied students in Catalan classes from several language backgrounds. She found that 73 out of her 76 participants expressed positive attitudes towards Catalan, hardly surprising given the self-selection. However, a few saw it as an imposition from the Generalitat. Curiously, 80% of Chinese participants acknowledged that their parents did not understand their desire to improve their Catalan instead of Spanish, although generally, this group attached instrumental value to both languages and would study both simultaneously if possible. Estors also found that Arabs and Pakistanis, who come from bilingual or multilingual countries, tend to identify symbolically with the Catalan language, especially Tamazight speakers, although many learn Spanish first. In general, immigrants expressed surprise at the fact that Catalan-speaking locals would use Spanish with them and felt this behavior impeded their progress. Alarcón and Garzón's (2013: 106) Moroccan participants felt similarly, and in addition expressed the belief that knowing Catalan opened many doors because it was the sign of successful integration. Yet they add:

Locals have yet to assume the bilingualism of second generation Moroccan migrants. Locals single out people of immigrant origin who speak Catalan, even though education should make bilingualism the norm in the second generation. Therefore, second generation Moroccan immigrants suffer a lack of recognition of their identity as Catalans.

The latest language use survey from 2013 (Generalitat de Catalunya 2014) shows that, despite the demographic changes in Catalonia's population in the last decade, the maintenance of Catalan remains stable. Out of the more than 7.5 million inhabitants in Catalonia, more than three million report speaking the language even if it is not their L1. What is most interesting is that there is a higher number of people for whom Catalan is the 'language of identification' (36.4%) than those who consider it their L1 (31.0%). Also, the percentage of people who identify with both Catalan and Spanish (7.0%) is higher than those who consider both as initial languages (2.4%). If these groups speak Catalan to their children alone or with Spanish, the numbers of Catalan native speakers will evidently increase. In fact, reports like Woolard's (2011) suggest this is exactly what is happening. By contrast, 55.1% of the population report being brought up in Spanish, whereas only 47.6% keep it as their language of identification as adults, which points at a certain loss of 'loyalty' to that language.

#### *4. Recent Political Struggles Over Language and Nationhood*

Since at least 1714 with the loss of autonomy, language policy and use have been closely linked with the struggle over Catalonia's political status (see Part 1 of this review). This association is reflected in the banning of the language by the centralizing Franco dictatorship and the efforts to promote it by the subsequent Generalitat. To this day, the political parties in Catalonia that support increased centralization in Spain promote an increased role for Spanish in education, the only principal public domain in which Catalan has a clear predominance. By contrast, parties favoring either increased autonomy or independence are the strongest defenders of the current compensatory asymmetric bilingual education system.

In 2006, after compromises with the then Socialist Party government in Spain, Catalonia passed a new Statute of Autonomy by referendum that reaffirmed the leadership role of the Generalitat in education. It also provided symbolic recognition of Catalonia as a nation. Much of this Statute was immediately contested in the courts – ultimately successfully – as unconstitutional by the then opposition conservative Popular Party (PP). In 2010, the PP came to power after a campaign that featured an unfortunate share of anti-Catalan(ist) rhetoric, used as a wedge issue state-wise in Spain. Part of the campaign included charges of discrimination against the Spanish language and Spanish speakers inside Catalonia.

With a PP government, this rhetoric informed state policy. The government introduced a reform act in 2013, the popularly known as ‘Wert Law’ (after the education minister), which among other measures reduced the authority of the Generalitat over schools. Wert claimed that the time had arrived to Hispanize, ‘españolizar,’ (García 2012) the students of Catalonia; he apparently believes that Catalan nationalist sentiment was a result of the Generalitat’s educational policies.

Relatedly, the PP and its allies have endeavored through the courts to increase the amount of Spanish in Catalan schools. This effort runs counter the core of the Catalan educational linguistic principle of avoiding separate parallel educational systems based on language preferences. Under the current system, a Spanish-dominant student may apply for individual language support to be able to follow instruction in Catalan. However, recent court decisions – still under appeal – have ordered that requests for Spanish-language support should result in classes in that language being increased to 25% of total class time *for the entire class*. Admittedly, this is not an especially large increase – it amounts to an additional subject area – and in any case, there have been remarkably few such appeals from families. Yet it is striking how the instruction of the majority of students in the students’ class is affected if just one family appeals.

These actions have contributed to a rise in the Catalan sovereignty movement, which, is also impelled by economic grievances and distrust in the Spanish government. Whereas for most of the period of democracy support for independence was clearly minority opinion, it is currently unclear what the result of a binding independence referendum would be. The possibility of such a referendum is currently closed off by the central government, although an unofficial one was held in November 2014 with large majorities in favor of separation. Details of this struggle go well beyond the scope of this language-focused review. However, it is interesting to note that advertisements created by promoters of the independence referendum were bilingual, although with a predominance of Catalan.

The possibility of an independent Catalonia has consequently become a prominent question. Soler’s (2013) suggestion that the scale shift entailed by independence would likely contribute to the already existing linguistic vitality seems reasonable. Nevertheless, given the recent history of the language, it is hard to see how Catalan will lose vitality in Catalonia even if it remains under current political structures. Greater pressure from the central government to increase the presence of Spanish in the already bilingual system might lead to lower knowledge of Catalan among segments of the population. However, given the history of such efforts in the past, it seems more likely to also provoke a backlash. Future research on Catalan sociolinguistics will need to respond to the results of these political struggles, in particular to the language policies that might emerge.

##### *5. Modern and Late Modern Discourses on Language: Linking Past, Present, and Future*

In prior times, it was not hard to hear in Catalonia a discourse of nostalgia based on a lost ‘purely Catalan’ Catalonia, ‘ruined’ by the massive immigration of Spanish speakers in the third quarter of the 20th century. An opposing discourse – adopted by the Generalitat in the 1980s – painted Catalan identity as open to all who lived and worked in Catalonia. Yet, due to the nature of that

immigration, the tacit understanding was that this welcome was extended to ‘new Catalans’ who looked like old ones, came from a similar culture, shared a great deal of history and tradition, and spoke a related albeit threatening language.

These comforting commonalities are no longer in play for the current prospective new Catalans, and a new nostalgic discourse has emerged that blames them for a host of social and economic problems, echoing xenophobic and racist discourses elsewhere in Europe. Openly, anti-immigrant politicians have had some success in local elections, although considerably less than in France, Italy, or much of Northern Europe. Yet the ascribed role for Catalan as a unifying linguistic element aligns the language ideologically with welcome and multiculturalism. This posture remains supported by the majority of political parties that dominated the latest local elections in Spring 2015.

By envisioning Catalan as existing in a multilingual context, this discourse also manifests glocalness (Pennycook and Alim 2007, Bastardas-Boada 2012), a combination of the global and local. Relatedly, it appears as a ‘cosmopolitan nationalism’. Catalan is framed as a distinguishing trademark that provides a distinctive character to ‘The Catalan Brand’, in Woolard’s (2015) formulation. However, this ethos is not limited to official nostrums and neo-liberal branding. This and our prior review have shown that being bilingual has in and of itself become a badge of cosmopolitan identity among ordinary Catalonians. One of our interviewees, Pablo, a 15-year-old – born in Madrid – captures this zeitgeist. When asked why he supported maintaining Catalan as a language of instruction, he said (speaking in Catalan), ‘I believe each place is special for the language it has. I believe it’s the language that gives the culture to that place, right? That makes it different from other places’.

Pablo is, to be sure, a particularly thoughtful teenager. Nevertheless, given his background – he was living at the time of the interview in a group-home and attending a mainly working-class to low-income school – his ideas are hardly an elite construction. Instead, his views embody a particularly well-constructed manifestation of a cosmopolitan progressive consensus that, albeit in diverse forms, is characteristic of many millennials and postmillennials.

We have described this discourse as late modern mainly because it assumes a contingent context-dependent view of demolinguistic categories. Yet it is a logical outgrowth of the welcoming discourse of Catalan identity that emerged in the aftermath of the Franco dictatorship. We have argued here and in Part 1 that that prior discourse and policy were based on high modern assumptions that bound language and identity. Bilingualism was first of all a way of reducing potential ethnolinguistic conflict between groups with putative goals of monolingualism in their language. However, it turned out, deliberately or not, that this construction, first among the public and then among language planners, gave rise to the fuller embrace of multilingualism that we now see. Catalonia thus provides a fascinating case study of how language policy informs and shapes popular language attitudes and ideologies as it is informed and shaped by those bottom-up beliefs.

### *Short Biographies*

Mireia Trenchs-Parera is an associate professor at the Department of Humanities at Universitat Pompeu Fabra (UPF) in Barcelona, where she currently is the vice-rector for Teaching and Academic Planning. She received her Ph D in Applied Linguistics from Teachers College-Columbia University, New York, in 1993. Her research examines language attitudes, ideologies and practices in multilingual and multicultural settings, as well as the processes involved in language acquisition and the teaching of second and foreign languages in study abroad and formal instruction contexts. She has been the editor, co-editor and author of books as well



as book chapters published, among other publishing houses, by John Benjamins, Multilingual Matters and Routledge. She has published scientific articles in *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *Canadian Modern Language Review*, and *English for Specific Purposes*, among other journals. She is a member of the state-funded research group ALLENCAM, which investigates language acquisition in multilingual Catalonia, as well as the lead researcher of the UPF-funded research group GREILI, which investigates intercultural spaces, languages and identities.

Michael Newman is a professor of linguistics at Queens College and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. He received his Ph D in Applied Linguistics from Teachers College-Columbia University, New York, in 1993. His major research areas include variationist sociolinguistics and language attitudes and ideologies in New York and Barcelona, with a particular focus on the adaptation of young immigrants. He is the author of three books, most recently *New York City English*, published by Mouton DeGruyter, and journal articles published in the *Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *American Speech and Language in Society*. He is an associate of the CUNY Research Institute for the Study of Language in Urban in Society and the Research Groups ALLENCAM and GREILI both based at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra.

### Notes

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<sup>1</sup>The Catalan Department of Education allows schools to bring the teaching and learning of the languages spoken by the immigrant families into the school and, though timidly, schools' Linguistic Projects have started to provide spaces for them in extracurricular time.

<sup>2</sup>At the peak of immigration (year 2008–09), 126,430 people attended Catalan courses. In 2013–14, there were 67,465, 61.3% of which were foreigners, 20.3% had been born in Catalonia and 18.4% in other parts of Spain.

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