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## Linguistic reception of Latin American students in Catalonia and their responses to educational language policies

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This study explores the connections between language policy implementation in three Barcelona-area secondary schools and the language attitudes and behaviors of Spanish-speaking Latin American newcomers. Data were collected through interviews and ethnographic participant observation document indexes of different forms of language socialization processes and highlight the role of teachers and of 'Reception Classes' (RCs) in which students receive Catalan language support. Different RC models and placements of the RC in the school have effects on those processes and the students' attitudes toward Catalan and schooling. Deficient models result from lack of institutional support and unfavorable conditions of the RC in the school. Positive models result from individual teacher initiative and commitment to move beyond basic language teaching and include broader social and academic objectives for newcomers. We conclude that language policy meeting goals requires consistent commitment at all levels from policy-makers to individual teachers.

**Keywords:** Catalan; immigration; language attitudes; language policy; secondary school; language socialization

### 1. Introduction

The present study is part of a larger project that explores the interaction between language policy and the linguistic reception of immigrant adolescents in Catalonia, specifically in the Barcelona metropolitan area.<sup>1</sup> In this part of the research we focus on one subset of these: Spanish-speaking Latin Americans who arrived as teens and so attend Catalan language support classes in their secondary schools. Evidently, immigrant students experience different language socialization processes than peers born and raised in the receptor society and those who arrive before puberty, the so-called Generation 1.5. These processes may not afford the newcomers the same degrees of accommodation to the discourses and practices prevalent in that society, **AQ2** including those that constitute educational and broader social goals (Duff 2006).

The key concept here, language socialization, is defined by Garrett (2007, 233) as 'the human developmental process whereby a child or other novice (of any age) acquires communicative competence . . . enabling him or her to interact meaningfully with others and otherwise participate in the social life of a given community.' Such

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socialization usually takes place in different spaces including family, peer interactions, and school. However, discontinuities between the linguistic practices at school, among peers, and at home can create specific scalar limitations, delimiting the domains of use associated with a given language (Woolard and Frekko 2012). Most newcomer students in Catalonia are affected by a major discontinuity because the school turns out to be the principal and perhaps the only space where they are socialized in Catalan. Furthermore, this socialization is institutionally assigned, in the first instance at least, to the class where they receive linguistic support, called the *Aula d'Acollida* or 'Reception Class' (RC) in Woolard's (2009) translation. So teachers' ideas on appropriate domains of Catalan use and the role of the RC in the school as well as their expectations regarding their students' academic performance take on a great deal of importance. RC teachers, as the first linguistic and cultural hosts, are in an especially crucial position to influence students' language attitudes and behaviors.

Our goal here is to provide an understanding of these processes by exploring the following three issues with respect to adolescent Latino immigrants in Catalonia:

- (1) The ways that Catalonian language policy is implemented in three secondary schools, through the study of language practices in the most important resource designed for its implementation, the RC,
- (2) The responses of RC students in terms of their language attitudes, and
- (3) The possible connections between implementations and students' responses, and the possible broader significance of those responses.

In the next section, we frame our account of these issues by explaining the sociolinguistic context in which the language policy that regulates the RC was planned and designed. After that, we explain the methods chosen to study policy implementation by way of the RC and its consequences in terms of the language attitudes of Latin Americans at the secondary school. The following section is devoted to findings. It begins with the distribution of Catalan and Spanish in the schools. This is followed by an exposition of the attitudes toward each language as revealed in the practices and discourses from the three multilingual classes visited. Next comes a discussion section, in which these observations are interpreted by comparing and contrasting the linguistic situation of Catalan with respect to the two distinct populations of Spanish heritage speakers into Catalonia (i.e. now autochthonous descendants of the mid-twentieth century Spanish migrants and recent Latin American ones). Students' responses will then be brought into the discussion to give some reasons Latin American youths provide for their linguistic practices and their attitudes toward Catalan. We close this study by discussing the consequences of the students' language attitudes for the language socialization processes that are taking place in some multilingual secondary schools in Barcelona.

## 2. Research context

The current Catalonian language policy is formulated in the 2004 Plan for Language and Social Cohesion (*Pla per a la Llengua i Cohesió Social*). The Plan is an outgrowth of the prior policy called Linguistic Normalization that was formulated by the Autonomous Government of Catalonia soon after the return of democracy in Spain and autonomy in the late 1970s. Normalization responded to two historical

90 events seen as threatening Catalan. One was the repression of Catalan during the Franco dictatorship (1939–1975), which left even many native Catalan speakers with limited skills in the written language and higher oral registers. The other was the arrival of large numbers of migrants from other parts of Spain that led to the presence of a large proportion of the population that was primarily Spanish speaking.<sup>2</sup> Normalization was targeted consequently in slightly different ways at these two major demolinguistic groups. For native Catalan speakers the aim was to advance Catalan in a scalar fashion (see Woolard and Frekko 2012) into educated genres. For native Spanish speakers the goal was to make them functionally and actively bilingual across all domains.<sup>3</sup> The implementation of that policy within the education system relied on Catalan as the language of instruction in schools regardless of the home language. Although not entirely successful in its goals, in particular in changing perceived language loyalties and the use of Catalan by many native Spanish speakers in informal registers, Normalization has widely been seen as largely effective.

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The 2004 Plan maintains the prior policy's objectives but adds components that respond to a new international immigration influx beginning in the 1990s that brought speakers of different languages from many different countries to Catalonia. Educationally, the main innovation is the introduction of the RC, referred to above. However, there were also changes or at least clarifications in the philosophy and assumptions of the Plan that are worth considering because they shed light on the vision intended by the authors. First, as the title 'Plan for Language and Social Cohesion' reflects, it is seen as a counter to the disruptive potential of identity-related conflicts in the context of immigration. Second, the method for fostering the desired social cohesion is seen in the role envisioned for Catalan. This is expressed in the text itself, which designates the Catalan language as 'the backbone of a multilingual educational project and an intercultural educational model which aim at social cohesion' (Generalitat de Catalunya 2009, 4). What is most significant here is that this phrasing departs so strikingly from the assimilationist aims of English-Only policies in some American states or the exclusive ~~for~~ French in the École Républicaine in France. Although those policies are also justified in terms of promoting a cohesive society, cohesion is assumed to rest upon erasing difference. In the Catalan case, by contrast, the terms 'multilingual' and 'intercultural' acknowledge and accept diversity. This vision reflects the post-immigration reality by moving beyond the traditional locally oriented Spanish–Catalan binary opposition that Normalization addressed in the 1980s and still obsesses proponents of assimilationist models. The new phrasing, instead, reframes the ideological background by appealing to a more universal cosmopolitanism (Woolard and Frekko 2012).

It is only prudent to view any institutional discourses skeptically. Nevertheless, our prior research (Newman, Trenchs-Parera, and Ng 2008; Trenchs-Parera and **AQ3** Newman 2009; Newman 2010) suggests that robust Catalan–Spanish bilingualism, in fact, indexes a similar cosmopolitan stance among local youths regardless of the language or languages spoken at home. Interestingly, the youths who most closely identified with cosmopolitan views were the ones most accepting of immigrants. Therefore, linguistic cosmopolitanism appears to be already widespread among secondary school students of local backgrounds who did not experience the new innovative elements of the 2004 Plan. There is a sense in which Plan writers may be participating in, rather than initiating, a growing social consensus.

Yet we also found that the equation of Catalan–Spanish bilingualism with cosmopolitanism was not as robust, or as well formed, among our Latino research AQ4 participants (Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009; Newman 2010). There are of course multiple differences in social, historical, and demographic experiences that can account for these distinctions, and one potential source involves the different experiences immigrants have in school. After all, it is not entirely clear whether adults, in particular teachers and school administrators, extend the high-minded views articulated in the Plan to these immigrants. These are particularly interesting questions given the tensions that have appeared around immigration throughout Europe. In this study we document the beginning of our exploration of this issue and our initial findings.

### 3. Methods

Our methods included participant observation and one-on-one and focus group interviews with students as well as one-on-one discussions with teachers. Data gathering involved:

- (1) The field notes covering practices in the three RCs, three mainstream classes at different levels of compulsory secondary education and other school activities during the term 2009–2010;
- (2) The official documentation related to the RCs and the schools' implementation of the Plan for Language and Social Cohesion (Generalitat de Catalunya 2009);
- (3) Five interviews with members of the administration of the three schools, five interviews with the teachers in charge of the respective RCs, and four interviews with teachers from the mainstream classes of Catalan, Spanish, and English; and
- (4) Ten focus-group interviews with 27 students of Latin American backgrounds in which they talked about their language attitudes and shared their experiences as newcomers in the Catalan education system.

Data analysis involved:

- (1) A thematic analysis, both of the interviews and of the field notes;
- (2) The contrasting of the Catalan government legislation with the actual way in which the classroom practices in RCs were managed in each of the three schools studied.

We focused on teachers and administrators' ideas about the objectives of the RC and second-language acquisition and how these beliefs informed different implementations in their schools. We also examined Latin American students' attitudes – in discourses and observed daily practices – toward Catalan and Spanish and their orientation toward schooling.

We examined these sources of data for indexes of the language socialization processes in which Latin American students are immersed in Catalonia. Our analysis of these data reveals the complex sociolinguistic situation embodied in the various discourses about Catalan and Spanish uses that circulate at secondary schools and that we observed in practices. Such circulating discourses may be embraced,

180 challenged, modified, or outright rejected but they invariably appear explicitly or implicitly as newcomers describe their experiences and perspectives on language in their new home.

The research reported here involves RCs in three public secondary schools listed below by pseudonym and approximate location<sup>4</sup>:

IES Inca Garcilaso (located in a peripheral neighborhood within Barcelona)

- IES Josep Vicens (located in a small satellite city 35 minutes from Barcelona)
- IES Marc Aureli (located near center of Barcelona)

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190 In all of these schools, most of the immigrants are of Latin American origin whereas the immigrants' autochthonous peers were of working class to low-income and mostly Spanish-speaking backgrounds of peninsular immigrant roots. However, also present were native Catalan speakers with a wide range of bilingual home language practices and recent immigrants of other language backgrounds. It is important to note that middle-class parents tend to avoid these schools in favor of partially state-funded private ones, which leaves a lower proportion of Catalan native speakers in the public schools than in the schools' catchment areas.

## 195 4. Findings

### 4.1. *Language distribution and language attitudes*

200 The demographics explain why Catalan language socialization for children of immigrant backgrounds takes place largely in RCs. Spanish was the predominant social language of the autochthonous students in the three schools as appears to be the case in many areas with high proportions of immigrants. Furthermore, native Catalan-speaking peers and some teachers continued to demonstrate a tendency toward linguistic convergence to Spanish whenever interlocutors were not perceived as native Catalan speakers. Therefore, Spanish took on a lingua franca role even when speakers were fluent in Catalan (see also Boix 1993; Galindo i Solé 2008). This limitation of Catalan to the classroom in practice can make it seem superfluous and meaningless to adolescents outside the classroom, as Codó and Patiño-Santos (2010) have observed elsewhere.

The following excerpt from an interview with a teacher at the Marc Aureli School expresses a frustration with this situation that we also heard elsewhere:

#### 210 **Extract 1**

Docent: La llengua de lo social al centre és el castellà, així diguéssim. No sé, intentem que no ho sigui però (..) dins de l'aula és el català perquè el professorat dicta en català (..) a nivell de pati tu la llengua que sents, en gran majoria, és el castellà. Pel context del barri no [sents català] tampoc. És un barri amb moltíssima immigració, (..) amb, com a primera llengua, el castellà.

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220 Teacher: The language for all things social in the school is Spanish; that's how it is shall we say. I don't know. We try to avoid it but (...). Within the classroom it's Catalan because the teachers teach in Catalan; (...). In terms of the hallways, as far as the schoolyard is concerned the language you hear mostly is Spanish; in the context of the neighborhood you don't [hear Catalan] either. It's a neighborhood with an enormous amount of immigration (...) with Spanish as a first language.

Given such sentiment, Latin Americans can become constructed negatively as reinforcing the Spanish dominance brought by the prior peninsular immigration. This view is captured in the following quote from another Marc Aureli teacher:

**Extract 2**

- Docent: És un barri amb moltíssima immigració. Hi ha immigració de tots els països del món però també dels seixanta del sud d'Espanya. Llavors són com capes d'immigracions amb el castellà com a primera llengua.
- Teacher: It's a neighborhood with a lot of immigration. There's immigration from everywhere, but also from the '60s from the south of Spain. So there are different layers of immigration of Spanish speakers.

In fact, macrolinguistic surveys (Bernaus, Moore, and Cordeiro Azevedo 2007; Huguet and Janés 2008; Galindo i Solé 2008) and matched-guise tests (Newman, Trenchs-Parera, and Ng 2008) show that Latin Americans have less favorable attitudes toward Catalan than other immigrants or local native Spanish speakers. Qualitatively, the discourses produced around rejection of Catalan can echo those documented from those autochthonous Spanish speakers who tend to reject Catalan (Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009). The following exchange is between Latin Americans at Josep Vicens. These youths express virtually the same sentiments as those found among Pujolar's (2001) local origin research participants, who similarly saw Catalan as defective in lower registers:

**Extract 3**

- Investigadora: ¿y por qué no habláis en catalán en la calle?  
(...)
- Lilian: porque no me gusta (...) no me gusta porque se ve más, no sé
- Alix: y las palabrotas son menos::
- Lilian: = sí =
- Alix: impactantes que en castellano
- Researcher: And you? Why [don't any of you speak in Catalan outside class]?
- Lilian: Because I don't like it (...) I don't like it because it seems more, I dunno
- Alix: And the swear words are less::
- Lilian: = yes =
- Alix: Strong than in Spanish

**4.2. A complex sociolinguistic situation**

Also parallel to working-class Peninsular Spanish background youths, there were a number of reports by our participants of young immigrants who were socialized at primary school in Catalan, shifting to Spanish with the onset of adolescence. Nevertheless, there are two reasons why catastrophist worries that Latin American immigration will tip the balance into a fatal decline of Catalan – say, along the lines of other minority languages in Europe – need not be fulfilled. First, as Woolard and **AQ5** Frekko (2012) discusses, overt rejection of Catalan may be age-graded because it reflects the particularly strong identity-based concerns of adolescence. As adults, immigrants may even find it prudent to adopt bilingual or even predominantly Catalan practices in child rearing, as is fairly common among families of peninsular migrant origins. Also, as mentioned earlier, second and third generation Spanish-background adolescents show predominantly positive attitudes toward bilingualism (Newman, Trenchs-Parera, and Ng 2008).

275 However, the trajectory of language attitudes of the descendants of the prior  
immigration process may not make an appropriate model for current immigrants. The  
rejection of Catalan among this group appears more widespread than among youths  
of Spanish background, and it has different motives. For the minority of Spanish  
speakers who express negative reactions to Catalan, exclusive use of Spanish appears  
280 tied up with the minimization or outright rejection of Catalonia as a locus of identity.  
The language behavior is an expression of an anti-cosmopolitan identity locus in  
Spain (Newman 2011). For example, those autochthonous youths tend to subscribe to  
what Woolard and Frekko (2012, 00) describe as ‘familiar nationalist political  
rhetoric,’ oriented to a Spanish identity (see also Newman, Trenchs-Parera, and Ng  
2008; Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009). However, given that emphasis on identity is  
so much a part of adolescence, these feelings can easily diminish in adulthood leading  
to the changes in language behavior observed by Woolard. By contrast, locus of  
285 identity did not appear as relevant for Latin Americans who dislike Catalan. Instead,  
alongside the impression that it is unnecessary outside school, they expressed  
frustration at lack of competence and self-confidence in speaking this language.  
This reinforces the sense of importance of school as language socialization site.

290 More recent on-going research at the Inca Garcilaso School on Latin Americans  
schooled from an early age in Catalonia confirms this general impression. These  
Generation 1.5 immigrants invariably acquired Catalan in primary school, and a  
number chose it for interviews. Yet, when asked, they showed little identification with  
the language or Catalonia. One Ecuadorian 16-year-old who arrived at age nine, for  
example, presented an imagined future in London, and claimed that Catalan unlike  
English (which he did not speak) would not get you far in the world. Nevertheless, he  
chose that language for his interview and, when asked why, responded only that he could  
speak it. In fact, whether Latinos used Catalan or not, they appeared to see the local  
identity-related issue of Catalan versus Spanish as largely irrelevant to them. Still, it is  
295 significant that this selection of Catalan for interviews was only made by academically  
successful Latino students. This pattern implies a view of Catalan as a language  
associated with education, and, in fact, a few of the recent interviewees described the  
language in those terms as elegant or simply sounding educated. It expressed the kind of  
multidimensional fluid identity discussed by Woolard and Frekko (2012).

300 Instead of language choice between Catalan and Spanish, linguistic identity as  
Latinos appeared mediated dialectally through an orientation to Peninsular Spanish,  
even to a certain extent among some of those Generation 1.5 youths interviewed  
recently. Too close an accommodation to this variety was subject to linguistic  
policing (Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009; Newman 2011) on the part of  
adolescent Latino immigrants. Instead, as Corona, Nussbaum, and Unamuno  
(2012) observe, there is an emergence of a pan-Latino Spanish with a mix of features  
305 of different dialectal origins as well as from Catalan.<sup>5</sup>

### ***4.3. Challenges arising from language policy implementations***

315 Whereas Generation 1.5 immigrants who arrive early enough in childhood enter  
secondary school proficient in Catalan, adolescent immigrants need to learn it in  
secondary school. Unfortunately, the program designed to teach recent adolescent  
immigrants the language there has some evident flaws. First, according to the policy,  
students are expected to exit the RC in Catalonia after only two years, with reduced  
support only potentially continuing afterward. This cut-off is made on the principle



that integration into the school and society is impeded by a separate class. Yet, despite these laudatory motives, there is an academic price to pay for early mainstreaming. There has long been a consensus in academic language learning studies that the minimum time required for non-native students to ‘catch up’ with native speaking peers ranges between four and seven years (Collier 1989). Not surprisingly, then, inadequacies have been identified with the similar two-year adaptation programs in other European contexts (it may be reasonable to argue that the research upon which this figure is based does not consider the similarity between the two Romance languages, Spanish, and Catalan). However, the two-year limit is applied across the board including to native speakers of languages as structurally different from Catalan as Arabic and Chinese. Even in the case of Spanish speakers, there are no established benchmarks for optimal length of Catalan-for-academic-purposes support. Consequently, the two-year limit seems insufficient for students’ academic needs unless schools provide alternative additional means of linguistic support.

There are also few specific curricular or organizational mandates in terms of program implementation again at the government administrative level. The lack of structure may again have a good motivation, which is to give schools flexibility and thus an opportunity to experiment and meet locally specific needs. However, the other side of the coin of this freedom is a lack of sufficient guidance, which becomes more problematic because school level professionals are often underprepared. Only one of the six RC teachers we interviewed had degrees in second-language teaching and this was Spanish as a Foreign Language, not Catalan as a Second Language. Other RC teachers included recycled science teachers, Catalan language arts teachers, classical language teachers, and gym teachers, although some had received professional development training in second-language instruction from the government. However, the appropriate curricular area – Catalan-for-academic purposes – does not appear to exist in teacher education in Catalonia.

Any such preparation could serve to ameliorate deficiencies at the school level as well as in the classroom. These include practices and attitudes observed at two of the schools – Josep Vicens and Marc Aureli – that have long been associated with high failure rates of marginalized groups in North America and Europe (Cummins 1985). As in those settings, social marginalization was mirrored and amplified in a number of avoidable ways. One involves a double physical marginalization: The RC classrooms in both these schools were located far from the main school spaces, and the rooms themselves were barely reconverted from their prior functions. This devaluation of the RC was reinforced by placement of one otherwise mainstream student who appeared to be given RC hours only because he presented a discipline problem in his mainstream classes.

Also those schools used what is called the ‘pullout’ model in North America, and Alegre, Benito, and González (2008) report that this model, with variants, is used in almost all secondary schools in Catalonia. Under that system – which is employed primarily in elementary grades in the USA – students mainly attend mainstream classes, which they may or may not be able to follow fully. They are removed for several RC hours per day following a fixed schedule not necessarily tied to their mainstream classes. In ESL, this model has long been described as both the most expensive and least effective. Ovando, Collier, and Combs (2003), for instance, discuss the coordination difficulties, loss of instructional time, and social disruption that pullout creates. The same concerns were voiced by the teachers interviewed in our third school.

More complete professional preparation could also address instructional practices at the classroom level that increase the deficiencies of the model. The methods in beginning classes at Marc Aureli and Josep Vicens were largely not communicative and involved techniques such as student round robin reading aloud that are discouraged by second-language teaching specialists. In this way, the metaphor of an isolated classroom (an 'island' as defined by Pérez Milans 2007, 115) extends to the contents learned in these classes, forming an obstacle to the passing from remedial to mainstream and to real academic success.

At the individual level of the student, we see the expected results. For example, in more advanced classes, students were encouraged to talk, although there were signs of resistance to the use of Catalan, with some students requiring constant reminders to use that language. Scholars from various fields (e.g. Cummins 1986; McDermott 1987; Trueba 1988) show that student reluctance to accept school registers is common when dysfunctional relationships develop between educational institutions and marginalized minorities. What happens in the case of register in those cases appears to be taking place in Catalonia on the level of language, at least for some students. Whereas, say, some nonstandard dialect students in the USA may resist Standard English as the school language (see e.g. Smitherman and Cunningham 1997, among many others), so some Latin Americans may do the same with Catalan.

Some negative feelings about Catalan appeared earlier in the form of complaints about the lack of lower registers. It was not hard to find others. A Dominican Marc Aureli student Álvaro compared Catalan unfavorably with English:

#### Extract 4

- Investigador: ¿y qué opinas del catalán?  
 Álvaro: [riu] no digo – no digo na'a [riuen]  
 Investigador: ¿No?  
 Álvaro: nunca digo  
 Investigador: ¡Nunca digo! (...) ¿por qué?  
 Álvaro: No me gusta para nada  
 Investigadora: Pero estás de acuerdo con esto... prefieres hacer otra cosa.  
 Álvaro: bueno el inglés/me gustaría aprenderme el *English*  
 Investigadora: ya, pero si te quieres trabajar aquí (...) en el futuro, ¿lo harías?, ¿estarías dispuesto?  
 Álvaro: Hombre, claro ahí ya tendría (...) a mí me da igual (lo que me digan) porque si voy a un sitio que no hablan catalán (y hablo yo, pues a lo mejor no me entienden), y entonces vale más aprender un idioma que se hable más.  
 Researcher: What do you think of Catalan?  
 Álvaro: [Laughs] I'm not saying anything.  
 Researcher: No?  
 Álvaro: I never say...  
 Researcher: Never?... Why?  
 Álvaro: I don't like it at all.  
 Researcher: But you agree... You like something else better?  
 Álvaro: English, I want to learn (English [said in English])  
 Researcher: Ok, but if you want to work here in the future, you'd be willing?  
 Álvaro: Well, Of course I'd have... It doesn't matter to me what they say because if I go somewhere they don't speak Catalan, and I speak [it] well they probably won't understand me. So, it, it's better to learn a language that spoken more.

What makes this quote particularly interesting is Álvaro's overt opposition to institutional discourse – 'It doesn't matter to me what they say' – after initial  
 420 reluctance to give voice to what he apparently saw as an institutionally taboo language attitude.

Also at the individual level, the responses of some teachers in these schools were in line with this interpretation because they mirrored frustrations with negative student reactions, as with this RC teacher at Josep Vicens:

425 **Extract 5**

- Docent: Jo sóc un recurs molt car i tu [estudiant de l'aula d'acollida] tens un privilegi. O t'aprofites al 100%, o realment l'any que ve oficialment ja se t'acaba el període d'adaptació. Has d'anar a buscar un altre [cosa]. Ja, el problema aquest és no s'han adonat que jo sóc un recurs car i que en un moment determinat he de prendre la decisió e-traumàtica.
- 430 Teacher: I'm an expensive resource and you [the RC student] get a privilege. Either you take advantage 100% or next year your adaptation period will be officially over, and you'll have to look for something else. Well, the problem is that they haven't realized that I'm an expensive resource and at some point in time I have to make a drastic decision.
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However, when RC teachers with school level support were able to implement a different organizational and pedagogical formula, a different trajectory emerged. Inca Garcilaso also initially employed a two-year pullout model. However, the RC teachers there and the school director became frustrated by its inadequacies and decided to make two substantial academic changes: First, they extended the Reception program to three years, with additional informal support available even after. Second, instead of pulling RC students out of mainstream classes, they were visited in those classes by the RC teachers who helped them with comprehension of the material. The RC classroom was remodeled as an open resource center, in which material from language intensive classes such as history and Catalan language arts were also taught.

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Neither the teachers nor the director had much in the way of second-language training. Yet they essentially replicated a structure that is generally seen as one of ~~them~~ most successful models of language learning for academic purposes. This model is called Content-Area Language Instruction (Brinton, Snow, and Wesche  
 450 AQ8 1989; Crandall and Tucker 1990; Snow and Brinton 1997) in North America and Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) in Europe. It has been identified as a priority area in the 2003 *Action Plan for Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity* by the European Commission (see also EURYDICE: The information  
 455 AQ9 network on education in Europe 2006 and Marsh 2002).

Just as importantly, the RC teachers provided a great deal of affective support that went beyond classroom hours. Naturally, the results at the individual level vary, but some students directly connected their linguistic and academic progress with their teachers. This was the case of Jari, a Chilean, and David, a Colombian:

460 **Extract 6**

- Jari: [Montse, una docent d'aula d'acollida] és la segona mare de tots  
 David: és un angele:t\
- (...)
- Investigadora: Quan em dieu la Montse, qui és la Montse?

- 465  
AQ10 David: La Montse Márquez (...) perquè és la primera que va arribar i em va  
dir “David García vine, vine amb mi” (riuen). Jo estava una mica  
sorpès i jo, què passarà?, a on em portarà?. Llavors ja vaig anar a  
l’aula d’acollida i tot perfecte.
- 470 Jari: [Montse, an RC teacher]’s like everyone’s second mother  
David: she’s like a little angel, the two [RC teachers both called Montse]  
Researcher: When you say Montse, which Montse?  
David: Montse Márquez... she’s the first who arrived and said to me  
475 “David García, come, come with me” (*they all laugh*). I was a bit  
surprised and thinking what’s happening, where’s she taking me. So  
then we went to the Reception Class, really fantastic.

480 These two boys along with an Ecuadorian friend ended up adopting Catalan into  
their linguistic repertoire and as a social good, for instance, by choosing to conduct  
the interview in that language. Nevertheless, as with their Generation 1.5 classmates,  
their positive orientation to the Catalan language did not reflect a conversion to  
Catalan identity. Virtually all their friends remained Latin American. This complex  
identity aspect was most clear in a valuing of the Catalan language that was  
unusual even compared with Generation 1.5 youths who chose Catalan for their  
interviews. David and Jari, along with an Ecuadorian friend in their circle, for  
example, lamented the decline they perceived in the use of the language in the school.  
485 It was as if they felt that using Catalan should be a part of the school experience in  
Catalonia. All three also went on to the academic Batxillerat track in school, and at  
least Jari went to university. He has kept a close association with the school, helping,  
for example, in extracurricular events. More generally, the number of Latinos who  
wished to continue their education, either through the Batxillerat or more  
490 vocationally oriented programs, appeared to be greater at Inca Garcilaso than in  
the other sites.

495 That is not to say there was a necessary association between valuing Catalan in  
this way and academics. We also found Inca Garcilaso students without much  
concern with Catalan who expressed plans to continue studying to university level.  
Janet, an Ecuadorian girl, saw living in Catalonia positively because of the  
educational possibilities it opened to her:

#### Extract 7

- 500 Janet: Yo prefiero aquí, porque tienes muchas posibilidades de estudio, en una  
carrera; te dan oportunidades en conseguir algún título, en cualquier  
cosa, y puedes aprovecharlo finalmente.
- Janet: I prefer [to be] here because you have many possibilities to study; they  
give the chance to pursue some degree, in anything, and you can finally  
take advantage [unlike in Ecuador].

505 Nevertheless, the acceptance of Catalan was widespread at the school even for less  
academically oriented Latin Americans. One content-area teacher remarked that,  
upon arrival from a different school, she was surprised at the Catalan fluency of RC  
students at Inca Garcilaso. Rulfo, a Colombian who was no longer in the RC and  
had no plans to study beyond the compulsory schooling age of 16, admitted to  
problems with the language at first, but then expressed the following view of the use  
510 of Catalan as language of instruction:

**Extract 8**

Rulfo: Por una parte está bien porque así uno aprende a entenderlo y a hablarlo. Y palabras que no conozcas, que no entiendas, pues puedes preguntar al profesor, y así pues vas aprendiendo poco a poco.

Rulfo: In a way it's good [that classes are given in Catalan] because that way you learn to understand them and to speak it. And words you don't know, that you don't understand, well, you can ask the teacher and that way you learn little by little.

Therefore, in various permutations we find a connection between a successful RC program and more positive attitudes toward Catalan and academic success directly linked by some students to teachers' efforts (see also Trenchs-Parera and Patiño-Santos in press).

**5. Conclusions**

Language policy in Catalonia is framed around a construction of Catalan as the unifying element in a multicultural and multilingual society, local in extension but containing contributions from across the globe. As such, this policy articulates Catalan with a twenty-first century cosmopolitan worldview, which is reinforced through its employment as language of instruction. In our research we have identified tensions between that view and it-is sometimes less than successful execution, and we observed that these tensions have direct consequences for the language socialization processes of newcomers. The limited forms of socialization that result from an inadequate RC experience appear to discourage positive language attitudes toward Catalan and less use of the language by Latin American immigrant secondary school students. In these cases, Latino newcomers suffer from a paradox. The mechanism designed to help them become linguistically and socially integrated, namely the RC, is the very instrument that apparently places them at disadvantage within the school. The resulting lack of opportunity discourages their support of Catalan in the articulating role envisioned for it in the Plan for Language and Social Cohesion.

The disconnect between policy goals and results is clearly a question of implementation not defects in the goals themselves. Structurally, the limitation of two years receiving support at an RC, although well intentioned, is one obstacle. Moreover, at the government level, insufficient resources, structures, and training are provided for pre-service and in-service RC teachers. Nor do pre-service content-area teachers receive proper CLIL-like training that would help reinforce the language teaching received at the RC.<sup>6</sup> Administratively, it seems that insufficient measures are taken to extend the specific learning of Catalan-for-academic-purposes beyond the RC walls.

Whether students are assigned teachers who are able to overcome the deficiencies in the organizational apparatus they work under is largely a matter of chance, although that chance is increasing. The two RC teachers at Inca Garcilaso have informed us of other schools now coming to implement similar designs to their own. These changes have come about as other teachers become informed about the Inca Garcilaso experience through a district-wide professional peer-to-peer network. Also, we are aware of, at least, one other school outside that network that is currently moving away from pullout to a similar content-area instructional model on their teachers' initiative. Still another, unconnected to the previous two, is pulling content-area teachers into the

RC with the intention of overcoming RC isolation. All these schools have apparently concluded that they need to make changes to further content and language-integrated learning, and so ease students' transition from RC to mainstream classrooms. As these cases demonstrate, teachers are often very dedicated and remarkably resourceful. However, bottom-up teacher initiative is no substitute for policy follow-through in the form of official structural support and encouragement.

There are also broader lessons from the Catalan experience for other situations involving language revitalization through educational policy, in sites as diverse as Ireland, Wales, and Estonia (see Soler 2012). That involves learning to focus clearly on the degrees and kinds of language socialization one can expect in a language classroom, particularly when that classroom is the prime location for that socialization. In a dysfunctional structure in which children and adolescents feel marginalized, there will be, at best, a partial socialization and, at worst, a counterproductive one that foments negative affect with the language. Furthermore, since Catalan has limited scale in the lives of these teenagers but an important role in schooling, the lack of Catalan appears as a formidable barrier to educational progress. It is not hard to see how such circumstances could create an enduring linguistically defined social division.

In sum, this study has provided indications that the language socialization processes (Bayley and Schechter 2003; Duff 2008; Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002; Ochs and Schieffelin 2008; Schieffelin and Ochs 1986) of Latin Americans in Catalonia are not always entirely successful. At the same time, the study shows an alternative model that has the potential to fix some of the problems noted. If these students do not have the right kind of exposure to Catalan and, therefore, are not sufficiently motivated to use the language, we fear that they might not acquire the discourse practices expected in the host society. To examine the socialization more thoroughly, our inquiry into language attitudes is currently examining other frames of socialization such as families and peers. This research, currently in progress, will allow us to draw a more complete picture of language socialization of immigrants in Catalonia and its consequences.

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### Notes

1. Research project *Recercaixa* 2010ACUP 00344.
2. We depart from other studies in this issue and use the Standard English, *Spanish*, rather than *Castilian*. *Castilian* reflects local usage and is useful to reflect autochthonous sociolinguistic distinction from Catalan. However, because our focus is on Latin American immigrants, this term could potentially create the misapprehension that we are referring to dialectal differences involving varieties of Spanish. For the same reason, we follow the Spanish dialectological tradition and refer to the variety spoken in Spain as *Peninsular Spanish* rather than the common though misleading English term, *Castilian Spanish*.
3. Another aim was to reverse what was perceived by some Catalan philologists and educators of a growing process of adoption of lexical, syntactic, and even phonetic borrowings from Spanish. This aim is less relevant for the current study and was the source of much controversy (e.g. Pericay and Toutain 1986).

4. For a detailed description of the RCs in these three schools, see Trenchs-Parera and Patiño-Santos (in press).
5. See Otheguy, Zentella, and Livert (2007) and Otheguy and Zentella (2011) for parallel developments in Spanish in New York.
6. So far, only some content-area teachers receive CLIL training as part of a special program from the Autonomous government if they are to implement CLIL related to the teaching and learning of English in secondary schools. Currently, qualifying Master's degree courses for future EFL teachers in Catalonia include CLIL training.

AQ11

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