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## Language Planning and Policy and Multilingual Education in Catalonia

# Language Planning and Policy and Multilingual Education in Catalonia

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This paper examines the current situation of language planning and policy, specifically in regards to education, in Catalonia (Spain). This work is divided into four sections. The first section analyzes both geographical and historical contextualizations, developing a framework to understand present situations. In accordance with Hornberger's (2006) integrative framework (corpus, status and acquisition planning), the second section explores the language planning process mainly since the return of democracy in Spain, while the third section focuses on analytic and ethnographic perspectives of language planning and policy in consideration of language ideologies and attitudes. Finally, the last section addresses international immigration and foreign students' education, as well as the teaching of English as the first foreign language. These considerations are two of the main challenges and directions for 21st century multilingual Catalonia. As a conclusion, this paper reflects on the actual social use of Catalan and Spanish, the attitudes towards both languages and the twofold goal for foreign students in Catalonia: learning a minority language, Catalan (together with Spanish), while further developing their own respective languages.

## Introduction

Language planning and policy (LPP) has been a major topic of concern in Catalonia since the return of democracy in Spain in 1978. The recuperation of democracy in this part of the country has been intimately intertwined with the "normalization" of the status and use of the Catalan language after the persecution it suffered during Franco's dictatorship. Thus, the field of education has represented an important area for the implementation of the LPP led by the Catalan Government, but it has also embodied the origin of certain controversies. These controversies, as I will examine, are often based on issues that are not directly related to either languages or education.

My goal for this paper is to present the LPP that has been implemented in Catalonia, focusing on education since the return of democracy in Spain. This implementation reflects the aforementioned divides within a complex historical and ideological context. As someone born and raised in this particular sociolinguistic environment, I will also present my critical standpoint towards this LPP and the various reactions that it has elicited. Additionally, this paper will also highlight the current situation of Spanish as the nation-state majority

language and Catalan as the national minority language, e.g. a situation which clearly differs from that of the Spanish minorities in countries such as the U.S. Therefore, the terms which are used in Catalan sociolinguistics and LPP may have connotations which vary from their use in the literature in the US. As I will show, the model of the educational linguistic policy in Catalonia, inspired by the Canadian model of immersion programs in Quebec, aims at a balanced bilingualism by the end of the mandatory schooling.

In order to have a deeper understanding of the present situation and the future challenges in terms of LPP and multilingual education in Catalonia, I will start by presenting the geographical, historical and demographic circumstances of the Catalan language and culture. The second part of this paper will review the current language planning process in terms of corpus, status, and acquisition planning. In the third part, such a language planning process will be examined from analytic and ethnographic perspectives in order to determine language ideologies and attitudes that have been expressed as a result of the present LPP. Finally, the fourth part of this paper will present new challenges and directions in the 21st century, which imply a shift from bilingualism—Spanish and Catalan—to multilingualism—including English and the rich diversity of linguistic backgrounds related to recent international immigration. The conclusion will include a summary of the current challenges, an overall reflection, and some open-ended questions for continuing and enriching the debate, along with the suggestion of further ethnographic studies and research in this particular situation of LPP.

### **Geographical and Historical Contextualizations**

Before starting to deal with specific issues of LPP, I will examine the broader circumstances surrounding the LPP that has taken place in Catalonia since the return of democracy. Thus, I will first give a geographical contextualization of Catalonia and the other Catalan-speaking areas. Second, I will provide a short history of Catalonia and the Catalan language, with an emphasis on the demographic movements since the second half of the 20th century.

#### *Geographical Context and the Catalan-speaking Areas*

The Constitution of 1978 organized the Spanish territory into 17 Autonomous Communities. Catalonia is the Autonomous Community situated in the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula, bordering France and Andorra to the north, Aragon to the west, the Valencian Community to the south, and the Mediterranean Sea to the east.

According to the autonomy that the Spanish Constitution granted the 17 Communities, each Community where a minority language is spoken has adopted different language policies (or no language policy at all, which results in the spreading of the Spanish monolingualism). I will focus on the Autonomous Community of Catalonia, but it may be noted that the Catalan-speaking areas embrace other territories. Within Spain, Catalan is also spoken in the (a) Balearic Islands, (b) the Catalan-speaking part of the Valencian Community, (c) the *Franja de Ponent*, the eastern border of the Community of Aragon (about 20 km), and (d) the *Carxe*, in

the extreme north-east of the Autonomous Community of Murcia. Outside of the Spanish borders, Catalan is spoken (a) in the south of France (the northern area of the Pyrenees, also known as “North Catalonia”), (b) in the city of l’Alguer on the Italian island of Sardinia and (c) in Andorra, the small country between France and Spain (468 km<sup>2</sup> and 40,000 inhabitants), where Catalan is the sole official language (Pradilla, 2000, p. 58).

As Woolard (1985) writes, these territories of the Mediterranean area where Catalan is spoken are known as the “Catalan Countries” (*els Països Catalans*) (p. 91). I will turn now to the historical context in order to examine the background of the Catalan-speaking community.

### *Historical Context of Catalonia and the Catalan Language*

The origins of Catalonia are generally situated at the end of the 10th century, when it gained de facto independence from the Franks (Miller & Miller, 1996, p. 115). At that time, Catalonia was a conglomerate of counties, and all the counts paid allegiance to the powerful count of Barcelona. In the middle of the 11th century, following the marriage of the count of Barcelona and the heiress of the kingdom of Aragon, Catalonia and the territories that it would later incorporate (e.g., Mallorca, Valencia and Sicily in the 13th century and Sardinia in the 14th century) became an independent confederal monarchy (Strubell, 1996, p. 263).

Catalan was the language developed in this conglomerate of counties. Catalan is a Romance language, that is, a language which evolved from Latin, together with other Romance languages such as Spanish, French, Italian and Portuguese. However, the historical development of Catalan is more closely tied to Occitan, a Romance language spoken in the south of France (Woolard, 1985, p. 91) and, actually, Occitan was the language used for poetry by Catalan authors (troubadours) until the 15th century (Pradilla, 2000, p. 61). Aranese, a variety of the Occitan language, is still spoken in the Aran Valley, in the northwest of Catalonia.

The first texts written in Catalan date back to the second half on the 12th century (Pradilla, 2000, p. 59), and as Fishman (1991) points out:

Catalan was standardized in grammar and in spelling as far back as the medieval period and its earliest surviving texts, significantly enough, pertain to non-fictional prose, reflecting the fact that as early as the thirteenth century almost all governmental units had set aside Latin and, instead, utilized Catalan as their language of official record. The first European feudal code in a vernacular, the oldest European maritime code, the first Romance language to be used in science and philosophy, all of these distinctions pertain to Catalan ... (pp. 295-297)

The decline of power of Catalonia gradually started in the 15th century, when King Martin I the Human died without an heir, and the Catalan crown passed to a Spanish family, the Trastámaras, known as the Casp Agreement of 1412. Then, in 1469, the kingdom of Aragon was linked by marriage to the kingdom of Castile, but the political accord between both kingdoms guaranteed that their languages, customs and institutions would be respected (May, 2001, p. 240). However, the union meant that the court was moved to the center of Spain and, therefore, in Catalonia, the 16th century meant the beginning of a process in which the aristocracy

and part of the intellectual class used the Spanish language and were increasingly influenced by it, while the bourgeoisie, the poor and the rural part of the nobility continued speaking and writing in Catalan (Pradilla, 2000).

The first time that the Catalan language was prohibited dates back to the 18th century, when the kingdom of Aragon took sides against Philip V in the War of Succession. As a consequence, King Philip V abolished the confederal system and imposed a centralist rule, which repressed the use of Catalan (Strubell, 1996). The upper classes of the Catalan society became “Castilianised,” but “the middle classes retained spoken Catalan for informal use and only the illiterate rural population remained monolingual in Catalan” (May, 2001, p. 241, referring to Hoffmann, 1999). The dominance of Spanish increased during the first half of the 19th century, especially among the bourgeoisie and in all kinds of literary publications, and only the poorer classes continued using their own language (Pradilla, 2000).

Following the European Romantic movement, the 19th century represented an awakening of Catalan nationalism which meant the recuperation of the public use of Catalan and its consideration as a language of high culture. Indeed, the name of the new political and cultural movement—*Renaixença* (renaissance)—expresses the contrast with the three previous centuries of *Decadència* (decadence) (Pradilla, 2000). Moreover, this Catalan nationalist movement took place at a moment of successful industrialization, which gave rise to a strong middle class and led to Catalonia becoming one of the richest areas of Spain. This pattern of Catalonia as politically marginalized but economically strong would continue until the 20th century (May, 2001).

The beginning of the 20th century meant a consolidation of political and cultural Catalanism, such as with the First International Conference on the Catalan Language in 1906. As I will address in the following section, the process of corpus planning also began during this period (Pradilla, 2000). The first dictatorship of the 20th century, led by General Primo de Rivera (1923-1930), represented a backward step for this process of recuperation. However, recuperation continued to develop during the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1938), when Catalan gained a co-official status with the 1932 Statute of Autonomy (Fishman, 1991).

During the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) between the Republicans and the rightist insurrectionists, the “*Nacionales*,” led by General Franco, emerged victorious. Since Catalonia and the Basque Country mainly supported the Republican side, they especially suffered under Franco’s military dictatorship, which was based on a strongly centralized Spanish rule. Catalonia’s autonomy was annulled, and the Catalan language and culture were severely repressed. The dictatorship, which lasted for almost forty years (1939-1975), carried out an anti-Catalan campaign which

was so extreme that even ordinary conversational use of the language among ordinary folk could prove to be dangerous, if overheard... All public use of Catalan was prohibited; Catalan names and toponyms were banned and replaced by Spanish counterparts; Catalan publications, street signs and advertisements or notices were not only discontinued but any disobedience with respect to these prohibitions was punishable (and punished!) by fine, dismissal, arrest and the closing of offending publications, institutions or agencies. (Fishman, 1991, p. 297)

When Franco died in 1975, Spain underwent a process of transition until the Spanish Constitution was passed in 1978, guaranteeing the return of democracy. As will be examined when referring to status planning, the Spanish Constitution established Spanish as the only official language for the whole state. At the same time, however, the Constitution allowed joint official validity of the minority languages in their territories and, therefore, the development of language policies aimed at “normalizing” the previous status of languages like Catalan or Basque.

To conclude this historical context of Catalonia and the Catalan language, it is crucial to refer to the demographic movements that took place in the 20th century. The prosperous economic situation of industrialized Catalonia attracted immigrants from poorer parts of Spain. Those first immigrants were able to integrate among their new fellow citizens and learn the Catalan language. However, the wave of immigration from the 1950s to the mid-1970s was so massive that the natural learning of the Catalan language and culture was no longer possible. Towns of the metropolitan area of Barcelona experienced significant population growth. For example, my own hometown, Santa Coloma de Gramenet, increased its population from 32,590 inhabitants in 1960 (when, actually, the massive immigration process had already started) to 143,232 inhabitants in 1977 (municipal government of Santa Coloma de Gramenet). This demographic movement reveals that today, out of Catalonia’s 7.36 million inhabitants (Official State Gazette, Royal Decree 2124, 2008), about half do not have Catalan as their first language, especially in the metropolitan area of Barcelona (Language Policy Report, 2006).

In the following sections, I will examine the twofold goal of the LPP implemented from the early 1980s: on the one hand, the goal of reversing the situation of minorization of the Catalan language after the repressive dictatorship; and on the other hand, that of spreading the vernacular language and culture among the monolingual Spaniards who mainly moved to Catalonia for socioeconomic reasons.

### **Language Planning Process: Corpus, Status, and Acquisition**

In this section the process of language planning that has been carried out in Catalonia since the return of democracy will be examined in terms of corpus, status and acquisition planning using Hornberger’s (2006, p. 29) integrative framework as a tool of analysis for language policy and planning goals.

This integrative framework (see figure 1) embraces the contributions made by the most significant scholars in the field of LPP as Hornberger refers to them (as cited in Haugen, 1966, 1983; Kloss, 1968; Ferguson, 1968; Stewart, 1968; Rabin, 1971; Neustupny, 1974; Nahir, 1984; Cooper, 1989; Hornberger, 1994). The work of each of these authors contributes to the enrichment and deepening of the different theories, models and types in LPP, which are combined and systematized in this integrative framework. Indeed, a broader and more acute theoretical framework will allow a deeper insight of the different case studies in LPP.

Types	Policy planning approach (on form)	Cultivation planning approach (on function)
Status planning (about uses of language)	<b>Officialization</b> <b>Nationalization</b> <b>Standardization of status</b> <b>Proscription</b>	<b>Revival</b> <b>Maintenance</b> <b>Spread</b> <b>Interlingual communication – international, intranational</b>
Acquisition planning (about users of language)	<b>Group</b> <b>Education / School</b> <b>Literary</b> <b>Religious</b> <b>Mass media</b> <b>Work</b>	<b>Reacquisition</b> <b>Maintenance</b> <b>Shift</b> <b>Foreign language / second language / literacy</b>
	<b>SELECTION</b> Language's formal role in society <i>Extra-linguistic aims</i>	<b>IMPLEMENTATION</b> Language's functional role in society <i>Extra-linguistic aims</i>
Corpus planning (about language)	<b>Standardization of corpus</b> <b>Standardization of auxiliary code</b>  <b>Graphization</b>	<b>Modernization</b> (new functions) <b>Lexical</b> <b>Stylistic</b>  <b>Renovation</b> (new forms, old functions) <b>Purification</b> <b>Reform</b> <b>Stylistic simplification</b> <b>Terminology unification</b>
	<b>CODIFICATION</b> Language's form <i>Linguistic aims</i>	<b>ELABORATION</b> Language's functions <i>Semi-linguistic aims</i>

Figure 1. Types of language planning and policy.

*Corpus Planning*

Following Cooper (1989), Ferguson (1968) organized corpus planning into three main categories: graphization, standardization and modernization, while Cooper added a fourth one, renovation. Taking into account both the historical and current situations of Catalan, I understand that the process of corpus planning that the language has undergone is especially related to the categories of standardization, modernization and renovation.

Corpus planning deals with languages themselves, as it entails involvement with the form or structure of languages and literacies (Hornberger, 2006, p. 28). In particular, standardization, which aims to codify a language's form, has at its core the notion of being "shared" by a community of speakers in terms of expectations and understanding (Cooper, 1989, p. 132). The standard variety of a language can be the result of an overt planning or an unplanned evolution (p. 133), and it refers "to the development of a literacy norm which overrides regional and social literacies" (Hornberger, 2006, p. 30).

In 1907 the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* [Institute of Catalan Studies (IEC)] was created with the mission of standardizing the Catalan language and promoting research in this language (Pradilla, 2000), originally in the fields of history, archaeology, literature and law. Within the field of philology, Pompeu Fabra took the re-

sponsibility of establishing a common standard variety among the various dialects of Catalan and, thus, in 1913, the *Normes ortogràfiques* [Spelling Rules] were first published, followed by the *Gramàtica catalana* [Catalan Grammar] in 1918. Then, during the Second Republic in 1932, Fabra published his *Diccionari general de la llengua catalana* [General Dictionary of the Catalan Language]. The IEC recognized and adopted Fabra's philological work, but it was not until 1996 that the Institut published its own dictionary, the *Diccionari de la llengua catalana* [Dictionary of the Catalan Language].

Considering Cooper's (1989) distinction between modernization and renovation: "whereas modernization permits language codes to serve new communicative functions, renovation permits language codes to serve old functions in new ways" (p. 154), the corpus planning of the Catalan language could be considered as incorporating both the categories of renovation and modernization. Taking into account that Catalan was standardized in grammar and in spelling in the Middle Ages (Fishman, 1991) and that it began to recover its status in the second half of the 19th century among Catalan scholars, one can argue that current standardization renovated Catalan by developing new forms through purification and terminology unification (e.g. Fabra's work setting spelling, grammatical and lexical rules after centuries of linguistic "anarchy") for old functions. These old functions are those that Catalan had during the medieval period as a language of the government and/or high culture.

However, the three centuries of decadence of the Catalan language entailed that, without a doubt, in the 20th century Catalan needed to undergo a process of modernization. This process meant to develop new lexical and stylistic resources to embrace unused domains (Hornberger, 2006) in order to become "an appropriate medium of communication for modern topics and forms of discourse" (Cooper, 1989, p. 149). Following this aim regarding the specialized lexicon, in 1985 the Catalan Government, together with the IEC, created the Termcat—a center for the regulation of specialized lexicon—with the task of promoting, coordinating and developing the terminological activities of the Catalan language. The center offers an updated corpus of terms which are accessible online, as well as, in some cases, its translation to other languages. Similarly, various books about the administrative style emphasize the goal for a more modern and simpler (clearer) writing style. Indeed, it may be interesting to note that today administrative Spanish has a more distant and baroque style that bears witness to its uninterrupted tradition throughout the centuries as a formal and high status language.

### *Status Planning*

Status planning refers to the uses of languages, and it has different goals depending on the form (policy planning approach) and the function (cultivation planning approach) of that use. Cooper (1989) defines status planning as the "deliberate efforts to influence the allocation of functions among a community's languages" (p. 99) and reviews Stewart's (1968) language functions as targets of status planning.

From a policy planning approach, the Spanish Constitution meant the officialization of the Spanish language and, although it does not recognize the Spanish minority languages as co-official in the broader state, it does allow officialization

in their respective territories in accordance with the Statutes of Autonomy that each Community develops. Below I quote the articles of the Spanish Constitution of 1978, which refer to the linguistic status planning in democratic Spain.

Art. 3.1. Castilian is the official language of the State. All Spaniards have the duty to know it and the right to use it.

Art. 3.2. The other languages of Spain will also be official in the respective autonomous communities, in accordance with their Statutes.

Art. 3.3. The richness of the linguistic modalities of Spain is a cultural patrimony which will be the object of special respect and protection.

As stated in article 3.1, the Spanish Constitution specifically affirms that the citizens have the “duty” to know the Spanish language and the “right” to use it. Regarding minority languages, however, while highlighting their cultural patrimony, it confines itself to recognizing territorial co-official status depending on their Statutes of Autonomy, without referring to duties nor rights in terms of knowledge and use. In this sense, some scholars (Newman, Trenchs, & Ng, 2008) state that the Spanish Constitution consigned Catalan (and the other minority languages of Spain) to an “asymmetric bilingualism” (p. 308).

However, after almost forty years of systematic repression and stigmatization of minority languages—especially Catalan and Basque—the Constitution represented the possibility of these languages recovering their official statuses as the national languages of their territories through a status policy of officialization and nationalization (Hornberger, 2006, originally proposed in Hornberger, 1994).

The first Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia of the current democratic period dates back to 1979, one year after the Spanish Constitution was passed. In 2006, the Spanish Congress passed the new Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia, which substitutes the Statute of 1979. Notably, this Statute is still in the Constitutional Court due to appeals lodged by the conservative Spanish political party—the *Partido Popular*—the Ombudsman and the Government of Murcia (one of the 17 Autonomous Communities). These controversial complaints basically refer to the treatment given to the Catalan language, whose knowledge would become a duty for those who live in Catalonia; to the designation of Catalonia as a nation; to the role of the State within Catalonia; and finally, they also refer to financial issues. As a result, the future of this new Statute is uncertain since parts of it could be declared unconstitutional and, therefore, I will refer to the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia (1979). which stated,

Art. 3.1. Catalonia’s own language is Catalan.

Art. 3.2. The Catalan language is official in Catalonia, as also is Spanish, which is official throughout the Spanish State.

Art. 3.3. The Government of Catalonia will ensure the normal and official use of both languages, will take the measures necessary in order to ensure knowledge of them, and will create the conditions making it possible for them to achieve full equality in terms of the rights and duties of citizens of Catalonia.

Art. 3.4. The Aranese language will be taught and will be the subject of particular respect and protection.

In order to mention some of the changes of the 2006 Statute, it may be noted that the new Statute specifies that “All persons have the right to use the two official languages and citizens of Catalonia have the *right* and the *duty* to know them” (Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia, 2006, Art. 6.2, my emphasis). This new Statute, then, just as the Spanish Constitution does with Spanish, expresses that knowing both Spanish and Catalan is a right as well as a duty. With regard to the Aranese language spoken in the Aran Valley, it may be noted that it is now also given a status of co-officiality in Catalonia: “The Occitan language, known as Aranese in Aran, is Aran’s own language and is official in Catalonia, as established by this Statute and by the laws of linguistic normalization” (Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia, 2006, art. 6.5).

By focusing on the 1979 Statute of Autonomy, two main aspects may be highlighted since they are closely interrelated with the status cultivation planning as well as with the acquisition cultivation planning that will be examined in the next section. The first of these aspects is the consideration of Catalan as Catalonia’s “own language,” i.e. the national language of Catalonia, which shares its official character with Spanish as the official language throughout Spain. The second aspect is the commitment of the Catalan Government to guarantee the normal and official use of both languages, which leads to a theoretical, and legal, balanced bilingualism.

In terms of status cultivation planning—and referring again to Hornberger’s (2006) integrative framework for language planning—it may be concluded that the 1979 Statute of Autonomy had as its goals the maintenance (and revival) of the Catalan language by those native speakers who were prohibited from using it in a public way. Furthermore, the promotion of its spread among the new citizens of Catalonia should be considered another important goal. We may now turn to the acquisition planning to see how these goals were (and are) carried out.

### *Acquisition Planning*

While status planning refers to the uses of languages, acquisition planning refers to the users of languages. Cooper (1989) adds this third planning type, but it is more closely related to status than corpus planning. As stated by Hornberger (2006), acquisition planning may be understood as the “efforts to influence the allocation of users or the distribution of languages/literacies, by means of creating or improving opportunity or incentive to learn them, or both” (p. 28). Departing from this theoretical contextualization and before dealing again with this theoretical issue, I will now present the two language planning and policy acts that have been passed by the Catalan Government.

The first LPP act was passed in 1983 and was called the *Llei de normalització lingüística* [Linguistic Normalization Act]; in the following section I will address the term “normalization”). Its main goals were to increase the legal status of Catalan and to promote its knowledge (Gore, 2002). Education is considered to play a crucial role for the linguistic normalization of the Catalan language and, thus, education is specifically addressed. The second LPP act dates back to 1998 and is called the *Llei de política lingüística* [Linguistic Policy Act]. This second (and current) LPP act is understood as an update of the first one. This act continues to consider education as a cornerstone for the achievement of a successful recuperation of Catalan and a balanced bilingualism, and it mainly refers to the increase of the public use

of Catalan. As such, it addresses the LPP in areas such as socio-economic activities, mass media and cultural industries. Indeed, these different domains constitute the acquisition policy planning goals examined by Stewart (1968, revised by Cooper, 1989) and Cooper (1989).

However, since the focus of this paper is on the LPP in the field of education, I will specifically examine the LPP acts as they refer to the domain of education/school. As I have mentioned, the Linguistic Policy (LP) Act of 1998 is the one currently in force, and it commits its third chapter to education, from Articles 20 to 24. The articles that will be cited belong to the 1998 LP Act, and I will present a selection of its main points along with reference to their equivalents in the Linguistic Normalization (LN) Act (1983).

Art. 20.1. Catalan, as Catalonia's own language, is also that of education, at all levels and types of schooling. (cf. Art. 14.1, 1983 LN Act)

Art. 21.2. Children are entitled to receive their initial education in their usual language, whether this be Catalan or Castilian [...]. (cf. Art. 14.2, 1983 LN Act)

Art. 21.3. The teaching of Catalan and Castilian shall be guaranteed in the curricula, so that all children, whatever their usual language may be when starting their education, can normally and correctly use both official languages by the end of their compulsory education. (cf. Art. 14.4, 1983 LN Act)

Art. 21.5. Students shall not be separated either in centres or in group classes according to their usual language. (cf. Art. 14.5, 1983 LN Act)

As I mentioned in the previous section, the status policy designation of Catalan as Catalonia's own language implies that it is also considered the vehicular language of education (Art. 20.1). The teaching of both official languages, however, is mandatory, as is their balanced command by the end of the mandatory schooling (Art. 21.3). The act establishes that parents can demand that Spanish be the vehicular language of their children's education until the age of seven. In reality, though, this option is difficult since it must be claimed on an individual family basis (May, 2001), resulting in only a small number of parents that apply for it. Finally, it may also be highlighted that the act establishes that students cannot be separated according to their first language, either Catalan or Spanish. I will give further perspectives about this issue in the last section of this paper, which deals with the present situation of foreign students enrolled in the schools of Catalonia.

Based on Cooper (1989) and Hornberger (2006), one can conclude that the Catalan LPP aims for reacquisition and maintenance, and also shift. That is, examining the language policy planned and implemented at the end of 20th century, this policy emphasizes reacquisition for people who stopped learning Catalan as a consequence of the historical situation addressed above; maintenance for those who continued speaking and learning it; and, finally, a shift to Catalan for those who came from other parts of Spain and were monolingual in Spanish.

However, before addressing a deeper analysis of the LPP in education, I should note that this shift does not imply the loss of the Spanish speaker's first language. On the contrary, what the Catalan LPP seeks is a balanced bilingualism through a necessary protection and boost of the minority language. This understanding, however, is not uniformly shared, as discussed in the following section.

**Analytic and Ethnographic Perspectives on LPP and Language Ideology/Attitudes**

Having examined the current language planning process in terms of corpus, status, and acquisition planning, I will, first, analyze the results of this LPP especially within the scope of education. Afterwards, I will address ethnographic studies relevant to my paper. Last, I analyze the various language ideologies and attitudes since they represent a cornerstone of the successful implementation of any LPP.

*Assessment of the "Reversing Language Shift"*

The case of Catalan, together with modern Hebrew and French in Quebec, is given by Fishman (1991) as an example of a (more or less) success story, taking into account its successful reversing language shift (RLS) efforts (p. 287). Thus, referring to these three language-and-culture settings, Fishman states that "they have traversed the most sensitive and dangerous sections of the difficult path from 'essentially problematic' to 'essentially non-problematic'" (p. 287).

Indeed, different studies show the success of the Catalan educational LPP since it was first systematically applied in 1983 (Huguet, 2008). From 1983 to 1993 there were three possible school models. The first model included schools of maximum Catalanization, with Catalan as the vehicular language and Spanish used for Spanish class and as the medium of instruction for one other topical course. The second model of schools showed medium Catalanization, where schooling began in Spanish and gradually introduced Catalan until reaching the same level of use as Spanish. And last, the third model was composed of schools of minimum Catalanization, where Spanish was the vehicular language and Catalan was only used as far as it was legally obligatory (Pradilla, 2000). In 1993, after assessing the results of the students in the different models, it was decided to offer solely the model in which Catalan is the main vehicular language. The result is that for Catalan-speaking students, the program is basically one of maintenance of the minority language, while for Spanish-speaking students it is an immersion program in the vernacular language. This situation takes place in public schools, since, although many private and semi-private schools also follow the model stated by the Catalan educational LPP (Huguet, 2007), they are only required to offer the legally minimum amount of the Catalan language.

The linguistic normalization of Catalan was defined in the 1975-1977 Congress of Catalan Culture as the "process during which a language gradually recovers the normal functions it [has] lost and at the same time works its way into those social sectors, within its own territory, where it was not spoken before" (May, 2001, p. 246, cited in Torres, 1984). Indeed, this concept of "normalization" used in Catalan and Basque sociolinguistics is also applied to the development of other minority indigenous-languages (López & Sichra, 2008). With regard to education, the main goal of the Catalan linguistic normalization, reflected on the Article 21.3 of the 1998 LP Act, requires that by the end of their compulsory education students shall "normally and correctly use both official languages." A successful assessment of Catalan students is, therefore, based on their proficient and balanced command of both Catalan and Spanish (Huguet, Lasgabaster, & Vila, 2008, p. 228).

Huguet (2007) reviews some of the studies which have assessed Catalan students' command of Catalan and Spanish. In Huguet's review, he examines a research study carried out by the National Institute of Quality and Assessment in 1998 found similar results in reading and comprehension between 14- and 16-year-old students from Catalonia and students from the rest of Spain. The 2003 PISA reported that Catalan students were slightly above the state average in reading comprehension and in mathematics performance. Additionally, Huguet investigates a study carried out by Vila in 1995 that stated there were no differences in the knowledge of Spanish among students attending different language programs, but that there was a higher knowledge of Catalan by Spanish-speakers in immersion programs. Further, Huguet (2008) corroborates Cummins' (1979) Linguistic Interdependence Hypothesis in his case study with local and immigrant secondary school students. In this work, he shows that schooling in a language different from students' L1 does not impede the development of both L1 and L2. Instead, the social context promotes this dual development, as is the case of Catalonia, where Spanish is also studied at school and has a wide social presence outside of school (Huguet, 2008). According to the aforementioned studies, the results also prove that students achieve a very similar command of both Catalan and Spanish. In the specific case of immigrant students, this transference of linguistic knowledge also takes place between the student's family language (L1), the schooling language, Catalan (L2), and Spanish (L3). However, the results of the study highlight that there is an important gap between these students and their local classmates with regard to the knowledge of both Catalan and Spanish (Huguet, 2008). A possible explanation for this reality and, in general, immigrant students' failure in school, is that the development of a new language (especially its academic skills) is a long and complex process, even if those students are already able to have fluent communicative exchanges (Cummins, 2000a, quoted by Huguet, 2008). Finally, several studies report that, although Catalan is the main vehicular language in most of the Catalan schools, there is still an important gap in terms of language proficiency between Catalan and Spanish, especially for those who have the latter as their first language (Strubell, 2001). Regarding this difference in proficiency, Vallverdú (1998) refers to a social resistance to catalanization and, therefore, language attitudes may stand as one of the reasons to explain this gap.

### *Ethnographic Studies with Regard to Language Attitudes*

Most of the literature that I have already reviewed presents a parallel between language and socioeconomic status in Catalonia. Especially in Barcelona and its metropolitan area, Spanish speakers are normally identified as belonging to a low socioeconomic class, whereas Catalan speakers are considered to belong to the bourgeoisie, the middle or upper-middle class. These associations result in part from Catalonia's early industrialization and the abundant arrival of immigrants from poorer parts of Spain. However, I argue that this bipolar conceptualization is too simplistic. As presented in the historical background, there are also working class Catalan-speakers, especially in the rural areas of Catalonia and, conversely, there are Spanish-speakers who belong to the upper class. During periods of Catalan oppression throughout history, the middle class in Catalonia has mainly continued to speak Catalan. However, there has also been a part of this upper-middle

and upper class that has switched to Spanish as the prestigious language of power, in contrast with Catalan, which was stigmatized as the language of peasants and other less refined social classes.

I now turn to Woolard's (1989) ethnographic study that she conducted in Barcelona in 1980, soon after the return of democracy to Spain and the massive wave of monolingual Spanish-speaking immigrants that had arrived in the city. Her results show that Catalan was considered to be of higher status and more prestige for both Catalan- and Spanish-speakers. Indeed, the perception of the economic strength of the region and its natives supported this understanding. The updated study led by Newman, Trenchs and Ng (2008), however, presents some contrasting results. These authors find a decline in the value of Catalan, which could be explained, on the one hand, by a weakened link between socioeconomic class and ethnolinguistic origin. Indeed, many Spanish speakers of immigrant origin now belong to the middle class. On the other hand, these changes could be explained as consequences of shifting language attitudes, as both languages are no longer markers of ethnolinguistic categories. Rather, they may be seen "as viable alternatives for both communities" (p. 329).

In contrast to Woolard (1989) who showed how each language community was more attached to its language, Newman, Trenchs and Ng (2008) also note that bilingualism is more accepted in Catalonia. They do write, however, that this bilingualism is biased towards Spanish. In this sense, it is only the Spanish language which "has a full presence in all registers" (p. 310).

Huguet and Janés' (2008) case study is focused on immigrant secondary school students and analyzes the role of seven variables in these students' language attitudes. Out of the seven variables (area of origin, mother tongue, socioprofessional status, sociocultural status, length of stay in Spain and/or Catalonia, age of arrival in Spain and/or Catalonia and schooling in the homeland), area of origin and mother tongue have a special significance in determining language attitudes. The results of the questionnaires report that Spanish-speaking immigrant students, or students coming from Latin American countries, show the least positive attitudes towards Catalan. At the same time, these students show the most positive towards Spanish. A hypothesis to explain this fact is that most immigrants may find learning Catalan unnecessary if they are already competent in Spanish. These students and their families may not know the linguistic situation of Catalonia before their arrival and, therefore, any action meant to develop the use of Catalan may be understood as an action against their mother tongue, especially if the language attitudes in the family context are negative for Catalan as an "unnecessary" language, and/or parents have a passive role motivating their children to learn this new language. In present-day Catalonia it is possible to live in the country without speaking Catalan. Furthermore, the occasions in which Catalan is considered necessary are decreasing due to the "social importance of Spanish and the constantly increasing number of immigrant Spanish-speaking citizens" (p. 257). Taking into account the ethnographic studies analyzed and this updated sociolinguistic situation regarding Catalan and Spanish, a reflective analysis beyond the context of schooling may be needed in order to gain a broader understanding of the situation in terms of language ideology and attitudes.

*Analysis of Language Ideologies and Attitudes*

A language ideology may be understood as a “shared body of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world, including cultural assumptions about language, the nature and purpose of communication, and ‘patterns of communicative behavior as an enactment of a collective order’” (Woolard, 1992, cited in Tollefson, 1999, p. 1). Thus, I understand language attitudes as the concrete expressions of a language ideology. As an example, showing one’s refusal to learn a minority language would be a language attitude that reflects a language ideology. Following Woolard, a language ideology is, then, the broader complex body of assumptions and it may have sociopolitical foundations. For instance, a language ideology could be that minority languages are unnecessary or even dangerous for the unity of a State and, therefore, only majority languages are worthy to be learned. Furthermore, these assumptions may have sociopolitical foundations as, for example, is the case of the language ideology we have described during Franco’s dictatorship and that was taught to Spaniards at school and through the media or the different governmental actions.

In Catalonia there is increasing controversy in fields like education based on the LPP of the Catalan Government. This debate reflects at least two different language ideologies, which entail contrasting language attitudes. The scope of this controversy is quite broad, and here I will offer only a brief exposition and analysis of the main issues shaping the debate.

On one side of the debate, under a Catalan nationalist rubric, are those citizens who continue seeking the promotion of Catalan as the national minority language. They note that complete normalization of Catalan has not yet been achieved. As Pueyo (2006) notes, “the fact is [...] that it is not entirely possible, nor simple, nor comfortable to live in Catalan in Catalonia, but it is perfectly possible to do so exclusively in Spanish” (p. 39, referred in Newman, Trench, & Ng, 2008, p. 307).

One finds arguments to Spanish nationalism on the other side of the debate, where supporters claim that the Spanish language is threatened and marginalized in Catalonia. A frequent argument is that children who live in Catalonia cannot pursue their education through the medium of Spanish and that they are gravely discriminated. As a consequence, students enrolled in Catalan schools will not have an adequate knowledge of the Spanish language (Ansón, 2008). However, these arguments are far to reflect the reality in Catalonia and, as we have seen (Huguet, 2007, 2008), studies show that Catalan students do achieve a balanced command of both languages and, therefore, it may be concluded that these supporters actually argue for the defense of a false “bilingualism.” As May (2001) states “opponents of Catalan language laws are specifically *not* arguing for bilingualism at all but, rather, for the right of majority (Spanish) language speakers to remain monolingual” (p. 250, emphasis in the original).

The controversy around Catalan, Basque and Galician LPP is often a tendentious issue of debate in more general policy. In the investiture debate, for example, the recently elected President of Spain Rodríguez Zapatero had to defend the LPP of the Catalan Government. His defense occurred in response to accusations by a deputy who claimed that requiring the knowledge of Catalan, Basque or Galician when applying for a job is an abusive demand (Manchón, 2008). Moreover, certain Madrid newspapers and television stations, which are regarded as supporters of

the conservative and right-wing *Partido Popular*, enthusiastically take up any controversial issue regarding minority languages and nationalisms (Strubell, 1996).

To conclude this section by presenting the complexity of language attitudes, I will refer to Gore's (2002) study among adult international immigrants. Her informants stated that Catalan speakers switched to Spanish when addressing them, and the author interpreted this act as a sign of deliberate will of exclusion by Catalan speakers. Indeed, some speakers might act according to a language ideology that does not consider Catalan appropriate to address non-Catalan speakers. From my own experience, however, I would argue that this language choice follows the traditional social norm of accommodating to Spanish, as failing to do so may be considered as "bad-mannered" (Strubell, 1996, p. 266), according to the language ideology inherited after historical events that has characterized the territory. This switch is, therefore, in line with a sense of inferiority that has stigmatized and minoritized the Catalan language for decades (Fishman, 1991, p. 297), as well as many other vernacular languages (Ryon, 2005; González Ventura, 1997).

Clearly, these new culturally and linguistically diverse immigrants that are becoming part of the Catalan society at the beginning of the 21st century imply a broadening of the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia. This fact leads to my analysis to the following section.

### **New Challenges and Directions in the 21st century: From Bilingualism to Multilingualism**

In the final part of this paper, I address the two main sociolinguistic events characterizing the 21st century in Catalonia and other parts of Spain: international immigration and the promotion of the teaching/learning of English as a foreign language. As noted in the discussion and analysis up to this point, in the context of Catalonia such events mean the transition from the traditional bilingualism in Catalan-Spanish to the current multilingualism. This change embraces English as the main foreign language of choice, as well as diverse languages that shape the linguistic background of the current international immigrants.

#### *International Immigration and Foreign Students' Education*

I will first deal with the issue of international immigration, which represents a completely new social phenomenon in contemporary Spain. According to the 2008 report published by the National Statistics Institute, foreigners represent 11.3% of the total population (46,157,822 inhabitants) in Spain. Catalonia's average is above the Spanish one, with 14.9% of its total population (7,364,078 inhabitants). In fact, in absolute terms, Catalonia had the highest increase in foreigners during 2007, with 125,459 new inhabitants (National Statistics Institute, 2008). As it happened during the national immigration of the 20th century, most of these international immigrants continue to settle in the metropolitan area of Barcelona.

There has been much growth in the number of foreign students in primary and secondary schools. In 1991, foreign students represented 0.8%, while in the academic year of 2008-2009, they comprised 13.5% of the student body (Department of Education, Government of Catalonia, 2008a). Catalonia's average of immigrant schoolchildren is above the Spanish which is 9.4% (Ministry of Education, Social

Politics and Sports, Government of Spain, 2008). Included in these figures is much diversity, with students representing 180 different nationalities and speaking more than 200 languages (Language Policy Report, 2006, chapter 5, p. 2). In the 2008-2009 academic year, foreign students from Central and South America represent 43.8% of the total, and those from Maghreb comprise 25.8%. Students with EU-27 nationality make up an increasing group of immigrant students with 13.7% of its total population (Department of Education, Government of Catalonia, 2008a).

In 2004, the Department of Education of the Catalan Government introduced the so-called *Pla per a la Llengua i la Cohesió Social* [Language and Social Cohesion Plan], which could be adapted by each school according to its needs. This Plan created the position of a linguistic coordinator for interculturalism and social cohesion in each school. Additionally, when a school considers it necessary, the plan provides a reception class (with a reception tutor) in order to help foreign students understand Catalan. The Plan has several goals, including the consolidation of social cohesion, intercultural education, and placing the Catalan language in a multilingual framework (Language Policy Report, 2006).

The adaptation of the educational LPP to the new sociolinguistic reality means the continuation of immersion programs in the Catalan language. Thus, these foreign students spend part of the school day with their group in courses such as physical education, visual and artistic education, and a few hours of other subjects, all taught through the medium of Catalan. They spend the rest of the day in the reception class, though the final schedule and assessment of each area depends on an Individual Plan (*Pla Individualitzat*, PI) that the school prepares for each foreign student. Foreign students will then be progressively integrated into other areas as their linguistic knowledge permits (Language Policy Report, 2006). It is clear, then, that Department of Education has no current plans to teach these students in their mother tongues. There are likely many reasons why there is no instruction in these students' native languages. I believe the most salient, however, is due to the problem of feasibility. In other words, there is an extreme unlikelihood in finding teachers that have mastered all of the languages spoken by the diverse population of students in the school, and according to the LP Act students cannot be separated based on their usual languages (see Art. 21.5, 1998 LP Act). Consequently, education in each student's mother tongue is not possible today in Catalonia.

In order to avoid a precipitate judgment on the current educational LPP in Catalonia, one must consider the particular situation of Catalan whose knowledge is not strictly necessary, and sometimes it is even refused in Catalan society. In this sense, it may be interesting to compare with a totally contrasting situation. For instance, in the US most of the immigrants desire to learn English: "within the United States [...] study after study finds that non-English-speaking immigrants are eager to learn English and are doing so at unprecedented rates" (Schmidt, 2006, p. 99). This reality does not mean that the current educational LPP adequately addresses the needs of foreign students. The needs of those whose mother tongue is not Spanish may be especially neglected, since all teachers know Spanish and the teaching/learning of this language is guaranteed in Catalan schools.

A very first step towards fulfilling the "need to preserve the languages as cultural heritage" (Department of Education, Government of Catalonia, 2008b, my translation) was carried out in the academic year 2004-2005. At this time, the Department of Education, together with institutions or associations aimed at pre-

servicing native languages, signed an agreement to teach these languages as after-school programs. In the academic year 2007-2008, there were almost 2,000 students learning their native languages through this program. The majority learn Arabic (approximately 1,300 students), but other languages currently taught include Chinese, Amazigh (a Berber language spoken in Northern Africa), Dutch, Portuguese and Romanian. Quechua and Urdu are expected to be offered in upcoming academic years.

Without a doubt, this program alone is not enough to preserve the native languages that are also minority languages in the context of Catalan or Spain in general. The active use and teaching of these languages in the household may ensure their intergenerational transmission, but a formal study of these languages is also crucial in order to develop literacy skills.

As examined above, the current educational LPP in Catalonia is focused on Catalan and Spanish, and now on a primary foreign language, which is mainly English. In the future, the Catalan LPP may have to adapt to offer the foreign students' mother tongues in the planned curriculum of primary and secondary schools. Catalonia, as well as Spain as a whole, are now experiencing the first years of international immigration and, consequently, the measures adopted in this early stage are very important for an intercultural—and multilingual—successful future.

### *Teaching of English as a First Foreign Language*

It was noteworthy that in the 2008 presidential campaign in Spain, all Catalan and Spanish political parties claimed that they would ensure a reinforcement of English language teaching and learning. In one example, President Rodríguez Zapatero, who was eventually re-elected, assured the public that within four years English would be a medium of instruction for school activities. He also projected that in a period of ten years, Spanish youth would speak and work in English (EFE, 2008). The motivation which is the basis of this willingness is, thus, mainly instrumental (Muñoz, 2000), that is, people wanting to learn English “reflects pragmatic, utilitarian motives” (Baker, 2006, p. 215). Clearly, it may be concluded that this strong implementation of English is not considered a threat for any of the Spanish languages in current public opinion. To the contrary, its current mandatory implementation in early grades is widely encouraged.

The 142/2007 Decree, which follows the 2/2006 Spanish Law of Education, establishes the curriculum of primary schools in Catalonia. Both the decree and the law refer to the “first foreign language,” thus avoiding the specification of English as this first foreign language. Possible explanations for this particular use of terms may be found in political and historical reasons, as well as in the fact that until recently French was the first foreign language studied in schools (Muñoz, 2000). However, the present reality is that a very few—and decreasing—number of schools still teach French as the first foreign language. In fact, only 0.5% of primary schools and 1.4% of secondary schools still teach French in this capacity. By comparison, 92% and 98% of these schools, respectively, teach English as the first foreign language (Ministry of Education, Social Politics and Sports; Government of Spain. Data from the 2008-2009 academic year). Thus, considering the overwhelming number of schools that teach English as the first foreign language, I refer to English as this first foreign language. Article 9.5 of the 142/2007 Decree establishes

that the teaching of English is required from grade one, and that a second foreign language can be introduced in grades five or six (Art. 9.6).

Finally, as an example of this increased desire for English instruction, I refer to the CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) experimental programs. In the Catalan schools that apply this program, Catalan continues to remain the main vehicular language, while English is also gradually introduced as a medium of instruction. (As a side note, Spanish is already used as a medium of instruction in non-CLIL programs.) Thus, starting in kindergarten, these students are immersed in a trilingual environment. Indeed, this program seems a good option for the further development of English. Taking into account the current linguistically diverse situation of most of the public schools, the goal now should be to study how languages other than English and the two official languages in Catalonia could be implemented in multilingual and multicultural Catalan schools.

### Conclusion

The return of democracy has represented an active protection and promotion of the Catalan language. As examined in the sections of status and acquisition planning, the current legislation guarantees full rights to the Catalan citizens with regard to the knowledge and use of their "own" language. However, as the LPP literature often states, legislation itself does not entail actual social use. In support of this notion, different studies show that the dominant language in interpersonal relations is Spanish due to the ease with which Catalan speakers switch to Spanish in accordance with the traditional social norms (Vallverdú, 1998; Strubell, 2001). Nevertheless, as Fishman (1991) points out, Catalan can be considered a successful story of reversing language shift mainly, but not only, due to the prominent role of schools.

As a phenomenon throughout Spain and especially in urban areas, a new wave of immigrants has been arriving in Catalonia since the late 1990s. These immigrants have culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds and, indeed, they represent a challenge and an opportunity for reciprocal enrichment for Catalan society in general and the educational LPP in particular. The goal of LPP related to these immigrants is twofold. On the one hand, these students shall learn a minority language, Catalan, while achieving a balanced command of Spanish. On the other hand, the possibility of further developing their own languages should be guaranteed by the Catalan educational system.

The combination of these two goals may be highly controversial. In one example the opponents of the Catalan LPP, claiming themselves "*bilingüistas*," actually aim for the continuity of Spanish monolingualism. The debate, however, remains very active and complex when trying to accommodate: (a) individuals' rights of being taught in their (majority) mother tongue and (b) the rights of minority speakers to be taught in their vernacular language without segregating students of majority and minority language speakers in the mixed Catalan society.

In my opinion, Spanish-speakers in Catalonia have, in theory and in practice, full linguistic rights. Both Spanish- and Catalan-speaking students do master the knowledge of the Spanish language. In reality, it is the level of command of the Catalan language that is still poorer than that of the Spanish language (Vallverdú,

1998). Consequently, this fact, together with the current phenomenon of international immigration and the reinforcement of the teaching of English, leads me to suggest that Catalan LPP may need a deeper revision and adaptation to the present situation as it continues to struggle with highly politicized language ideologies and attitudes.

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