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Romanian migrant students. A study on use of language and language attitudes

Ester Caballé Morera

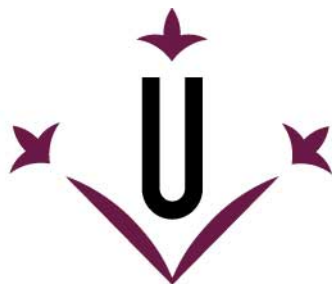
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Universitat de Lleida

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

**Romanian migrant students. A study on use of
language and language attitudes**

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Report presented to qualify for the degree of Doctor from the University of Lleida
Doctoral Program: Educació, Societat i Qualitat de vida.

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Als meus pares

Agraïments

En primer lloc, el meu agraïment al Ministerio de Economía, Indústria y Competitividad, que em va atorgar una beca FPI des del 2016 fins al 2020 (número de referència BES-2015-074242) la qual m'ha possibilitat endinsar-me en la formació com a personal docent i investigador.

Agraeixo d'una forma especial l'acolliment i guiatge que m'ha brindat el Grup de recerca consolidat “Llengua i Educació” de la Universitat de Lleida, sobretot als investigadors principals, el Dr. Àngel Huguet i el Dr. Cecilio Lapresta i la codirecció de la Dra. M. Adelina Ianos.

A l'ensem, vull agrair també l'acolliment que la Dra. Anne Pomerantz em va fer a la Graduate School of Education de la Univeristy of Pennsylvania durant l'estada de recerca que hi vaig fer, permetent-me obrir noves mirades en els tòpics del meu estudi.

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Gràcies a tots per haver-me fet somriure fins i tot en els moments on tot ho veia fosc.



SUMMARY

The main objective in this doctoral thesis is based on the analysis of the use of language and language attitudes of 131 young Romanians who attended the Romanian Language, Culture and Civilization program in Catalonia. The research uses a mixed method to analyse the main variables that influence the use of language and attitudes. Through the four articles presented, it is contemplated how the identity variables, the length of stay in the host country and language competences affect in those uses and attitudes.

Based on a global vision of the results, it was quantitatively identified that attitudes towards Spanish and Romanian are fairly balanced, followed by Catalan with less positive attitudes. Regarding language use, Spanish is the language most often used, but in rural contexts, Catalan is the predominant language, whereas the Romanian is relegated to the private sphere and in danger of being replaced by Spanish and Catalan.

However, at a qualitative sphere we recognize the emotional bond with their mother tongue, making high use within their family context and demonstrating positive language attitudes. Spanish acquires a social and international value obtaining the most positive attitudes and the highest use. Catalan also obtains social and academic and progress value, emphasizing the impact of its use on social integration in this context.

Finally, the theoretical and contextual implications of these results are discussed.



RESUM

L'objectiu de la present Tesi Doctoral és analitzar els usos i actituds lingüístiques dels estudiants romanesos d'Educació Secundària a Catalunya, en funció de la seva assistència o no al programa Llengua, Cultura i Civilització Romanesa. Metodològicament, es combinen tècniques d'investigació social qualitativa i quantitativa per tal d'obtenir uns resultats complementaris que ofereixin una més complerta aproximació a l'objecte d'estudi.

Globalment, des d'un punt de vista quantitatiu es va identificar que les actituds cap al castellà i el romanès són força equilibrades, seguit pel català amb les actituds menys positives. Pel que fa a l'ús lingüístic, el castellà és la llengua més utilitzada generalment, però en contextos rurals, és la llengua catalana que predomina, mentre que el romanès queda relegat a l'àmbit privat i en perill de ser substituït per castellà o català.

No obstant això, a nivell qualitatiu es detecta el vincle afectiu amb la seva llengua materna, fent un ús elevat dins del seu cercle familiar i mostrant unes actituds lingüístiques positives. El castellà adquireix un valor social i internacional obtenint les actituds més positives i l'ús més elevat. Finalment, el català obté també un valor social i alhora acadèmic i de progrés, emfatitzant la repercussió que té el seu ús en la integració social en aquest context.

Finalment es discuteixen les implicacions teòriques i contextuais d'aquests resultats.



RESUMEN

El objetivo de la presente Tesis Doctoral es analizar los usos y actitudes lingüísticas de los estudiantes rumanos de Educación Secundaria en Cataluña, en función de su asistencia o no al programa Lengua, Cultura y Civilización Rumana. Metodológicamente, se combinan técnicas de investigación social cualitativa y cuantitativa para obtener unos resultados complementarios que ofrezcan una más completa aproximación al objeto de estudio.

Globalmente, desde un punto de vista cuantitativo se identificó que las actitudes hacia el castellano y el rumano son bastante equilibradas, seguido por el catalán con las actitudes menos positivas. En cuanto a los usos lingüísticos, el castellano es la lengua más utilizada generalmente, pero en contextos rurales es la lengua catalana la que predomina, mientras que el rumano queda relegado al ámbito privado y en peligro de ser sustituido por castellano o catalán.

Sin embargo, a nivel cualitativo se detecta el vínculo afectivo con su lengua materna, haciendo un uso elevado dentro de su círculo familiar y mostrando unas actitudes lingüísticas positivas. El castellano tiene un valor social e internacional obteniendo las actitudes más positivas y el uso más elevado. Finalmente, el catalán obtiene también un valor social ya la vez académico y de progreso, enfatizando la repercusión que tiene su uso en la integración social en este contexto.

Finalmente se discuten las implicaciones teóricas y contextuales de estos resultados.

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One of the most important elements to achieve a satisfactory socio-educational and linguistic integration of pupils who are descendants of migrants is to receive training in the language and culture of origin.

Situated in Catalonia (Spain), the pupils who are descendants of Romanians are an ideal group to study these issues. On the one hand, this is one of the most common nationalities in the Catalan education system. On the other hand, since the academic year 2007-2008, they have the possibility of receiving training in the language and culture of origin thanks to the Romanian Language, Culture and Civilization (LCCR) programme.

With this framework, the main objective of this Doctoral Thesis is to analyse the effect of attending or not attending this programme on the language uses and attitudes of these boys and girls, understanding that the use of languages and attitudes toward them are good indicators of socio-educational and linguistic integration.

This Thesis is organized in three parts and eight chapters.

The first part is devoted to the contextualization of the research. Chapter 1 provides the framework of the current migratory cycle in Spain and Catalonia. Chapter 2 analyses the effect that this cycle has had on the Catalan education system. From a quantitative point of view, it has represented an increase in the number of foreign schoolchildren, while from a qualitative perspective it has implied exponential growth in cultural and linguistic diversity. This chapter ends with an in-depth review of the actions implemented in Catalonia with the aim of addressing this diversity and, more in particular, the Romanian case.

The second part presents the empirical corpus. Chapter 3 delimits the objectives of the study, while chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 are made up of the four articles of this Thesis. The first of them (chapter 4) explores, through a quantitative study, the language uses of the pupils according to whether they are in the public sphere or in the private sphere and the incidence of influential variables. This analysis allowed us to confirm how the use of one language or another varies and what the most determinant variables are.

The second article (chapter 5) complements the previous ones, since it is a deeper qualitative assessment of the subjective anchoring and the psychosocial and psycho-educational significance given by the pupils to the use of these languages.

The following articles focus much more on the effect of receiving training in the language and culture of origin.

Specifically, the third article (chapter, 6) addresses the study of language uses in the educational and community domains in accordance with whether or not the LCCR programme is followed. A quantitative approach is used to study the effect of whether or not classes in the language and culture of origin are received on language uses at school and in the community sphere.

Finally, the last article (chapter 7) analyses linguistic attitudes, with an approach which complements a quantitative and qualitative focus. Again taking into account young people who do or do not receive training in Romanian language and culture, an in-depth study is undertaken of their linguistic attitudes toward Romanian, Catalan and Spanish. The third and last part of the Thesis is devoted to the conclusions. Chapter 8 discusses the main results, draws general conclusions and reviews the lines of research open.

PART I

CONTEXTUALIZATION

CHAPTER 1. THE MIGRATORY PHENOMENON IN SPAIN AND CATALONIA

This chapter addresses in detail the migratory cycle being experienced over the last few decades by Spain and Catalonia.

In both cases, this cycle is characterized by a quantitative and qualitative increase in resident foreigners, and by its extreme speed. This has created a scenario very close to what Vertovec (2007) calls Super-diversity.

The second part tackles the implications that this has had for the Catalan education system, both as regards the socio-demographic composition of the pupils and the educational initiatives implemented.

Finally, a detailed analysis is undertaken of the schoolchildren who are descendants of Romanians in Catalonia, of special interest for this Thesis. On the one hand, this is one of the nationalities most present in Catalan education centres and, on the other hand, they have the possibility of receiving training in the language and culture of origin.

1.1 The migratory cycle of Spain and Catalonia

Spain is a country with a large volume of immigration but with a relatively short tradition in the management of receiving it. This phenomenon has become a key aspect to understand the current social panorama.

The arrival of foreigners began in the 1990s, the most intense period being between the years 2000 and 2010. In 2006 and 2007, Spain reached the highest number of arrivals of foreigners (840,884 and 958,266, respectively) (INE, 2020). From then on, there was a certain stagnation and even reduction, finally reaching the current 5,036,878 (INE, 2020).

For several years Romanians were the most numerous. However, in 2016 Moroccans took over the first position (755,459). At present, the three most important groups are Moroccans (770,523), Romanians (676,005) and Chinese (215,970) (INE, 2020) (see Figure 1).

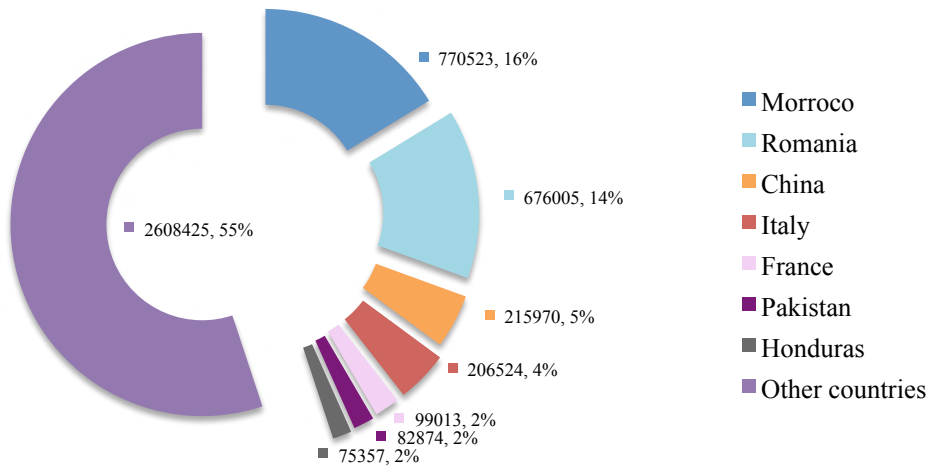


Figure 1. Foreign population in Spain by country of nationality (INE, 2020)

The foreign population is moreover distributed very heterogeneously among the different autonomous communities (see Figure 2). Catalonia concentrates the highest percentage (22.8%), followed by the Community of Madrid (17.46%) and the Valencian Community (14.04%). These values contrast with those of other territories, such as La Rioja (0.75%), Extremadura (0.67%) and Cantabria (0.65%).

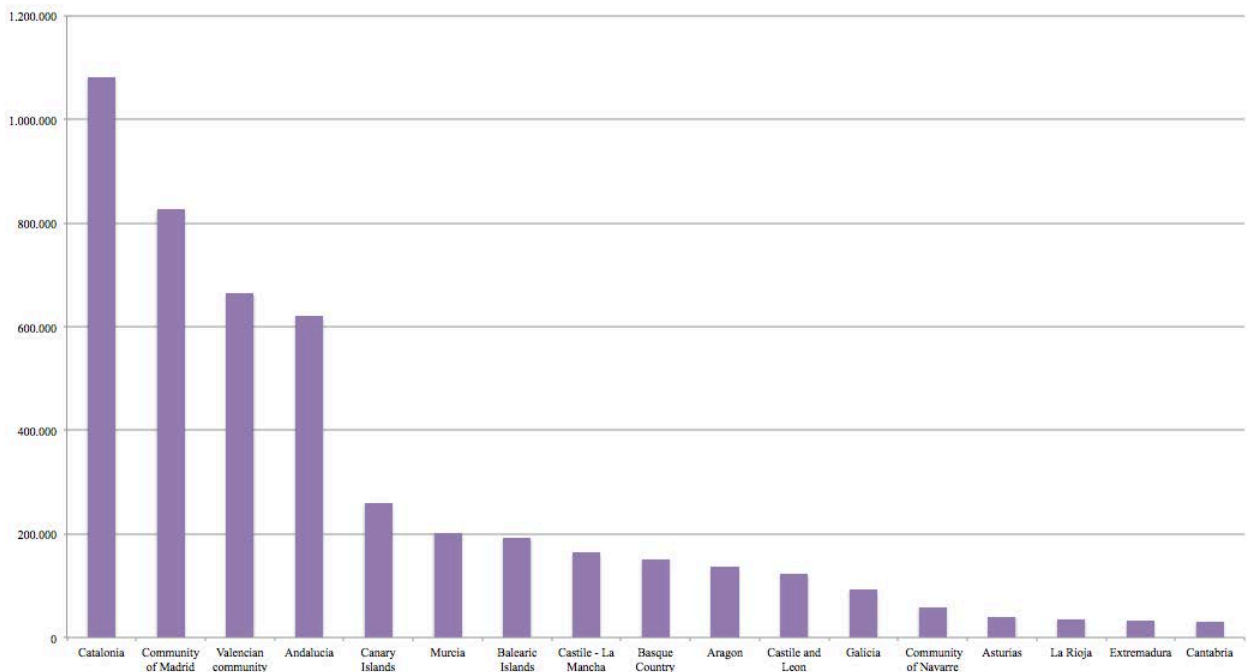


Figure 2. Registered foreign population in Spain, across the Autonomous Communities (INE, 2020)

Looking at the case of Catalonia in depth, at present 1,157,551 foreigners reside in it

(15.1% of the total population), the most numerous nationalities being Moroccan, Romanian and Chinese (Figure 3) (IDESCAT, 2020).

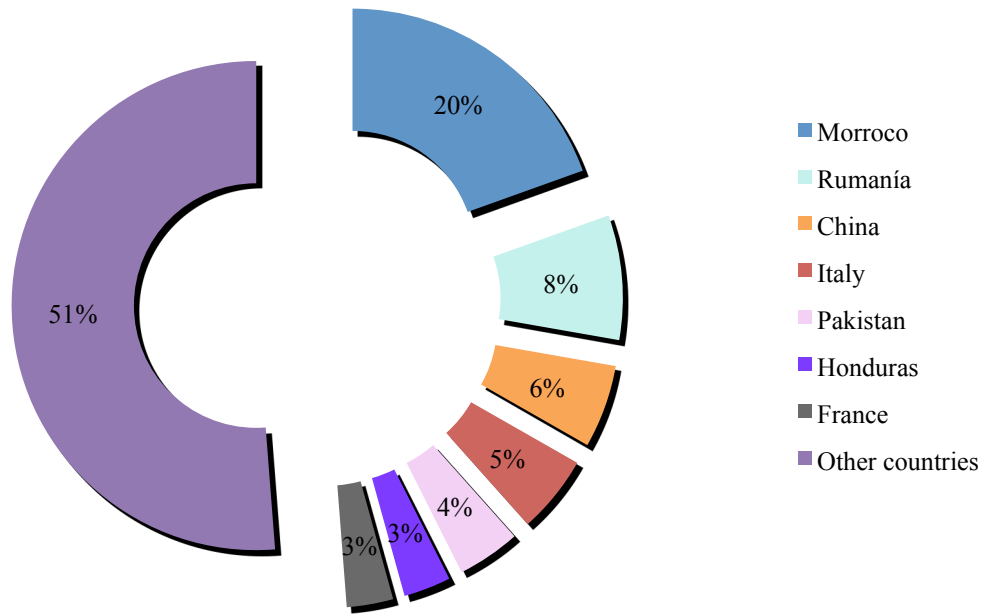


Figure 3. Foreign population in Catalonia by country of nationality (IDESCAT, 2020)

As with the case of Spain, the years 2009-2010 recorded the highest arrival of foreigners, a stagnation and reduction occurring from then on until the current figure was reached (see Figure 4).

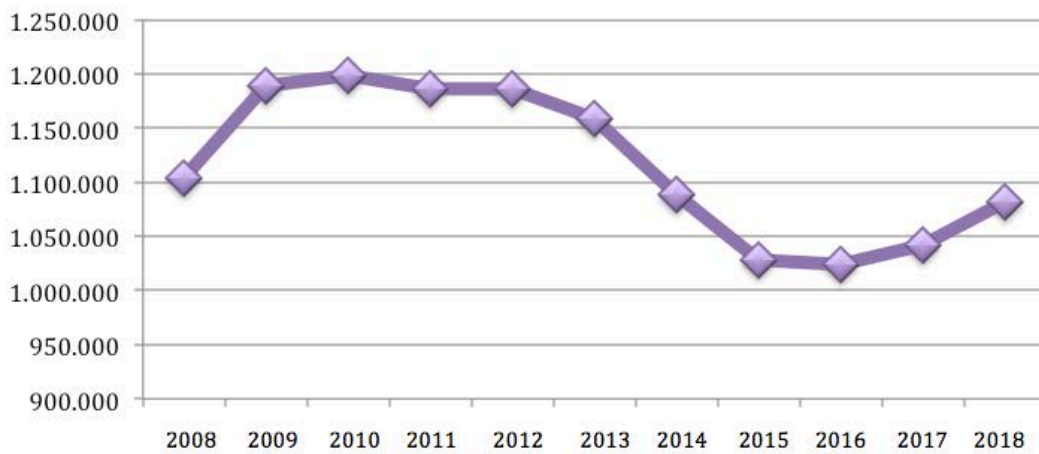


Figure 4. Evolution of the registered foreign population in Catalonia between 2008 and 2018 (INE, 2020)

As occurs in Spain, the foreign population is distributed unequally among its provinces (Barcelona, Tarragona, Lleida and Girona) (see Table 1). In absolute figures, the province of Barcelona concentrates the most foreigners (743,781), followed by Girona (144,720), Tarragona (120,944) and Lleida (72,654).

Table 1. Population registered in Catalonia, by province (IDESCAT, 2020c)

Province	Total foreign population	Total population	%
Barcelona	743,781	5,609,350	13.26
Girona	144,720	761,947	18.99
Lleida	72,654	432,866	16.78
Tarragona	120,944	795,902	15.20
Total	1,082,099	7,600,065	14.24

However, this order changes in relative terms (see Figure 5), the province which concentrates the highest percentage being Girona, followed by Lleida, Tarragona and Barcelona.

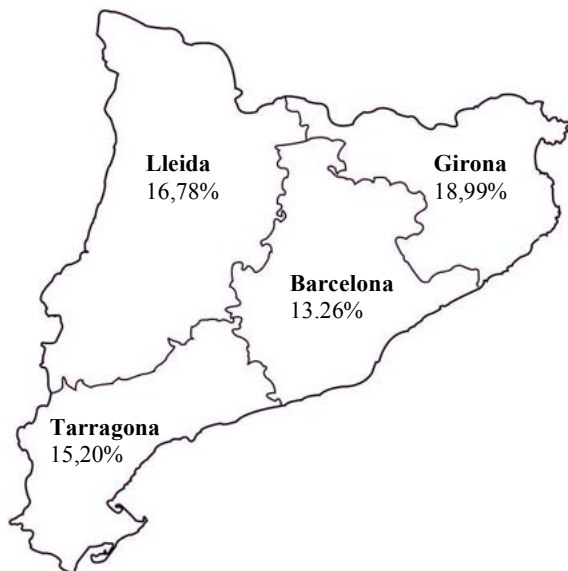


Figure 5. Foreign population (%), provinces of Catalonia (IDESCAT, 2020)

Consequently, it can be concluded that the current scenario in Catalonia is characterized by multilingualism and multiculturalism, representing a major challenge not just as regards integration policies, but especially on the level of education.

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CHAPTER 2. MIGRATIONS AND EDUCATION SYSTEM IN CATALONIA

The migratory cycle experienced by Catalonia in the last few decades has had an effect on the education system.

As observed in Figure 1, a very important increase is recorded in the number of foreign pupils up to the academic year 2012-2013, subsequently decreasing slightly and at present stabilizing.

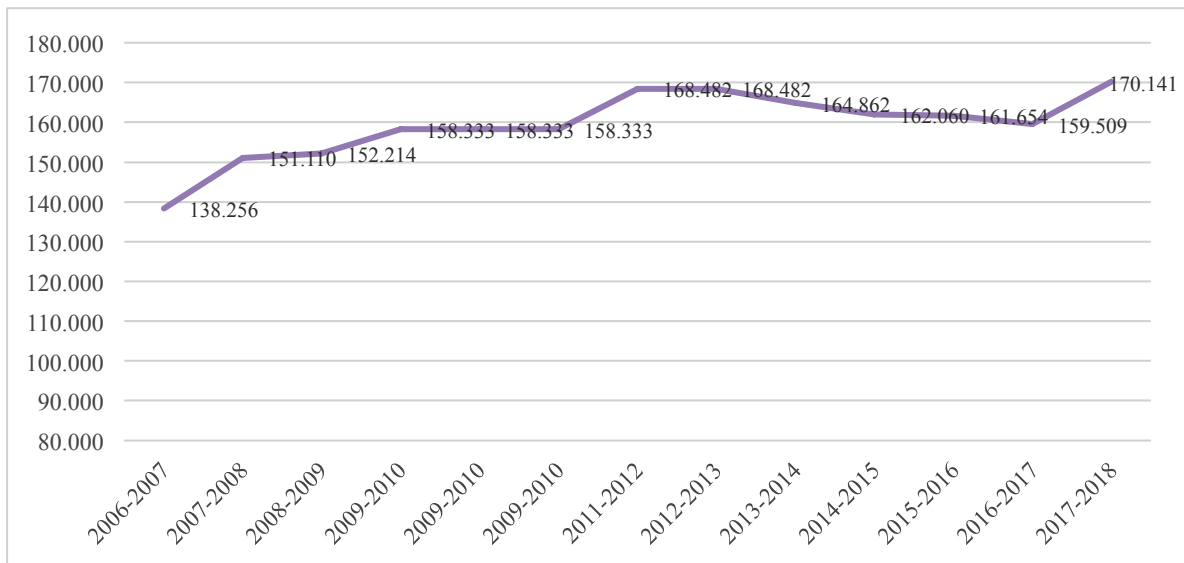


Figure 1. Evolution of foreign students in Catalonia. Source: Own elaboration based on data from the Department of Education (2020)

By geographic areas of origin, in the academic year 2018-2019 Maghrebis stand out, followed by Spanish Americans and people from the rest of the European Union (Figure 2). By nationality, Romanians are the most numerous, in the academic year 2013-2014 already representing 7.58% of the total number of foreigners (Department of Education, 2015).

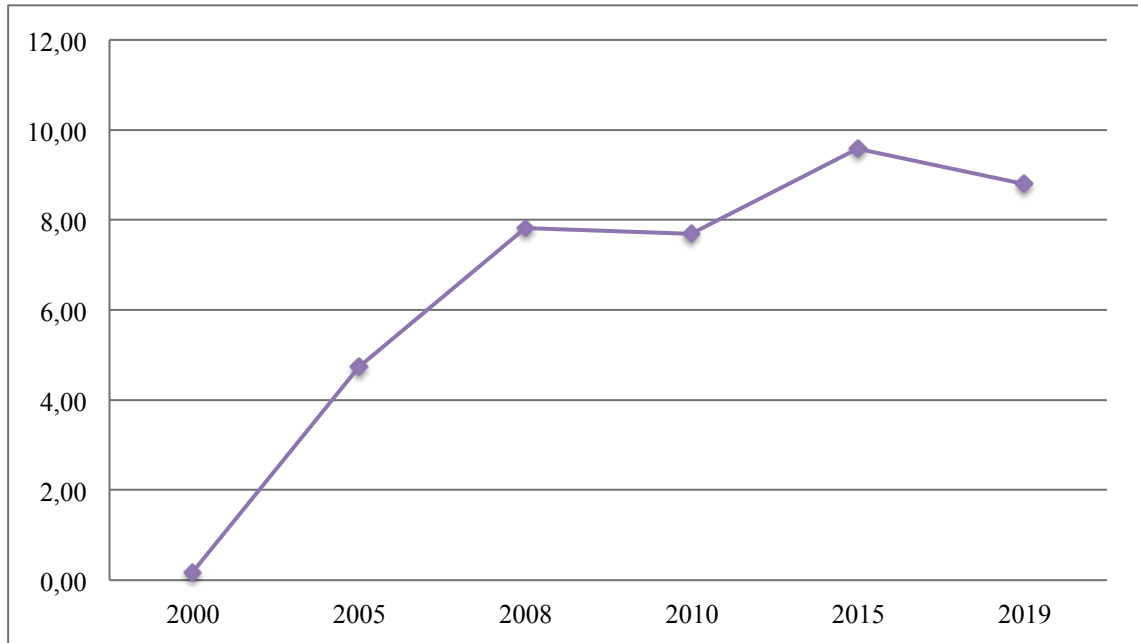


Figure 2. Evolution of the percentage of the total number of foreigners in the Romanian population aged 5 to 19 in Catalonia (IDESCAT, 2020).

In particular, it is noteworthy that the evolution of the number of Romanians is not at all similar to that of the total foreigners. In Figure 3, which presents the percentage of young people of this nationality from 5 to 19 years old out of the total number of foreigners,¹ we see that there is a very important increase until the year 2008, subsequently stagnating and growing again at present. The importance of the year 2008 in the case of Romania is due to the fact that it reflects this country joining the EU in 2007. This meant that, as EU citizens, they began to enjoy the right to the free movement of people, labour, etc., which, in turn, led to an increase of movement within the EU.

¹ Due to the different criteria used over these years to collect the data on foreign pupils, it has been decided to consider those between 5 and 19 years old. Broadly speaking, these ages cover the age of compulsory schooling (6 to 16 years old).

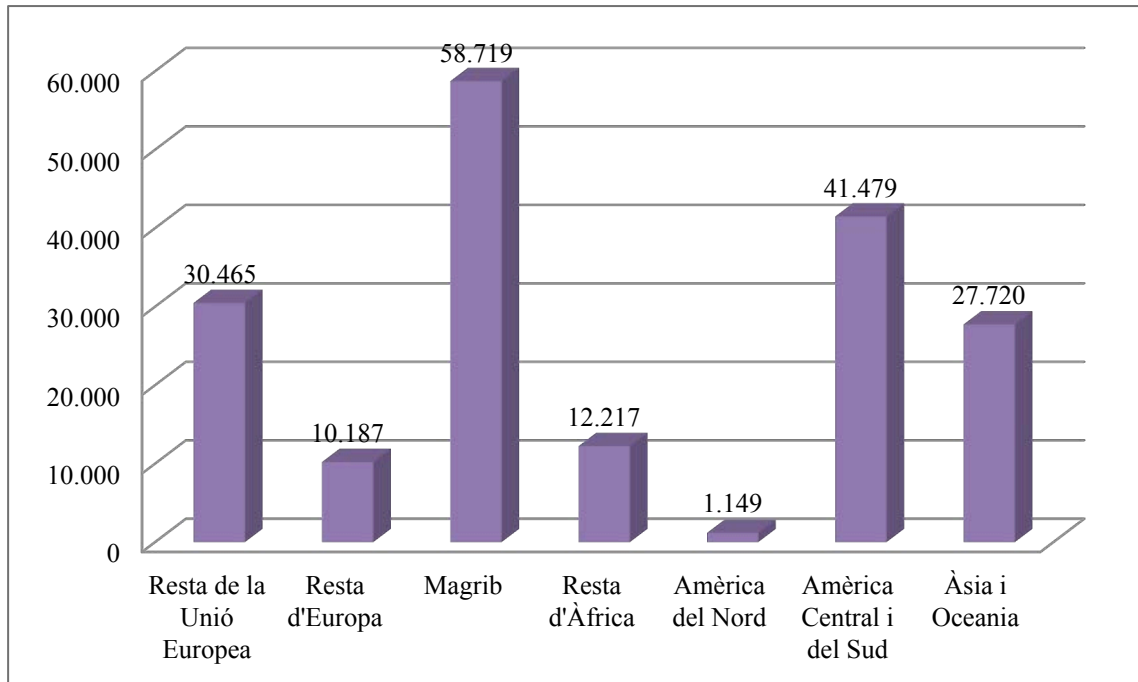


Figure 3. Foreign students by area of origin in Catalonia. Course 2018-2019 (IDESCAT, 2020)

2.1 Education, interculturalism and multilingualism in Catalonia

The evolution explained above means that the socio-demographic composition of pupils in Catalan classrooms is at present culturally and linguistically very diverse. This is why, since the 1990s, proposals and actions have been launched aimed at promoting interculturalism and multilingualism.

The first comprehensive policies and actions focused on attending to the linguistic and cultural diversity of foreign pupils began during the last decade of the 20th century and the beginning of the current one.

Under the auspices of Article 4 of Decree 188/2001, of 26 June 2001, which guarantees the right to education in conditions of equality for foreign minors,² a resource was implemented in some education centres aimed at late entry pupils, who moreover had a non-Romance language as their first language.

This resource was known as *Language Workshops* (TL) in primary education and as *School Adaptation Workshops and Basic Instrumental Learning* (TAE) in secondary schools.

² DOGC no. 3431 of 16 July 2001.

The TL consisted of classes exclusively for newly arrived pupils in which the teaching was carried out in Catalan (Arnau, 2005).

In secondary education, the TAE were a resource intended for those late entry pupils who registered for the first time in Catalonia without a knowledge of the two official languages, of the Catalan culture and forms of school life and, frequently, with serious initial education deficits. The TAE served a dual purpose: they intended, on the one hand, to provide newly arrived students with an approximation to the Catalan education system and, on the other hand, to introduce them to knowledge of the Catalan language until a basic level is achieved (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2001).

In particular, the contents of the TAE were intended to:

- Provide linguistic competence, comprehension and production, corresponding to the basic level of the language of instruction.
- Introduce the learning of mathematics and knowledge of the social and natural environment.
- Educate in the school habits of the education system.
- Help these pupils to understand Catalan ways of life, and to identify the reality of the (linguistic, cultural and historic) components arising from the cultural environment.

However, this approach created important problems. On the one hand, it did not succeed in ensuring that the foreign pupils identified with an identity project whose only backbone was learning Catalan and, on the other hand, it is doubtful that segregated schooling promoted sufficient knowledge of the language of the school to be able to join in the teaching and learning activities without any problems.

As a result of its limitations, in 2004 the *Plan for Language and Social Cohesion* (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2004) was designed. The new plan proposed a series of substantial modifications.

It is established that “*the teaching centres must take on the reception and integration of the pupils of foreign nationality new to the education system as a basic and fundamental task*” (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2004, p. 6), “*the responsibility for the reception and integration of pupils recently arrived in Catalonia is, first, of the education centre and of all the professionals who work there*” (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2004, p. 17).

Therefore, the guiding principle of the education system in Catalonia is to integrate all pupils into school and society, irrespective of their language, culture, social condition and origin.

In accordance with this principle, the first and general objective of the *Plan for Language and Social Cohesion* is “to promote and consolidate social cohesion, intercultural education and the native language in a multilingual framework” (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2004, p. 12).

In this context, the educational institutions which have foreign pupils must consider this new reality in the *Language Project of the Centre* which, taking as its starting point the consideration of the Catalan language as the instrument of social cohesion in a multilingual context (Department of Education, 2007; Generalitat de Catalunya, 2004), refers to everything linked to the teaching of the two official languages and foreign languages.

The centres with foreign pupils are moreover obliged to prepare a *Reception and Integration Plan*, defined “as the systematic set of actions by the centre to attend to the incorporation of all pupils” (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2004, p. 26). These actions must be included in the centre’s documents: education project, internal rules and regulations, curricular project of the centre, etc. and specifically in the language project, which is where the actions linked to the teaching and use of the Catalan language must appear.

The *Reception and Integration Plan* implies, among other aspects: a protocol of action with all of the newly admitted pupils, the specific measures to meet the communication needs of the pupils, the promotion among all pupils of language use guidelines in favour of the Catalan language, raising the awareness of the entire school community in relation to intercultural education, the strategies to encourage the participation of families and to define its assessment criteria.

In order to carry out the design and the practical application of the *Language Project* and coordinate it with the *Reception and Integration Plan* of the newly arrived pupils, the figure of the language, interculturalism and social cohesion coordinator, the LICS coordinator, is created in each centre. A *Reception Classroom* and the figure of reception tutor are also created.

The LICS coordinator, among other tasks, coordinates with the language, interculturalism and social cohesion advisers of the Territorial Services, coordinates the curricular and non-curricular actions of a language and intercultural type, collaborates with

the institutions and entities of the environment to aid the language and social integration of the pupils, etc.

The *Reception Classroom* is an open space in the education centre which becomes a framework of reference and a work environment “*which facilitates immediate and more adequate attention for the newly arrived pupils and which helps the teaching staff in the face of new educational challenges*” (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2004, p. 31).

It can be defined as an organizational structure which foresees a series of actions which guarantee intensive learning of the Catalan language and the progressive incorporation of the pupils into the ordinary classroom.

The teaching that they receive in the *Reception Classroom* is in the Catalan language and is based on two objectives: a) that the foreign pupils learn the language of the Community; and b) that they succeed in acquiring basic academic knowledge in accordance with the needs that they present³.

Throughout this process, there is a key figure in its management: the *Reception Tutor*. Apart from managing the *Reception Classroom*, the *Reception Tutor* has the role of coordinating with the LICS coordinator, with the ordinary classroom tutors to which the pupil has been assigned, with the specialist professionals –EAP, educational psychologist, etc.–, to mediate between the centre and the family, to collaborate on the preparation of curricular adaptations, etc.

Furthermore, the *Plan for Language and Social Cohesion* (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2004, 2007) also takes into account the so-called *Environment Educational Plans* (Department of Education, 2006 Generalitat de Catalunya, 2005). This proposal intends to provide an integrated and community response to educational needs and is understood as a network of support for the educational action outside the school sphere starting from the collaboration of different groups:

“(...) *on the institutional level, the Town Councils and the Departments of the Generalitat which have a special incidence in the world of education and, on a social level, all of the educating agents and groups which surround the pupils: families, school centres, cultural, sports, leisure centres, entities and associations, etc.*” (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2005, p. 2).

³ In many cases, these needs involve learning procedures for literacy in reading and writing (Arnau, 2005).

The Environment Educational Plans are aimed at all of the pupils and the entire education community, but especially at the most disadvantaged social groups. Its two basic pillars are intercultural education as a means to foster social cohesion and the consolidation of the own language as the usual language of social use.

This Plan remained in force with some modifications (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2007, 2009) until new adaptations were implemented geared toward overcoming certain handicaps detected.

The new measures are indicated in Pillar 2 of the Government Plan 2013-2016 of the Government of Catalonia, taking the form of the *Language Model of the Education System of Catalonia* (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2018).

This plan conceives of multilingualism as a capacity to learn, an ability to use and an attitude of tolerance. It is moreover absolutely inseparable from multiculturalism, and therefore the cultural spectrum is attained through the language (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2018).

More specifically, the objectives of this Plan are focused on providing all pupils with multilingual and multicultural skills, with Catalan being strengthened in its role as the language of reference in education, promoting its use, using the individual multilingual repertoire and capacity to foster artistic creation, critical analysis and social action and the processing of information, making the languages and cultures present in the education centres visible and awakening a curiosity for other languages and cultures (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2018).

Another point of special interest is that, as with the previous plans, it again influences the integrating role of knowledge and recognition of the languages of the descendants of migrants, facilitating their teaching:

“Non-curricular languages, especially when they are languages of the pupils and of the families of foreign origin, play a role of integration and equity through awareness-raising, respect, recognition and opening up toward the learning of all languages. Their formal teaching as an optional subject within the syllabus or as an extracurricular activity likewise helps to increase the number of foreign languages that the pupils can learn and accredit and increases the cultural wealth and competitiveness of our society.” (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2018, p. 13)

2.1.1 The Romanian Language, Culture and Civilization programme

As indicated above, a principle which has remained unaltered in the different plans implemented is the importance granted to receiving training in the language and culture of origin. Romanian pupils have this possibility on being able to follow the Romanian Language, Culture and Civilization programme.

This programme was implemented in the academic year 2007-2008, after a collaboration agreement was signed between the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science and the Ministry of Education, Innovation and Youth of the Romanian government.

Its objective is to teach Romanian language and culture to primary and secondary education pupils, in such a way that it allows them to preserve their identity, culture and mother tongue (Romanian Embassy in Spain, 2020).

The contents of this Programme basically revolve around Romanian geography and history, in addition to language and literature, but always from a perspective very close to the individual and the native community. That is to say that the learning contents and projects are linked to Romania in general and the area of origin in particular (Aragonese Reference Centre for Equity and Innovation, 2020).

Although there are limited data on a state level, they show its widespread acceptance. Thus, it went from 22 teachers and almost 1500 pupils in three autonomous communities (Community of Madrid, Castile La Mancha and Catalonia) in the academic year 2007-2008 to 39 teachers and 4500 pupils in seven autonomous communities in the academic year 2013-2014 (Community of Madrid, Castile La Mancha, Catalonia, Aragón, Andalusia, La Rioja and the Valencian Community) (Romanian Embassy in Spain, 2020).

In Catalonia, the evolution has followed a parallel path, going from 180 pupils in the academic year 2007-2008 to 301 in 2018-2019 (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2020). The maximum number of pupils was achieved in the academic year 2008-2009 (465 pupils), subsequently decreasing and stabilizing at around 250-300 schoolchildren (Figure 4).

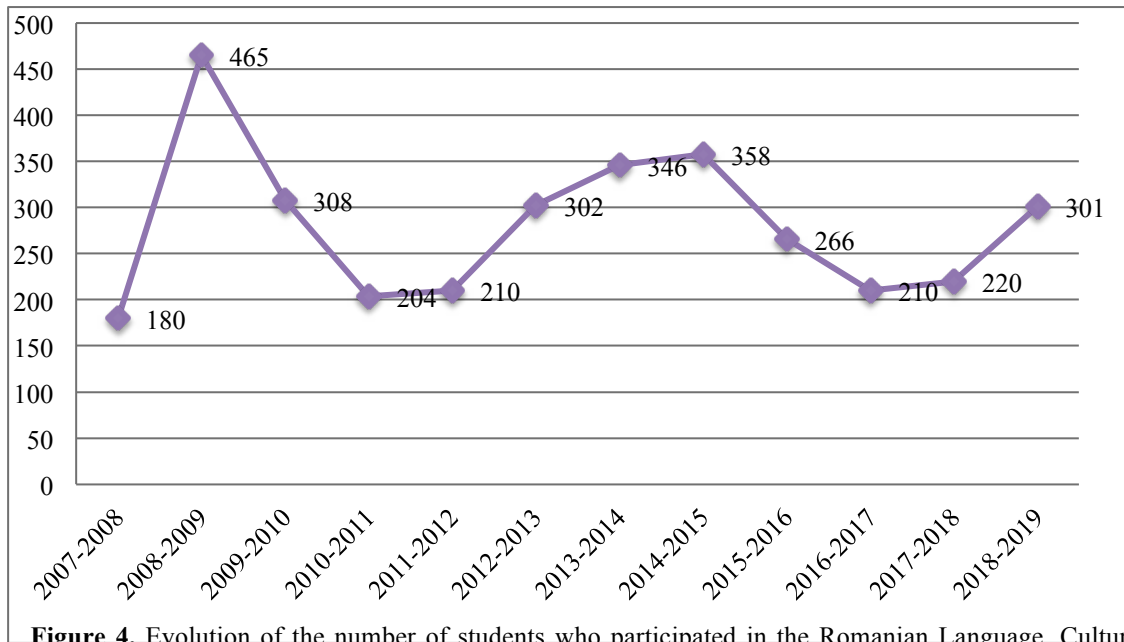


Figure 4. Evolution of the number of students who participated in the Romanian Language, Culture and Civilization Program in Catalonia (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2020).

With this contextual background, and as will be seen in the theoretical considerations of the different articles which form this Doctoral Thesis, from a psychosocial and educational viewpoint it is considered to be essential to promote the learning of L1 in order to achieve a satisfactory school and language integration (Coelho, Oller, & Serra, 2013; Lapresta, & Huguet, 2006; Lapresta, Huguet, & Janés, 2010; Trenchs Parera, & Newman, 2009). As is to be expected, this is expressed through language uses and language attitudes, since they are interconnected with identity issues, language ideologies or social valuations of languages (Alarcón, 2010; Cargile, & Giles, 1997; Lapresta et al, 2010; Woolard, & Schieffelin, 1994).

Therefore, four articles are presented below analyzing these issues in the case of pupils of Romanian origin in Catalonia.

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PART II

EMPIRICAL STUDY

CHAPTER 3. OBJECTIVES AND STRUCTURE OF THE DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

3.1 Objectives

The purpose of the study is to perform an analysis of the language uses and attitudes toward the Catalan, Spanish and Romanian languages by schoolchildren of Romanian origin, in accordance with whether or not they participate in the Romanian Language, Culture and Civilization programme.

This general objective is pursued in the four scientific articles which make up this Doctoral Thesis, leading to a series of specific objectives:

1. Analyse the language uses of Romanian schoolchildren in the public and private sphere and the demographic, educational and psychosocial factors which determine them.
2. Study in depth the anchoring and significance of these language uses.
3. Investigate the language uses of Catalan and Spanish in the educational and community spheres of Romanian youths, paying special attention to whether or not they receive training in the language and culture of origin.
4. Analyse the language attitudes toward Romanian, Catalan and Spanish that these young people construct, again in accordance with whether they follow the Romanian Language, Culture and Civilization programme.

3.2 Structure of the doctoradissertation: structure of the papers presented

Four papers are presented to meet these objectives.

The first two analyse language uses from a quantitative and qualitative viewpoint, focusing on the analysis of the use of the three languages (Spanish, Catalan and Romanian) in the public and private spheres. Their purpose is to present a general overview in which attendance of the Programme is taken as another educational variable.

More specifically, the first paper explores language uses in the public sphere and in the private sphere and the incidence of related variables according to previous studies. This

analysis allowed us to demonstrate how the use of one language or another varies and what the most influential variables are.

The second paper complements the first one, since it is an in-depth qualitative analysis of the subjective anchoring and the psychosocial and psychoeducational significance given to the use of these languages by the pupils. The following two articles focus much more on the effect of receiving training in the language and culture of origin.

Specifically, the third paper addresses the study of language uses in the educational and community domains in accordance with whether or not the LCCR programme is followed. Using a quantitative approach, the effect on language uses at school and in the community sphere is studied, depending on whether or not classes in the language and culture of origin are received.

Finally, the last paper tackles the analysis of language attitudes, starting from a mixed methodological design. An in-depth analysis is undertaken of language attitudes toward Romanian, Catalan and Spanish, again taking into account young people who receive training in Romanian language and culture and those who do not.

CHAPTER 4. LANGUAGE USE OF YOUNG ROMANIANS IN CATALONIA (SPAIN): THE ROLE OF EDUCATIONAL AND PSYCHOSOCIAL FACTORS. A QUANTITATIVE APPROACH

Abstract

This paper focuses on the language use of young people of Romanian origin living in Catalonia and its sociodemographic, educational, and psychosocial factors. The language use of young people of immigrant background is highly important in Catalonia, a multilingual and multicultural context aiming to promote social cohesion, interculturalism, and multilingualism. For this purpose, heritage language maintenance programmes have been offered to various immigrant communities, such as the Romanian one, the second most numerous in Catalonia. All the Romanian secondary education students attending the “Romanian Language, Culture, and Civilization” (RLCC) programme answered a questionnaire on language uses, attitudes, and self-identifications and tests of language competence in Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian. The results showed that Romanian tends to be relegated to the private sphere, while Spanish and Catalan are the languages predominantly used in public situations. Furthermore, attitudinal and identification variables were found to be the main determinants of language use, while sociodemographic and educational factors did not have a significant influence.

Keywords: language use, language attitudes, language competences, self-identification, heritage language maintenance

Introduction

The beginning of this century marked a significant change in the sociodemographic composition of Catalonia determined by an influx of immigrants. As a result, there are 1,159,427 foreigners living in Catalonia presently, representing 15.2% of the total population (IDESCAT, 2020). Within the foreign population, the largest communities are from Morocco (223,626 persons), followed by Romania (90,179 persons), China (62,188), and Italy (61,578).

To guarantee the maintenance and promotion of Catalan, it is of vital importance to recruit new speakers, especially among the newcomers (Strubell, 2001). Thus, it is important to study the integration processes carried out by descendants of immigrants and when and how they use the languages of the host society and their heritage languages. Their language use is not important only at the societal level already discussed, it has critical implications at individual level as well, considering how strongly and intricately language is linked to identity, attitudes, and language learning (Ianos, Huguet, & Lapresta, 2017; Lapresta, Huguet, & Janés, 2010). Educational programmes of heritage language maintenance have been implemented in Spain based on the fundamental principle that maintaining one's heritage language and culture is beneficial for the individual's identity construction, improvement of language attitudes, promotion of language learning, and the linguistic and social integration of students of immigrant background.

Furthermore, the heterogeneity of the immigrant populations has to be acknowledged. In this regard, each community's particularities have to be taken into account in order to extend our knowledge regarding their language use and the determining factors. Therefore, this paper focuses on the Romanian community, as the second most numerous one residing in Catalonia that is offered a programme of heritage language maintenance called "Romanian Language, Culture and Civilization" (RLCC). The study focuses on the language use of Romanian secondary students and its demographic, educational, and psychosocial determinants.

4.1 Journal Paper

Literature review

Language use: family, education, attitudes and identity

Understanding the language use of descendants of migrants, their interrelated and influencing factors, implies taking into consideration other processes that are interconnected with languages. These include, but are not limited to, elements from the personal-family, educational and attitudinal-identifying spheres.

Language use enacts social identities and expresses group membership (Miller, 2000). This is especially relevant for young people of immigrant origin who have to negotiate between the culture and languages of their origin and those of the host society. They are able to choose among languages in certain contexts in order to express solidarity with particular groups (Gee, 1996). In this regard, Petreñas, Lapresta, and Huguet (2018) interviewed 22 young Romanians and identified a hybrid fluctuating identity conditioned by their interlocutors. The authors also explored how the use of the languages of the host society foment a feeling of belonging, while at the same they observe an invisibilization and abandoning of the heritage language and culture. Therefore, as McNamara (1997) emphasised, this complex renegotiation of identity “has profound implications for their attitudes to their own language and the learning of the majority’s group language” (p. 561).

In this regard, Ianos, Huguet, and Lapresta (2017) found closely interrelated relationships between language use, language attitudes, and self-identifications within a sample of 1156 secondary education students of autochthonous and immigrant origin living in Catalonia. Namely, frequent use of Catalan was associated with higher self-identification with Catalonia and more favourable attitudes towards Catalan, while use of Spanish was positively associated with self-identification with Spain and positive attitudes towards Spanish.

Lapresta, Huguet, and Janés (2010) found that making young migrants feel valued and integrated in school and society can lead to more favourable language attitudes and a more balanced language use. Along these lines, one of the educational measures designed to promote a positive valuation of minority cultures and languages, as well as their maintenance is the introduction of minority language and culture courses. Ianos, Caballe, Petreñas, and Huguet (Ianos, Caballé, Petreñas, & Huguet, 2019) studied the impact of a Romanian Language, Culture, and Civilization programme on the language attitudes of Romanian

adolescents residing in Catalonia. The findings showed that Spanish and Romanian received more favourable ratings in comparison with Catalan. The favourable attitudes towards Spanish were explained as a result of the international presence of Spanish and all of its professional and economic implications. Meanwhile, the participants valued Romanian due to its emotional connection with their origin culture and their family. However, the use of Romanian has been restricted to the private sphere, as the teenagers interviewed explained that they avoid using their heritage language in public places and they attempt to speak Catalan and Spanish without a foreign accent in order to avoid discrimination and misunderstanding. The aforementioned findings mirror previous studies showing the influence of previous experiences, expectations, and social prejudices on language attitudes (Alarcón & Garzón, 2013; Lapresta, Huguet, & Janés, 2018; Siqués, Vila, & Perera, 2009), providing evidence on how this phenomenon extends to language use.

Furthermore, language use is extrinsically connected with language learning; so much so that Hsiao and Oxford (2002) pointed out the difficulty of separating second language learning from language use. Thus, language use promotes linguistic proficiency (Dörnyei, 2005), while, at the same time, it represents the “ultimate goal of any language learner” (Clément, Baker, & MacIntyre, 2003, p. 191).

Nevertheless, there have also been studies, such as the one carried out by Vila, Siqués, and Oller (2009) with 625 elementary education students of immigrant background, that failed to find a significant relationship between language use and language competences. Even so, the authors argued for the role of language use in language acquisition with respect to automating conversational skills for informal social interactions.

On the other hand, Ianos, Sansó, Huguet, and Petreñas (2019) measured the language attitudes, use, and competences of 490 secondary education students of immigrant origin and found that language use mediates the influence of language attitudes on language competences for both Catalan and Spanish.

Obviously, the data indicated above are valuable, but in Catalonia there is still an extreme lack of analysis to provide data on the language uses of migrants and to clarify previous contradictory findings, which is accentuated in the specific case of the Romanian group.

Catalonia: The migratory context and the Romanian collective

The sociodemographic changes also imply an increase of the linguistic diversity characterizing Catalonia, a multilingual Autonomous Community where Catalan and Spanish are co-official throughout all the territory, and Aranese also shares official status in the Aran Valley. Namely, according to some estimates there are more than 300 languages coexisting within the Catalan territory (Serrat, Gràcia, & Perpiña, 2008).

Consequently, Catalonia has been challenged to build a model of coexistence and to safeguard the Catalan language. The opinions on this topic have varied from considering that the immigrant population poses a considerable threat to the vitality of Catalan (Bastardas-Boada, 2012) to arguing that immigrants are adopting Catalan (Querol Puig, 2010), maintaining stable the number of people speaking Catalan (Subirats, 2010).

The Catalan government implemented a series of educational measures designed to foment inclusion and social cohesion while maintaining Catalan as the language of instruction and communication. These measures included the Plan for Language and Social Cohesion (Pla per la Llengua i Cohesió Social – Pla LiC), adopted in 2004. The Plan included the organization of Reception Classrooms (Aulas d’acollida) where newcomers are helped to learn Catalan so they are able to join mainstream classrooms (Vila, Canal, et al., 2009). Other multilingual and intercultural policies adopted include the Plan to Update the Immersion Methodology in the Current Sociolinguistic Context in 2007, and the Citizenship and Migration Plans of 2011 and 2017.

Also along these lines, the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science in collaboration with the Romanian Ministry of Education, Research, and Youth implemented the programme “Romanian Language, Culture, and Civilization” (RLCC) in 2007. The programme provides extracurricular courses of Romanian language and culture to students between 3 and 18 years old. The courses are offered for 2 hours per week and they are designed and taught by Romanian teachers. The programme aims to maintain the heritage language and culture of Romanian youth and to promote multilingualism and intercultural openness (Hotarare de Guvern 454/2008, Ordin 3823/2013).

Objectives

According to the theoretical and empirical findings aforementioned, the main objectives of this study are the following:

- To study the uses of Catalan, Spanish and Romanian in the public and private spheres of the Romanian secondary school students in Catalonia who attend and do not attend the Romanian Language, Culture and Civilization course

From this general objective the following specific objectives are derived:

- To explore the influence on the uses of the three languages of sociodemographic (time spent in Catalonia), educational (attendance or not at the course and language competences of Catalan, Spanish and Romanian) and psychosocial (identification with Catalonia, Spain and Romania and language attitudes towards Catalan, Spanish and Romanian) variables in both areas.
- To analyse the joint explanatory power of these variables on the levels of use of Catalan, Spanish and Romanian in the public and private spheres.

Methods

Participants

The participants were 131 secondary education students of Romanian origin (57 boys and 74 girls). Their age ranged from 12 to 18 years old, with a mean of 15.06 ($SD = 1.58$).

The students were enrolled in seven schools located in Lleida, which have been chosen due to their participation in the “Romanian Language, Culture, and Civilization” course. For this sample we have taken into account all the students who attended the RLCC programme ($n = 43$) and a parallel control group from the same schools who did not attend the RLCC ($n = 88$). Translated into total percentages, 32.82% of students participated in the programme and 67,18% did not.

Variables

The variables used in this research are:

Language use variables:

- *Use of Catalan in the private sphere*: four Likert items on a scale of 0 (never) to 2 (always) were used to measure use of Catalan in various communicative situations (with the father / with the mother / with siblings / with other people who live with you). Subsequently, the average of the scores obtained was calculated.

- *Use of Spanish in the private sphere*: constructed in an analogous way to the previous one but with reference to the use of Spanish
- *Use of Romanian in the private sphere*: calculated in a similar way to the previous one but with reference to the use of Romanian
- *Use of Catalan in the public sphere*: four Likert items on a scale of 0 (never) to 2 (always) were used to measure use of Catalan in various communicative situations (With teachers at school / With classmates in the playground / With friends outside of school / With adults outside of home and school). Subsequently, the average of the scores obtained was calculated.
- *Use of Spanish in the public sphere*: constructed in an analogous way to the previous one but with reference to the linguistic uses of Spanish
- *Use of Romanian in the public sphere*: constructed in a similar way to the previous one but with reference to the linguistic uses of Romanian

Demographic, educational, and psychosocial variables:

- *Catalan identity*: a four-point Likert item ranging from 1 - "not at all" to 4 – "completely" regarding the how much one identifies with Catalonia
- *Spanish identity*: Built in a similar way to the previous one but with reference to the identification with Spain
- *Romanian identity*: Built in a similar way to the previous one but with reference to the identification with Romania
- *RLCC Programme*: Indicates attendance or not at the RLCC programme, categorised as "no"/"yes"
- *Length of stay in Catalonia*: in years
- *Attitudes towards Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian*: elaborated from the items of three scales (one for each of the languages) and ranging from -10 (a completely unfavourable attitude) to +10 (a completely favourable attitude), with 0 indicating a neutral attitude.

- *Language competence of Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian:* As a result of the application of three language competence tests a final value between 0 and 100 is obtained for each of them.

Instruments

Two types of instruments have been used to obtain the data. On the one hand, an attitude, sociolinguistic and self-identification questionnaire was applied. On the other hand, three tests of linguistic competence (one for Catalan, another for Spanish and Romanian).

In the specific case of the attitudes, the questionnaires prepared by the Servei d'Ensenyament del Català (SEDEC) based on the works of Sharp, Thomas, Price, Francis, and Davis (1973) were adapted. In the case of Catalan and Spanish, they have been successfully used in other studies in contexts marked by immigration (Huguet, Janés, & Chireac, 2008). For the Romanian language, the questionnaire was adapted to the sociolinguistic reality of Catalonia.

The evaluation of the language competences in Catalan and Spanish was carried out by means of two tests elaborated from the works of Bel, Serra, and Vila (1991). Each of them consists of a series of subtests that allow us to test Oral Comprehension, Written Comprehension, Oral Expression and Written Expression in both languages. These tests have been successfully used in immigration contexts (Huguet, Navarro, Chireac, & Sansó, 2012; Navarro & Huguet, 2005). In parallel, a test of similar structure and comparable with the previous ones in content and difficulty indexes in Romanian was developed and validated in Romania. All of them allow to obtain an indicator ranging from 0 to 100.

Statistical treatment

The data collected was analysed using the software package SPSS version 20. Firstly, descriptive statistics (frequencies, means, and standard deviations), means comparisons tests, and correlations were used for data analysis in order to describe the language use of young Romanians in the public and private spheres.

Secondly, multiple linear regressions have been carried out to investigate the influence of sociodemographic, educational, and psychosocial variables on use of Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian, respectively.

Procedure

The Departament d'Educació de la Generalitat de Catalunya was contacted in order to obtain the necessary permits to access the schools involved in the study. All the educational centres were located in the city of Lleida.

Subsequently, questionnaires and tests of language competences were applied. The questionnaires and the written part of the language competence tests were applied collectively during school hours, while the oral part of the language competence tests was applied individually by trained personnel. On average, participants needed one hour and thirty minutes to fill in all the materials.

The ethical principles of research established by the European Commission were observed at all times.

Results

Descriptive and bivariate findings

Private sphere

The most frequently used language in the private sphere is Romanian ($M = 1.53$, $SD = .50$) with its use being significantly greater than that of Spanish ($t_{(130)} = -8.65$, $p < .001$) and of Catalan ($t_{(130)} = 6.89$, $p < .001$). In addition, Spanish is more widely used than Catalan ($t_{(130)} = -2.16$, $p = .032$) (Figure 1).

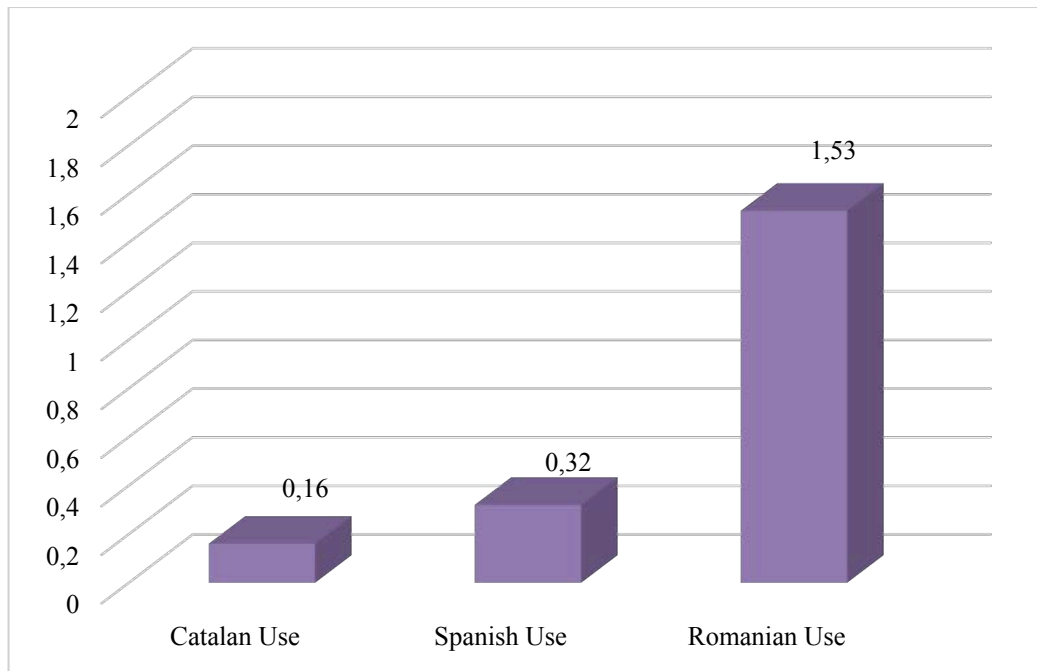


Figure 1. Private Language Use. Means

The results of correlational analyses show that a more favourable attitude towards the Romanian language enhances its use (and viceversa) ($r=.27, p<.001$).

Similarly, the use of Spanish correlates positively with identification with Spain ($r=.17, p<.05$) and negatively with attitudes towards Romanian ($r=-.44, p<.001$).

Table 1. Correlations between demographic and psychosocial variables with private language use variables

	Use of Catalan	Use of Spanish	Use of Romanian
Identification with Catalonia	.27*	-.09	.04
Identification with Spain	.03	.17*	-.13
Identification with Romania	-.22*	-.14	.13
Length of stay	.14	.05	-.07
Attitudes toward Catalan	.28*	-.04	.01
Attitudes toward Spanish	-.04	.15	-.07
Attitudes toward Romanian	-.11	-.27*	.27*
Catalan competence.	.25*	.07	-.08
Spanish competence	.17	-.07	-.04
Romanian competence	-.01	-.11	.14

Note: * $p<.05$

However, the use of Catalan, even though it is the least frequent one, correlates with more variables. More self-identification with ($r=.27, p<.001$), more positive attitudes towards Catalan ($r=.28, p<.001$) and greater competence ($r=.21, p<.05$) are interconnected with greater use, while the correlation is negative with self-identification with Romania ($r=-.22, p<.05$).

Table 2. Public use of Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian depending on RLCC attendance

	RLCC attendance	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Use of Catalan	Did not attend	0.16	0.25	0.37	.709
	Attended	0.15	0.22		
Use of Spanish	Did not attend	0.32	0.40	-0.04	.965
	Attended	0.33	0.37		
Use of Romanian	Did not attend	1.51	0.53	-0.56	.574
	Attended	1.57	0.46		

Furthermore, the results of t-tests for independent samples presented in Table 2 show that RLCC attendance does not influence language use for any of the three languages analysed.

Public sphere

Unlike in the private sphere, in this domain, students use significantly more Spanish and Catalan than Romanian ($t_{(130)} = -5.12, p<.001$ / $t_{(130)} = -24.38, p<.001$) (Figure 2).

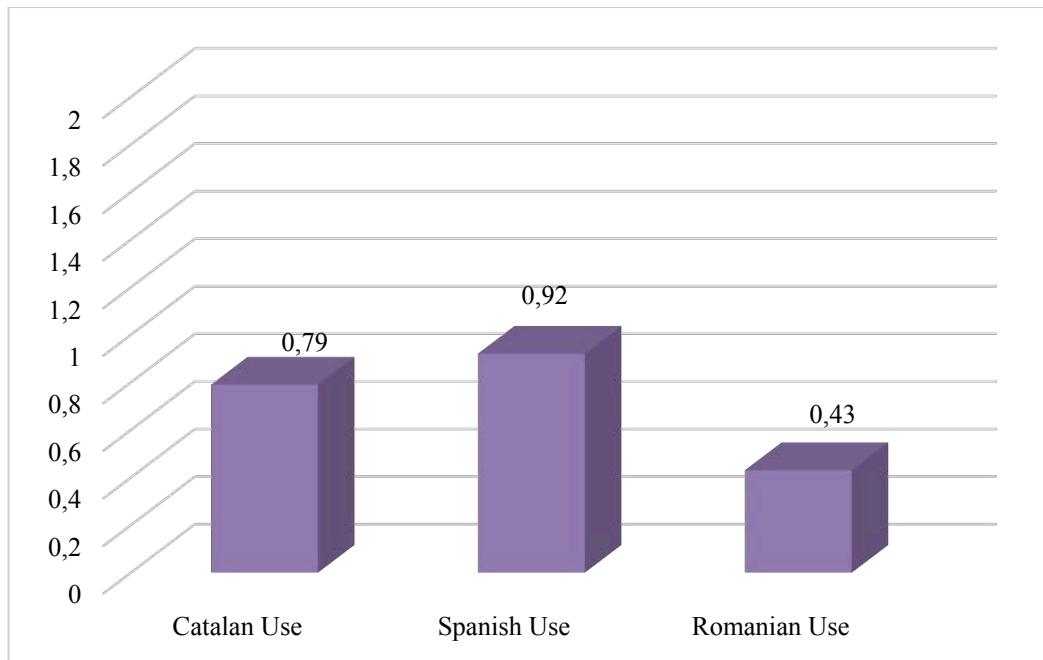


Figure 2. Public Language Use. Means

The use of Spanish correlates with self-identification with Spain ($r=.41$, $p<.001$) (and negatively with Catalonia ($r=-.47$, $p<.001$) and with Romania ($r=-.43$, $p<.001$). Furthermore, it does so positively with attitudes towards Spanish ($r=.273$, $p<.001$) and inversely towards Romanian ($r=-.20$, $p<.05$).

Many of the variables that correlate with the use of Catalan are the same as with Spanish, although in some cases in the opposite direction. Thus, their correlation with self-identification with Catalonia is positive ($r=.49$, $p<.001$) (and negative with identification with Spain ($r=-.31$, $p<.001$). Also, more positive attitudes towards the Catalan language reinforce its use ($r=.53$, $p<.001$). Finally, two significant variables should be noted that in the case of Spanish were not significant: the time spent in Catalonia (longer time spent in Catalonia means a greater use of the language and viceversa) and the linguistic competence in Catalan, which correlates positively with the use of this language.

Thirdly, the use of Romanian is associated with variables of the same nature. A greater identification with Romania implies a greater use of this language (contrary to what happens with self-identification with Spain). The correlation with attitudes towards this language is also positive, as well as the language competence.

Table 3. Correlations between demographic and psychosocial variables with public language use variables

	Use of Catalan	Use of Spanish	Use of Romanian
Identification with Catalonia	.49*	-.46*	-.07
Identification with Spain	-.31**	.41*	-.26*
Identification with Romania	-.14	-.12	.26*
Length of stay	.19*	-.08	-.18
Attitudes toward Catalan	.53*	-.39	-.15
Attitudes toward Spanish	-.21	.27*	-.08
Attitudes toward Romanian	-.05	-.20*	.38*
Catalan competence	.21*	-.16	.04
Spanish competence	.15	.09	.00
Romanian competence	-.05	-.08	.37*

Note: * $p < .05$

Concerning the influence of RLCC attendance, there were no significant differences between students who attended and those who did not attend with respect to use of Catalan and to use of Spanish. However, students who attended the RLCC course use Romanian more frequently in comparison with students who did not attend (see Table 4).

Table 4. Public use of Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian depending on RLCC attendance

	RLCC attendance	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Use of Catalan	Did not attend	0.83	0.39	1.50	.137
	Attended	0.72	0.35		
Use of Spanish	Did not attend	0.92	0.43	-0.29	.769
	Attended	0.94	0.32		
Use of Romanian	Did not attend	0.38	0.35	-2.29	.024
	Attended	0.54	0.38		

Multivariate findings

Private sphere

The three multiple linear regressions carried out (one for the use of each language) include sociodemographic variables (length of stay in Catalonia), educational variables (the attendance or not to the programme and the language competences in Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian), and psychosocial variables (identification with Catalonia, Spain, and Romania and the language attitudes towards Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian (see Table 5).

With regard to Catalan, the model explains 17% of the variance in its use in the private sphere. Its main predictor is attitudes towards Catalan ($\beta = .23$).

In the case of Spanish, 15% of the variance is explained. A greater identification with Catalonia explains a lower use of Spanish ($\beta = -.24$), as do attitudes towards Romanian ($\beta = -.22$).

Finally, for the use of Romanian, the model explains 12% of the variance. The only significant variable in this case is the attitude towards Romanian ($\beta = .22$).

Public sphere

Regarding the use of Catalan, it should be noted that the model explains 52% of the variance. The most influential variables are Catalan identity ($\beta = .40$) and Spanish identity in the opposite direction ($\beta = -.36$), followed by attitudes towards Romanian (also in a negative sense ($\beta = -.18$)).

In the case of Spanish, the model explains 56% of the variance in its use. The significant predictors are in the identity sphere, in a very similar way to the previous case, but in the opposite sense: identifying with Spain predicts a higher use of Spanish ($\beta = .44$), while identifying with Catalonia ($\beta = -.62$) or Romania explains a lower use ($\beta = -.18$). Romanian competence is another negative predictor of Spanish use ($\beta = -.20$).

Finally, in the case of Romanian, the model explains 37% of the variance. In this case, the most influential variables are more numerous, but they continue to be located in the areas of identification (identification with Catalonia predicts greater use of this language $-\beta = .26$) as opposed to identification with Spain $-\beta = -.20$). Language attitudes are also important. The effect of attitudes towards Catalan is parallel to that of identification with Catalonia ($\beta = -.32$), while better attitudes towards Romanian explain a higher use of this language ($\beta = .29$). The

language competence is also significant ($\beta=.35$), greater competence of Romanian predicts a more frequent use of the Romanian language.

Table 5. Summary of results of multiple regression analyses for private language use

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Catalan use			Spanish use			Romanian use		
			<i>b</i>	<i>SE b</i>	β	<i>b</i>	<i>SE b</i>	β	<i>b</i>	<i>SE b</i>	β
Constant			-0.06	0.20		0.53	0.34		1.17	0.44	
RLCC attendance	0.33	0.47	-0.01	0.04	-.02	0.06	0.07	.07	-0.03	0.10	-.02
Attitudes toward Catalan	4.35	4.77	0.01	0.01	.23*	0.01	0.01	.15	-0.01	0.01	-.11
Attitudes toward Spanish	6.99	2.63	0.01	0.01	.10	0.01	0.01	.10	-0.01	0.02	-.04
Attitudes toward Romanian	6.44	3.25	-0.01	0.01	-.13	-0.03	0.01	-.22*	0.03	0.02	.22*
Identification with Catalonia	2.53	0.93	0.04	0.03	.15	-0.10	0.05	-.24*	0.10	0.06	.18
Identification with Spain	2.85	0.78	0.00	0.03	.01	0.07	0.05	.14	-0.05	0.06	-.08
Identification with Romania	3.54	0.79	-0.03	0.03	-.11	-0.02	0.05	-.04	0.01	0.07	.02
Catalan competence	33.33	8.90	0.00	0.00	.02	0.01	0.01	.14	-0.01	0.01	-.19
Spanish competence	33.76	10.01	0.00	0.00	-.07	0.00	0.01	-.07	0.01	0.01	.11
Romanian competence	30.24	8.50	0.01	0.00	.20	-0.01	0.01	-.15	0.01	0.01	.16
Length of stay	5.71	2.46	0.01	0.01	.10	0.00	0.02	.01	-0.01	0.02	-.03
<i>R</i> ²				.17			.15			.12	
<i>F</i>				2.16			1.93			1.51	

Table 6. Summary of results of multiple regression analyses for public language use

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Catalan use			Spanish use			Romanian use		
			<i>b</i>	<i>SE b</i>	β	<i>b</i>	<i>SE b</i>	β	<i>b</i>	<i>SE b</i>	β
Constant			0.56	0.25		1.54	0.25		0.15	0.27	
RLCC attendance			-0.07	0.05	-.09	0.05	0.05	.06	0.05	0.06	0.06
Attitudes toward Catalan	4.35	4.77	0.02	0.01	.27*	0.00	0.01	.001	-0.02	0.01	-0.32*
Attitudes toward Spanish	6.99	2.63	0.00	0.01	-.03	0.01	0.01	.07	-0.01	0.01	-0.06
Attitudes toward Romanian	6.44	3.25	-0.02	0.01	-.18*	0.00	0.01	-.02	0.03	0.01	0.29*
Identification with Catalonia	2.53	0.93	0.16	0.04	.40*	-0.26	0.04	-.62*	0.10	0.04	0.26*
Identification with Spain	2.84	0.78	-0.17	0.03	-.36*	0.22	0.03	.44*	-0.10	0.04	-0.20*
Identification with Romania	3.54	0.79	0.01	0.04	.03	-0.09	0.04	-.18*	0.01	0.04	0.03
Catalan competence	33.33	8.90	0.01	0.00	.12	0.00	0.00	.02	0.00	0.01	-0.12
Spanish competence	33.76	10.01	0.00	0.00	.00	0.00	0.00	-.02	0.00	0.01	-0.08
Romanian competence	30.24	8.50	0.00	0.00	.11	-0.01	0.00	-.20*	0.02	0.00	0.35*
Length of stay	5.71	2.46	0.01	0.01	.05	-0.01	0.01	-.06	0.00	0.01	-0.01
<i>R</i> ²				.52			.56			.37	
<i>F</i>				11.73			13.48			6.42	

Discussion and conclusions

In summary, the main results obtained point to several trends.

Firstly, the different dynamics of language use in the private and public spheres are evident. In the first one, there is a predominance of Romanian and in the second one a preponderance of Spanish and Catalan.

Secondly, and looking more closely at the private sphere, it can be seen that, apart from the level of language use, the variables that correlate with the use of the Catalan language are more numerous than those that correlate with the use of Spanish or Romanian. Moreover, all of them are related to identifications or attitudes, with no significant ones of a sociodemographic or educational nature.

Thirdly, in the public sphere, the uses are interrelated with more variables than in the private sphere, but it is still the identity-attitudinal variables that mainly explain their use.

In reference to the first point, it should be indicated that the majority use of the Romanian language in the private sphere (and more specifically in the family sphere) coincides with various studies carried out with descendants of immigrants and various languages. Likewise, in the public is a general tendency to use the majority languages (Petreñas, Lapresta, & Huguet, 2016; Petreñas et al., 2018; Vila, Siqués et al., 2009).

Delving into the second and third points, the results open two axes of reflection. The first is that use in this private sphere tends to be affected by few variables. In other words, language use in this area, regardless of whether it is more or less frequent, is interrelated with few characteristics of the individuals. Thus, only identification and/or language attitudes have the ability to explain language use. Thus, factors such as length of stay, the fact of receiving education in their heritage language or culture, or also language competences in the different languages, do not affect the use of languages in the private sphere. All this suggests that the attitudes of the parents (González-Riaño, Fernández-Costales, Lapresta, & Huguet, 2017) or the profile of the identity constructions, which can often lead to tensions with the parents, have an important influence on language use (see Chapter 6 of this Thesis).

By its very nature, this dynamic changes in the public sphere, in which the influential variables are more numerous and related to various dimensions (although the

most important remain connected to the identity-attitudinal dimension). In this line, the fact that a greater mastery of the Romanian language explains its use is completely logical, since greater competence in a language can mean greater linguistic confidence and a higher degree of use (MacIntyre, 1994; MacIntyre & Charos, 1996).

Finally, one cannot help but reflect that the variables that correlate and explain the uses are mainly the identities that are "represented" by those languages or the attitudes towards them. As a general trend, greater identification with a reference point and/or better attitudes towards a language imply a higher degree of usage. This fact is not new and is in line with theoretical postulates and empirical works that confirm language uses as markers of identities (Fishman, 1965; Miller, 2000; Petreñas et al., 2018). But this is not always the case. For example, in the case of Spanish, in which identification with Catalonia or Romania or more positive attitudes towards Romanian mean less use. In order to understand this behaviour, one must resort to elements that are not strictly linguistic and that connect with the social construction of identities. Everything seems to point to the fact that the role given to languages in the Catalan, Spanish and Romanian identity can be opposed or even exclusive. In this line, it is not a novelty that large strata of the population conceptualize the Catalan and Spanish identities as incompatible (Ianos et al., 2017), but what is even more so is that this conception has been extended to descendants of migrants who tend to be much more cosmopolitan (Trenchs-Parera, & Newman, 2009). In conclusion, everything seems to point to the fact that the dominant agents of socialisation in society (schools, the media, etc.) are reproducing this tendency, with the aggravating factor that they also present the feeling of being Romanian and Catalan and/or Spanish as incompatible.

The role of the assistance to the Romanian Language, Culture and Civilization Programme deserves a special mention. Undoubtedly, studies with larger samples are required, considering more variables and also from a qualitative approach. But as in other chapters of this thesis, the results seem to indicate that its effect would be conditioned by other factors, such as family or relational factors.

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CHAPTER 5. LANGUAGE USE OF YOUNG ROMANIANS IN CATALONIA (SPAIN): THE PHYCOSOCIAL MEANING OF THE LANGUAGES. A QUALITATIVE APPROACH

Abstract

This study analyses the social and psychological significance and the symbols of language use, focusing on the young Romanians who live in Catalonia and who participate in the "Romanian Language, Culture and Civilization" minority language maintenance programme. For this, a qualitative analysis of 34 semi-structured interviews was performed. From among the participants, 14 attend or had attended the LCCR Programme, while 20 had never attended it. The results show that Romanian has a symbolic and emotional value and is used only in private settings. Spanish appears to be the preferred language, although the dominant use of Spanish or of Catalan depends on the urban or rural context, respectively. There is moreover a risk of language shift to Romanian in the private sphere, mainly at the expense of Spanish and, to a lesser extent, Catalan.

Introduction

Catalonia is one of the autonomous communities which have received the highest immigrant population in the last 20 years, representing 14% of the population (IDESCAT, 2020). This fact can also be seen in the education system, which receives a wide variety of pupils who are descendants of immigrants. The main origins are Morocco, followed by Romania and Ecuador (Department of Education, 2019). In 2015, Romanians represented 7.58% of pupils of foreign origin in compulsory education (Department of Education, 2015).

In this article we focus on this group, on the one hand taking into account that it represents the second most numerous group, not only in Catalonia but also in the rest of Spain and, on the other hand, because we intend to analyse the impact of an initiative launched by both countries, Romania and Spain, in 2007, the Romanian Language, Culture and Civilization programme, with the aim of maintaining a connection with the Romanian culture and community (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Spain, 2015). This programme covers the whole of Spain, although we are especially

interested in the Catalan context, where the programme has been implemented since the academic year 2007-2008, and in which an average of 279 boys and girls have participated each year (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Spain, 2015).

This programme forms part of the plan established by the Department of Education, intended to facilitate the reception and inclusion of the pupils of immigrant origin in school centres. The aim of the Plan for Language and Social Cohesion (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2007) was to facilitate the learning of Catalan, the host language in the school, but also to promote intercultural education, which included considering the languages of origin of its pupils who are descendants of immigrants. In this framework, the Romanian Language, Culture and Civilization programme formed part of this extracurricular initiative to make the L1 of Romanians visible and take it into account. At present, this desire to make the languages of origin visible is taking the form of them ceasing to be extracurricular activity initiatives in order to form part of the optional subjects of the syllabus. Along these lines, there have been two pilot tests with Chinese and Arabic since the academic year 2018-2019 (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2018).

This clearly demonstrates the importance of an in-depth analysis of the impact of L1 programmes on the inclusion of pupils of immigrant origin, on aspects such as learning the host languages, attitudes, identifications and, especially in this article, on the uses of the different languages of the context, and the social significance attributed to them. This article allows this question to be addressed in a qualitative manner, analyzing in depth the discourses, perceptions and beliefs of Romanians on the use of the different languages, given the importance of this group on a quantitative and qualitative level both in the Catalan education system and in society in general.

5.1 Journal Paper

Literature review

Use of the languages and their psychosocial significance

The same study contains data on pupils of foreign origin in the last year of primary education. These data show that 72.1% use Spanish, while 52.8% use Catalan.

In the school context, the same study shows that in nursery school classrooms with pupils of foreign origin, Catalan is the main language of use, although the incorporation of words in Spanish is gradually observed, to the extent that they mix the two languages. This reflects the fact that, despite the fact that Catalan is the vehicular language, the socio-linguistic context facilitates and promotes the use of Spanish (Vila, Siqués, & Oller, 2009). The playground is the main space where Spanish dominates (Pujolar, & Puigdevall, 2015).

The dynamics is similar among secondary education pupils. In the school context, Catalan is the main language of use (Boix-Fuster, & Sanz, 2008), but Spanish immediately becomes the main language of communication (Camajoan, Vila-Moreno, Bretxa, Sorolla, Tenorio, & Melià, 2013; Galindo, 2008; Vila, Siqués, & Oller, 2009). Furthermore, the study undertaken by Ianos, Huguet, Janés and Lapresta (2015) suggests that the fact that the young descendants of immigrant origin use Catalan facilitates better social relations in the host society, and also access to a higher socio-economic level (Alarcón, & Parella, 2013).

Moreover, there is a very minority presence of the languages of origin at school, being established in informal spaces such as playground situations in which they only play with schoolmates of the same origin, when at any time pupils from the same culture work together or when two pupils with the same language want to distance themselves from the rest of the group (Vila, Siqués, & Oller, 2009).

This tendency extends to the rest of the social contexts and to the family level, Spanish being the dominant language (Vila, & Moreno, 2005). This does not only occur in the Catalan context, since other international studies show similar trends among young people. For example, a study performed in the United Kingdom shows that 60.4% of the descendants of Bangladeshis born in the host country of their parents prefer to use English as their first language, while 39.6% prefer to use Bangla as the first language. However, the language of origin is limited to family spaces, while they prefer to use English in the public sphere (Rasinger, 2012). Similar studies to Rasinger show that in general the preference for the social use of the host language rather than the language of origin increases in adolescence (Geerlings, Verkuyten, & Thijs, 2015).

In addition, the languages of origin are rarely used in the majority of spaces, mainly the public sphere. They dominate in family relations, mainly in relations with

the parents, since among siblings they use Spanish and, to a lesser extent, Catalan (Petreñas, Lapresta, & Huguet, 2018; Vila, Siqués, & Oller, 2009).

Various studies have also been carried out on the significance that boys and girls who are descendants of immigrants attribute to the different languages of use in the Catalan territory.

On analyzing them language by language, the studies show different trends (Alarcón, 2010; Lapresta, Huguet, & Janés, 2010; Lapresta, Huguet, Janés, Navarro, Chireac, Querol, & Sansó, 2010).

In relation to Catalan, in the public sphere it is seen as a language which allows social promotion (Alarcón, 2010; Lapresta, Huguet, & Janés, 2010). These studies agree that some of the young people who are descendants of immigrants attribute the idea of social advancement to Catalan, above all because it permits them to access better positions in the labour market. They moreover perceive that locals appreciate them more if they use Catalan, and they therefore also grant it the symbolism of “integration” (Alarcón, 2010; Lapresta, Huguet, & Janés, 2010). On the contrary, others take the position of not using Catalan despite the fact that they know it.

As regards Spanish, in the public sphere it is perceived as the main host language. It is also granted a meaning of social practicality in so far as it allows access to the labour market, to housing, and it facilitates communication with anyone in any social context (Alarcón, 2010; Lapresta, Huguet, & Janés, 2010). The idea of internationalization and practicality is also attributed to it, to the extent that it is a language spoken by a large number of people, not only in Spain but also on a worldwide level, which offers them useful skills for the future.

In this respect, in the comparison of the two languages, the studies agree that you can live in the Catalan context using Spanish and understanding Catalan (without the need to use it) (Alarcón, 2010; Lapresta, Huguet, & Janés, 2010).

Regarding the languages of origin, in a generalized manner the different studies show their high emotional charge and appreciation by the descendants of immigrants (Alarcón, 2010; Lapresta, Huguet, & Janés, 2010; Lapresta, Huguet, Janés, Navarro, Chireac, Querol, & Sansó, 2010).

With this theoretical and contextual background, the objective of this article is to analyse the psychosocial significance granted to language uses (Romanian-Catalan-Spanish) by young Romanians in compulsory secondary education in Lleida. The following specific objectives arise from this general objective: (1) analyse in depth the psychosocial significance of the languages in the public sphere, and (2) analyse in depth the psychosocial significance of the languages in the private sphere.

Methodology

In order to respond to these objectives we performed a qualitative study by means of in-depth semi-structured interviews.

Participants

Thirty-four boys and girls of Romanian origin between 15 and 19 years old participated in the study; 19 were girls and 15 were boys. All of the participants were enrolled in secondary education schools of the province of Lleida (a province located in the north-west of Catalonia), where all of the participants in the LCCR Programme were previously detected. From among all the participants, 14 attend or had attended the LCCR Programme, while 20 had never attended it. Furthermore, out of the 34 participants, 24 consider Romanian to be their own language, while 4 consider that their language is Spanish, and 4 consider it to be Catalan. We also found two cases in which they considered their own languages to be either Romanian and Spanish.

Instruments

The instrument used to collect the data was the in-depth semi-structured interview. This instrument allowed us to explore and analyse in depth the social significance attributed to the different languages of use, differentiating between the public and private sphere.

The interview was structured in different blocks. Those which are of specific interest to us in this study are related to: (a) Socio-demographic data, (b) The role of the

three languages in daily life, (c) The use of the three languages in the different spheres of their life, (d) The qualities granted to the three languages.

Data analysis

The interviews were transcribed and analysed by means of an analysis of thematic content based on categories through a deduction-induction process (Bardín, 1986), using the ATLAS-TI program. The main categories of analysis were: use of the three languages (Catalan, Spanish and Romanian), symbolic attribution to the three languages (Catalan, Spanish and Romanian), differentiating between public and private sphere.

Procedure

First, the permits necessary to carry out the research were requested from the Department of Education. Once the permits had been obtained, secondary schools with pupils of Romanian origin participating in the LCCR Programme were contacted with the aim of informing them and requesting their collaboration with the project.

Ethical criteria were taken into account concerning anonymity (with the use of pseudonyms) and access to informed consent (European Union, 2010).

The interviews were carried out in Spanish, Catalan or Romanian, depending on the preferences of the participant. This was possible thanks to the fact that the three researchers were of Romanian nationality.

Results

Results

The results are organized in two subsections focused on the social significance of the use of languages in the public sphere and the social significance of the use of languages in the private sphere.

Social significance of the use of languages in the public sphere

A majority of participants state that the language most frequently used in the public sphere is Spanish, except in the strictly formal educational area (classroom). There are several anchors for this phenomenon.

First, there is a comprehensive line of argument which refers to attitudinal issues, which denote a preference for Spanish in relation to Catalan and even for both before Romanian.

The reasons why Spanish is preferred over Catalan are mainly because “they like it more” or “they feel more at ease”. Ana (17 years old) highlights the fact that, although she may begin a conversation in Catalan, she quickly changes to Spanish, since the former is a language that she knows but “does not like enough”.

Interviewer: I understand. Very good about Spanish. And Catalan?

Ana: Mmm... I can speak... I mean, how shall I say? I understand it and I speak it, but I begin a sentence in Catalan and I end it in Spanish... because that's what it's like... I don't really like Catalan. So, enough.

On the other hand, Elena (14 years old) relates that, in her interactions with her friends, her favourite language is Spanish, whether or not they are Romanian.

Interviewer: Why do you use Spanish in the breaks?

Elena: Because my friends... you get together with Spanish people as well, not just Romanians, and most of us don't like Catalan too much, in the groups with which I go out.

Interviewer: Ah, that's why you prefer to use Spanish.

Elena: Yes.

Second, the main argument which underpins a preference for Spanish (and even Catalan) rather than for Romanian is that they have been using these languages for so long with their Romanian peers that it becomes alien, awkward or strange to use Romanian with them. Crina (19 years old) explains it in the following terms.

Interviewer: Why in Spanish?

Crina: Because I don't know, what I was telling you before, knowing what language they are talking in... I find it funny talking to them in Romanian. And, for example, I have Romanian friends and I talk to them in Spanish, I don't know why... I don't feel at ease talking to them in Romanian.

Interviewer: Okay, perfect, that's why. And do you use Catalan with your friends?

Crina: Yes, as well, with the friends at school and now I have Romanians and I talk in it with them. They often ask us, if you're Romanian, why do you talk in Catalan? It just comes out like that, we don't feel at ease talking in Romanian.

In relation to the majority use of Spanish in the public sphere, a significant exception should be indicated: the case of the boys and girls who grew up and live in rural contexts. In this case and context, the most frequently used language is Catalan before Spanish. It is the first one that is learnt thanks to the daily interactions and Spanish is learnt at much later ages due to its presence in the education system. Ilinca (15 years old) and Stefan (16 years old) relate it as follows.

Interviewer: Speak it, okay. Now the same with Spanish. Where did you learn Spanish?

Ilinca: At secondary school.

Interviewer: At secondary school or primary school?

Ilinca: At secondary school because in primary school we didn't speak it.

Interviewer: You didn't speak it.

Ilinca: Because people from villages only speak in Catalan.

Interviewer: Okay, you're from villages. Which village are you from?

Ilinca: Albesa.

Interviewer: Albesa. And there's no Spanish there. You learnt it now here in the secondary school.

Ilinca: Yes. Well, in the first year of compulsory secondary education.

Interviewer: Fantastic. Very good. Now talk about how you learnt the languages, okay? In what context did you learn Catalan?

Stefan: Catalan, in the village.

Interviewer: In the village.

Stefan: On being from a village, with people, with classmates. There were some Romanians who helped me a little and introduced me, then with everything, it was also a little strange, people came to the school from outside, and we all learnt Catalan. And almost all of us who came from the village, from La Portella, we learnt Catalan very well.

This all constructs a very different scenario to the one created by the previous participants, who grew up and lived in urban contexts.

Finally, it should be pointed out that almost all of the participants related how in the strictly most formal educational sphere (the classroom), the use of Catalan increases, becoming almost exclusive. Along these lines, we have, for example, the discourse of María (17 years old).

Interviewer: And, in what contexts do you use it?

María: Almost all the time, except when I am in class because then I use Catalan. I speak Catalan with my teachers, because they speak in Catalan during the classes and all that. However, outside or among classmates I always talk in Spanish.

Another noteworthy element is the languages of social promotion (especially those linked to future access to the labour market). In this respect, there is no discursive homogeneity, a wide range of accounts existing.

Alexandra (16 years old) or Andrei (15 years old) declare the need to know and use Catalan with a view to achieving a better job in the future, although in their argument an undertone is perceived of a need which is to a certain extent imposed.

Interviewer: And how do you think that young Romanians feel? Do they like to learn Catalan, for example?

Alexandra: I don't know whether or not they like it, but I think that they learn it out of need. Because, of course, it depends on the job, it depends on your level of education, if they come here to study or whatever, they need it. And they have to adapt, and they have to learn it, whether or not they want to.

Interviewer: Very good. And with a view to your future, okay, in the labour, educational field, as regards relations, on the level of... do you think that it is useful to learn Catalan?

Andrei: Yes, I think so. Because I have cases like my father who, that is to say, he had a time when, let me see, my father worked for a time in... how can I tell you now... It was like... I don't know how to tell you like here with *mossos* in Romania they have...

Interviewer: Their police.

Andrei: And he worked for a time there and, that is to say, he came here, and, here he could have worked, but as he didn't know the language, in the beginning he didn't have a car and all that... well, it was difficult for him. I have always told him, it wouldn't be very difficult for you to learn the language better and you could work on something that would be much better than what you are doing now maybe. Yes, I think that it is useful.

Interviewer: Basically, it is useful for, for this, to find a job...

Andrei: I think so.

However, this does not prevent them and other participants from appreciating the knowledge of a higher number of languages as a decisive factor when it comes to finding work. Radu (16 years old) or Crina (19 years old) express it as follows.

Interviewer: Why do you think that it is useful to learn Catalan, Spanish and Romanian?

Radu: Because maybe like that you have more opportunities to find work or something. Because they know more languages.

Interviewer: And... now let's talk a little about learning languages. How do you see learning Catalan, for example?

Crina: Well, I see it as something good because Catalan is an easy to learn language and so is Spanish. I don't see it... It is essential to know more languages, to have more possibilities in the future and to be able to work... and...

Finally, Victor (16 years old) is an example of a fairly recurrent discourse, which argues the "limited value" of the Catalan language on restricting opportunities to Catalonia.

Victor: My mother always advises me to learn English and Spanish. Spanish because I am here, and English because she knows that it will be useful for me in the workplace.

Interviewer: And Catalan?

Victor: No. My mother doesn't see it, because it is not of interest. She also sees it as a waste of time, foolish, like me... because she doesn't see it as useful. Like me.

The social significance of languages in the private sphere

In the private and, more specifically, family sphere, three differentiated discourses are detected, although two of them tend to be complementary.

The first of them refers to the parental-ancestral symbolism granted to the Romanian language. The second complements this discourse, but indicates a progressive replacement of the use of Romanian with Spanish and/or Catalan. Finally, there is a third discourse in which Romanian (and its symbolic-identity value) has already been displaced.

An example of the first type of discursive unit is the account of Sabina (15 years old), which expresses the importance of using Romanian, even if only at home. She

moreover considers the fact that many of her classmates do not use it as being to a certain extent dramatic.

Sabina: (...) My point of view is very different from the other classmates who are here, because the majority... the majority of Romanians do not speak Romanian, and I do... I try to speak Romanian as much as I can... at home as well, although it's difficult for me, I express myself in Romanian, or half in Spanish... I mix the languages as well.

Or Razvan (16 years old), who declares that, apart from speaking it with his parents, it has an ancestral significance for him.

Interviewer: Okay. Perfect. And Romanian? Well, you told me that a little before, but anyway.

Razvan: I only speak Romanian at home, with my relatives.

Interviewer: All right. And why do you use Romanian?

Razvan: Because my mother and my father don't speak very well... well, they hardly speak Catalan at all, and only a little Spanish.

Interviewer: Okay. Perfect. And although you only speak it at home, let's see, why do you like speaking Romanian?

Razvan: Mmm... because... I like to learn more. That's why. And because it's where I was born and I want to know the language better, because I'm forgetting it.

A third argumentative theme is that on many occasions it is the desire of the parents rather than their own. María (17 years old) expresses it as follows.

Interviewer: And, how do you think that they feel on learning and speaking Romanian?

María: For example, my parents... I have a sister, and my parents, as my sister was born here, they take her to Romanian classes because they want her to learn

Romanian, they do not want her... They want her to learn, I mean, how to write a little and all that, you know. They don't want her to forget it. However, there are people... who are here and who are maybe ashamed to be Romanian, maybe they don't use Romanian so much and they don't think that it is useful, you know? They forget about it. And they are people who have forgotten Romanian... They don't use it any more, or...

Even so, an important number of participants relate that they use the Romanian language at home simply because their parents speak it, without this emotional link being detected, while using Catalan and/or Spanish with their siblings. An example of this is the account by Radu (16 years old) who states that he uses all three languages.

Interviewer: You learnt Catalan and Spanish at school. Do you use Romanian at home?

Radu: Yes, with my father and my mother.

Interviewer: With your father and your mother.

Radu: I speak more in Catalan and Spanish with my brother.

Gabriela (15 years old) is an example of another focus in the discourse on arguing that she does not use it because she does not feel sufficiently competent as a result of having lived in Catalonia for many years.

Gabriela: [laughs] The fact is that I mix, the truth is that Romanian... I don't know any longer... Hardly any words... [Laughs] Because I've been here a long time... Wait, let me see, at home yes, my mother talks to me in Romanian, but I talk to her in Spanish. I don't speak to her in Romanian because... I want to say something in Romanian, I don't know the word any more and it makes me cross and I say it to her in Spanish.

Finally, at the other end of the spectrum we find young people who in a conscious manner abandon its use, either on their own initiative or that of their parents. Victor (16 years old) declares:

Interviewer: And Romanian? What advice does she give you? Has she given you advice?

Víctor: My mother, the truth is that she is also the same... She doesn't care, whether or not I speak it. She thinks it's okay if we talk in Spanish, but she doesn't care about Romanian either. She is out of practice and... We have decided to speak in Spanish between us, so... It's not that she advises me not to speak it, but she doesn't tell me: "Speak it son!" She just leaves it. If you want to speak it, speak, and if not, well... it doesn't matter!

Discussion and Conclusions

The social significance attributed to the three languages, Catalan-Spanish-Romanian, in the public and private sphere is clearly different.

In relation to the public sphere, the symbolism of language uses and preferences relates to other social factors. First, everything appears to indicate that the well-known role of Spanish is fulfilled as the dominant language of communication in all social contexts, in line with the contributions of previous studies (Ianos, Huguet, Janés, & Lapresta, 2015; Vila, Siqués, & Oller, 2009). Despite this, this study detects an exception, which is the differentiation between the socio-linguistic reality of the urban context and the rural context. Thus, while the above premise is fulfilled in those young people who live in urban contexts, in the case of those who live in rural contexts Catalan is the dominant language with majority use. Furthermore, the use of Spanish rather than Catalan does not respond solely to an instrumental motivation, along the lines raised by previous studies (Alarcón, & Parella, 2013; Ianos, Huguet, Janés, & Lapresta, 2015; Vila, Siqués, & Oller, 2009), but rather also responds to a preference, that is to say to better attitudes toward Spanish than toward Catalan, which corroborates previous studies by Ianos, Huguet, Janés & Lapresta (2015), also for Romanians.

Sometimes this preference does not only outweigh Catalan, but also their language of origin, Romanian.

In relation to Catalan, its use is strictly limited to the school context and, in particular, to the formal classroom, demonstrating that it is used as an academic language but that, along the lines of previous studies (Boix-Fuster, & Sanz, 2008; Pujolar, & Puigdevall, 2015; Vila, Siqués, & Oller, 2009), the other school spaces are impregnated with the use of Spanish. As already mentioned, one exception is the rural context where Catalan dominates in the social reality and, therefore, is the language in which they are immersed. Despite the restrictive space granted to the use of Catalan, this study confirms, along the lines of previous studies (Alarcón, & Parella, 2013; Ianos, Huguet, Janés, & Lapresta, 2015), that the idea of social advancement and promotion is attributed to it, especially in the labour sphere, although restricted to the context of Catalonia. However, even so, some accounts indicate that it is not only this language which can provide competitive advantages when it comes to finding employment in Catalonia, but rather this is really favoured by multilingualism (normally Catalan-Spanish-English).

The role of Romanian in the public sphere is of special interest. Here, it is completely residual and limited to very specific language interactions. Unlike what occurs in parts of the United States with the Hispanic or Chinese community, and although Romanians in Catalonia are likewise very important, it has not developed ethnic (and economic) enclaves which result in Romanian-Catalan-Spanish multilingualism representing upward social mobility (Portes, & Rivas, 2011).

When focusing on the private sphere, the use of all of the languages tends to have a symbolic significance. Thus, the use of Romanian can be an expression of ancestry and/or parenthood. The use of Catalan or Spanish with siblings and of Romanian with the parents can be understood as a symbol of the hybrid patterns of identification that these boys and girls construct, and of intergenerational tensions (Petreñas, Lapresta, & Huguet, 2018; Vila, Siqués, & Oller, 2009). Finally, the exclusive use of Spanish (and, to a lesser extent, Catalan) can be a clear demonstration of identity constructions and assimilationist integration profiles (Berry, 2005).

In any case, all this leads us to conclude that there is a potential risk of language shift from Romanian in the private sphere, mainly toward Spanish and, to a lesser

extent, Catalan, depending on the rural or urban context in which they live. Obviously, the social context and other social processes, such as being the descendant of mixed couples, can catalyze this shift. In this respect, despite the fact that initially they appear to attribute the private sphere to Romanian, in actual fact this attribution is of a symbolic and emotional rather than real nature (Alarcón, 2010; Lapresta, Huguet, & Janés, 2010; Lapresta, Huguet, Janés, Navarro, Chireac, Querol, & Sansó, 2010).

This article progresses in the knowledge of the symbolic significance attributed to languages (Catalan, Spanish and Romanian) by young people of Romanian origin who live in a Catalan multilingual context and who attend school in the framework of an education system consisting of immersion in Catalan. Knowledge of this significance helps to understand the quantitative results which are included in previous studies on language uses and attitudes in the three languages of this group. Furthermore, it also contributes to reformulating the socio-linguistic map of a context such as the Catalan one which has experienced complex changes over the last two decades, and to providing information on how to improve cohesion and social inclusion processes.

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CHAPTER 6. USOS LINGÜÍSTICOS Y FORMACIÓN EN LENGUA Y CULTURA DE ORIGEN. ¿UNA HERRAMIENTA DE INTEGRACIÓN SOCIOEDUCATIVA?

Abstract

Unos equilibrados usos lingüísticos por parte de los descendientes de migrados son un elemento clave de cara a su integración actual y futura. En este sentido, existe una corriente teórica que postula que un mayor grado de integración de estos jóvenes, revierte en un mayor conocimiento de las lenguas, unas más favorables actitudes y unos usos más equilibrados. Este mayor grado de integración es más fácil de alcanzar si se capitalizan las lenguas y culturas de origen, siendo una de las más efectivas vías la posibilidad de recibir formación de ellas. Centrados en Cataluña, la Educación Secundaria Obligatoria y el colectivo rumano, el presente artículo analiza los usos del catalán y del castellano en los ámbitos educativo y comunitario, en función de si se recibe o no formación de lengua y cultura de origen. Los resultados son fruto de la aplicación de un cuestionario sociolingüístico a un total de 131 jóvenes, que constituyen la totalidad de los que asisten al programa “Lengua, Cultura y Civilización Rumana” (20) y un grupo control que no lo hace (111). Los principales resultados muestran la influencia de recibir formación en lengua y cultura propia. En caso de los estudiantes que lo hacen, los usos lingüísticos son más equilibrados y utilizar una lengua no va en detrimento del uso de la otra. Lo contrario ocurre con los que no asisten al programa. Las principales conclusiones apuntan a que se debe incidir en medidas de este tipo, aunque no se deben olvidar otras acciones complementarias.

Palabras clave: Usos lingüísticos, Jóvenes Rumanos, Cataluña (España), Integración Lingüística

Introducción

Existe un alto consenso en la literatura científica, sobre la importancia en el proceso de integración de los descendientes de migrantes del nivel de conocimiento y uso de la/s lengua/s de la sociedad.

Circunscritos a los usos, potenciarlos de manera equilibrada es tarea compleja en contextos oficial u oficiosamente monolingües, pero lo es todavía más en bilingües. Este es el caso de Cataluña, en la que a sus particularidades lingüísticas, se le une el reto de construir un modelo de convivencia en el que el catalán vehicule un entorno multilingüe. Además, favoreciendo el conocimiento y uso del castellano y de las lenguas de los migrados (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2010, 2017). Con esta finalidad, en el ámbito educativo se apuesta por “*potenciar i consolidar la cohesió social, l’educació intercultural i la llengua catalana en un marc plurilingüe, la llengua castellana i les llengües estrangeres*” (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2009: 14).

Estas iniciativas se basan en dos premisas interrelacionadas: i) la potenciación del uso de las lenguas oficiales en Cataluña (y las de los inmigrantes) y, ii) la idea de que una satisfactoria integración lingüística y social pasa por prestigiar y capitalizar todas las lenguas, incluidas las propias de los descendientes de migrados.

Si bien como veremos son muchas las variables que se han mostrado influyentes en los usos de las lenguas, diversos trabajos desde diferentes disciplinas y contextos indican que una de las vías más efectiva para alcanzar unos equilibrados usos, es ofrecer la posibilidad de recibir formación de la lengua y cultura de origen. O lo que es lo mismo, formarse en lo que es propio revierte en la integración escolar y autoestima, lo que incrementa el aprendizaje y uso de las lenguas de la escuela (Cummins, 1996; Portes y Hao, 1998; Alarcón y Parella, 2013; Coelho, Oller y Serra, 2013).

En este marco, el objetivo principal de este artículo es conocer y analizar los usos de las lenguas catalana y castellana en el ámbito educativo y comunitario de los escolares rumanos de secundaria en Cataluña, en función de si reciben o no formación de su lengua y cultura de origen.

Diversos son los motivos que hacen este estudio especialmente relevante. En primer lugar, la práctica inexistencia de trabajos que abordan directamente la relación entre recibir o no formación en lengua y cultura de origen y los usos lingüísticos. En segundo lugar, como se verá, por la importancia cuantitativa y cualitativa del colectivo rumano en España y Cataluña. Por último, el cubrimiento de estos objetivos ha de permitir profundizar empíricamente en estos planteamientos teóricos aplicados al uso de las lenguas.

6.1 Journal paper

Usos Lingüísticos de descendientes de migrados

Referirse a los usos lingüísticos de los descendientes de migrados y su imbricación, implica tener en consideración otros procesos interconectados con las lenguas.

A este respecto, la inmensa mayoría de trabajos realizados en Cataluña apuntan a que se produce una “pauta de subordinación al castellano” (Boix y Vila-Moreno, 1998), que se traduce en que ante una persona desconocida o un castellano hablante, rápidamente se utilice esta lengua, convirtiéndola así en la de uso habitual. Esta pauta implica, por ejemplo, que aunque la lengua de la escuela sea el catalán y se pueda alcanzar una competencia mayor, rápidamente el castellano se convierte en la lengua franca de comunicación (Vila y Galindo, 2009; Vila, Siqués y Oller 2009; Comajoan, Vila-Moreno, Bretxa, Sorolla, Tenorio y Melià, 2013; entre otros). Además, las lenguas propias de los descendientes de migrantes son poco utilizadas, aunque sean muy valoradas por ellos. Pero estudios más recientes puntualizan que la pauta de subordinación al castellano no es uniforme. Los usos también se vinculan con el estatus y prestigio instrumental y simbólico de las lenguas, el entorno sociolingüístico, la clase social y el ámbito en los que se desarrollan (escuela / amistades / otros contextos) (Pujolar, González, Font y Martínez, 2010; Bretxa y Vila-Moreno, 2012; Torres-Pla, 2012).

Complementando lo que se acaba de mencionar, la investigación también indica que los usos se encuentran relacionados con las competencias lingüísticas, en un doble sentido: un mayor conocimiento tiende a implicar un mayor uso y, a su vez, un mayor uso supone un mejor conocimiento (Oller y Vila, 2011). En el caso de los descendientes de migrados tienen también una especial incidencia otras variables como el origen, la lengua familiar o el tiempo de estancia (Navarro y Huguet, 2005; Huguet, Navarro, Chireac y Sansó, 2012; Autor/es, año).

También los usos se vinculan con las actitudes, las preferencias lingüísticas y el perfil de integración. Para Lapresta, Huguet y Janés (2010) y Lapresta, Huguet, Janés, Navarro, Chireac, Querol y Sansó (2010), unas mejores actitudes hacia las lenguas, un nivel de competencia mayor y unos usos más equilibrados, dependen en gran medida de

que los jóvenes migrados se sientan valorados e integrados escolar y socialmente, cuya expresión máxima sería la posibilidad de recibir clases de lengua y cultura de origen. También Alarcón y Parella (2013), muestran cómo la preferencia lingüística por el catalán de los descendientes de migrados en Barcelona, viene determinada principalmente por cuestiones socioeconómicas (a mayor nivel socioeconómico, más preferencia por el catalán) y por ser descendientes de parejas mixtas. Pero de nuevo concluyen, a nivel general, que de cara a potenciar unas preferencias lingüísticas y usos que produzcan en el futuro una movilidad social ascendente, resulta necesario prestigiar y enseñar las lenguas familiares. Por último, y redundando en la importancia de la influencia del hecho de revalorizar las lenguas y culturas propias en la escuela, Trenchs y Patiño (2013) llegan a conclusiones muy similares en un estudio realizado en tres Aulas de Acogida en Barcelona con migrados Latinoamericanos.

Sintetizando, partiendo del hecho de que los descendientes de migrados presentan una muy alta valoración de las lenguas y cultura propias y/o familiares, toda una serie de trabajos apuntan a que una de las vías más efectivas en pos de unos usos más equilibrados es capitalizarlas y prestigiarlas. Para ello, es necesario ofrecer la posibilidad de recibir formación de lengua y cultura de origen. En otras palabras, el reconocimiento y valoración de las lenguas de estos jóvenes revierte en un mayor grado de integración escolar y social, lo que a su vez conlleva una más positiva actitud hacia el conocimiento y uso de la/s lengua/s de la sociedad.

Evidentemente, todo lo anterior entronca con una satisfactoria incorporación a la sociedad. Una incorporación, que en el ámbito lingüístico apueste por la integración y valoración del conocimiento y uso de todas las lenguas presentes en la sociedad, huyendo de propuestas asimilacionistas que supongan una renuncia por parte de los migrados al uso de sus lenguas (Portes y Hao, 1998; Lapresta y Huguet, 2008; Lapresta, Huguet y Janes, 2010, 2018; Alarcón y Parella, 2013; Coelho, Oller y Serra, 2013).

Sobre este punto, diversas investigaciones revelan que los jóvenes rumanos en Cataluña tienden a apostar en gran medida por perfiles de integración asimilacionistas, en especial si no existen rasgos fenotípicos diferenciadores (Petreñas, Lapresta y Huguet, 2016, 2018).

Cataluña del bilingüismo al plurilingüismo

En Cataluña, la aprobación de la *Llei de Normalització Lingüística* de 1983 ha producido una revitalización de la lengua catalana. Esta Ley ha sido un modelo a seguir debido a su éxito, ya que en su planteamiento inicial estaba pensada para hablantes de dos lenguas (castellano – catalán), que se correspondía con la composición sociodemográfica de los años ochenta y noventa del siglo pasado (Solé, 1981; Woolard, 1989).

Pero actualmente la composición sociodemográfica de la población adolescente en Cataluña ha cambiado sustancialmente, debido principalmente al ciclo migratorio que se ha experimentado durante las últimas dos décadas. De esta manera, en el caso de los jóvenes de nacionalidad no española de hasta 19 años, en Cataluña se ha producido un incremento en el periodo 2002-2017 del 160,85%, pasando de ser 81.466 a 212.476, destacando el incremento del colectivo rumano (más del 1.000% -de 792 a 9.223-) (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2017).

Todo ello ha tenido su traslación en el Sistema Educativo. Tanto es así, que en el curso 2016/2017 constituían el segundo colectivo de no españoles más numeroso en la Educación Secundaria Obligatoria en Cataluña, llegando a representar el 7,58% del total de los extranjeros (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2018).

Esta realidad no ha pasado inadvertida a las autoridades educativas españolas y catalanas, que han prestado especial atención a este colectivo. Así, en el año 2007 (el 16 de julio) se firmó un convenio de colaboración entre el Ministerio de Educación, Investigación y Juventud del gobierno rumano y el Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia español, a través del cual se posibilita a los estudiantes de Educación Primaria y Secundaria asistir al programa denominado “Lengua, Cultura y Civilización Rumana”. Su objetivo es fomentar su integración, aparte de proporcionar unos conocimientos sobre estos tópicos.

Como veremos con posterioridad, se da la particularidad de que la totalidad de los jóvenes rumanos que siguen este programa en Cataluña se encuentran localizados en la ciudad de Lleida. La población de Lleida en el año 2017 era de 137.327 personas, siendo tras Barcelona, la capital de provincia más poblada (por encima de Tarragona y Girona). Otro de sus rasgos característicos es el importante porcentaje de población

extranjera residente, que alcanza el 18,13%, tan solo por detrás de Girona (18,46%) y por delante de Barcelona (17,57%) y Tarragona (15,60%) (Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya, 2018).

A nivel sociolingüístico, los datos oficiales más recientes indican que se caracteriza por ser un contexto en el que 61,90% de la población utiliza habitualmente el catalán, muy por delante de las comarcas de Girona (el 51,50%), el Camp de Tarragona (el 38,60%) o el área metropolitana de Barcelona (el 27,80%). Además, un 6,90% de su población utiliza habitualmente otras lenguas (incluida el rumano) (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2015).

Objetivos

Los objetivos de este artículo son:

1. Conocer los usos lingüísticos del catalán y castellano de los jóvenes rumanos que se encuentran cursando Educación Secundaria Obligatoria en Cataluña, en el ámbito educativo (con los profesores y en el patio) y comunitario (con las amistades de fuera del instituto y con adultos desconocidos).
2. Analizar el impacto del hecho de recibir o no formación de lengua y cultura de origen sobre el nivel de uso de la lengua castellana y catalana y su interrelación.

Metodología

Participantes

Se seleccionó a la totalidad de alumnos rumanos de Enseñanza Secundaria Obligatoria en Cataluña que estaban cursando el programa de “Lengua, Cultura y Civilización Rumana” (20) y un grupo que no lo estaba haciendo (111), con el fin de poder comparar los resultados obtenidos inter-grupos. Una importante particularidad es que todos los estudiantes de Cataluña se encuentran localizados en Lleida, a excepción de uno en Amposta (Tarragona). Su media de edad es de 15,06 años y el 43,50% son chicos y el 56,50% chicas. Todos nacieron en Rumania. El 47,30% lleva residiendo en Cataluña como mucho 5 años y el 52,70% más tiempo.

Variables

Las variables dependientes se ubican en dos ámbitos de uso de las lenguas, el escolar (con los profesores y en el patio) y el comunitario (con los amigos fuera de la escuela y con adultos desconocidos). Han sido formuladas como preguntas de escala Likert de cuatro posibilidades de respuesta sobre cada una de las lenguas analizadas (catalán y castellano) (0/ Nunca – 3/ Siempre).⁴

Instrumentos

Para la obtención de los datos se ha utilizado una encuesta sociolingüística diseñada y utilizada por el Servei d'Ensenyament del Català (SEDEC) y usada con éxito en otros trabajos en contextos marcados por la inmigración (Autor/es, año; Autor/es, año; Autor/es, año). El núcleo del cuestionario lo componen un total de 60 preguntas distribuidas en diferentes bloques: a) sociodemográficas, b) usos lingüísticos en diferentes ámbitos (familia, instituto, grupo de iguales, medios de comunicación y redes sociales, etc.), c) actitudes lingüísticas, y, e) variables socioeducativas y socioeconómicas familiares.

Tratamiento de los datos

El análisis de los datos se ha llevado a cabo en dos momentos.

En el primero se realiza una exploración del nivel de uso de las lenguas catalana y castellana en el ámbito educativo y comunitario, así como un análisis sobre su interrelación (es decir, si utilizar una lengua implica un mayor o menor uso de la otra y viceversa).

En un segundo momento, se profundiza en estos datos diferenciando entre los que reciben y no reciben formación en lengua y cultura rumana.

Para la primera fase se han utilizado estadísticos descriptivos, técnicas de comparación de medias (Wilcoxon) y correlacionales (Rho de Spearman). En la

⁴ Si bien no es el objetivo de este trabajo, cabe indicar que datos obtenidos en el proyecto de investigación del que surgen estos resultados señalan que el uso del rumano por parte de estos jóvenes es muy alto en el ámbito familiar y muy bajo en el ámbito escolar y comunitario. Además, también el conocimiento del rumano es más bajo que el del castellano y catalán.

segunda, de nuevo estos estadísticos, pero en esta ocasión en función de si los alumnos asisten o no al Programa “Lengua, Cultura y Civilización Rumana”.

Todas las pruebas realizadas son No Paramétricas, al no seguir los datos una Distribución Normal. El nivel de significación utilizado ha sido del 0,05.

Resultados

Usos lingüísticos en el ámbito escolar y comunitario

Sin diferenciar si los escolares reciben o no formación en lengua y cultura de origen, en el ámbito escolar, los usos del catalán y el castellano difieren si nos referimos a los profesores o a los compañeros en el patio.

Con los primeros, el uso del catalán es significativamente más alto que el del castellano, con unas medias, respectivamente, de 2,66 y 2,07 (recordemos, siendo 0 un nulo uso y 3 un uso exclusivo) ($z= 3,761$; $p< .000$).

En cambio, con los compañeros en el patio la lengua más utilizada es el castellano (2,07), reduciéndose el uso del catalán (1,80), pero sin ser la diferencia significativa (Gráfico 1).

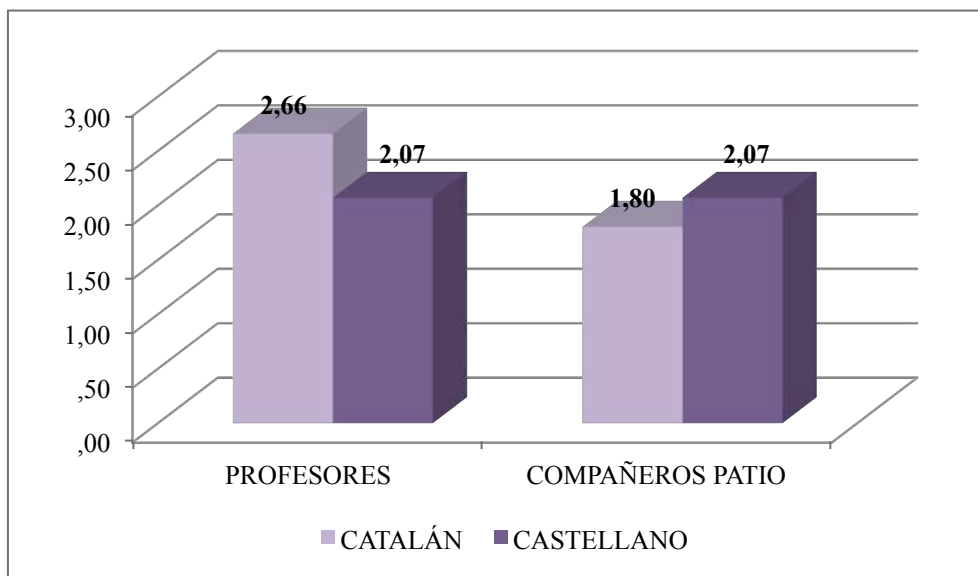


Gráfico 1. Usos del catalán y el castellano de los jóvenes rumanos en el ámbito educativo

En el ámbito comunitario, tanto con los amigos fuera del instituto, como con adultos, el castellano es la lengua de uso más habitual. En el primer caso supera

significativamente al del catalán (1,97 vs 1,40; $z = -3,117$; $p < .01$), mientras que con adultos desconocidos es similar (2,03 vs 1,98) (Gráfico 1).

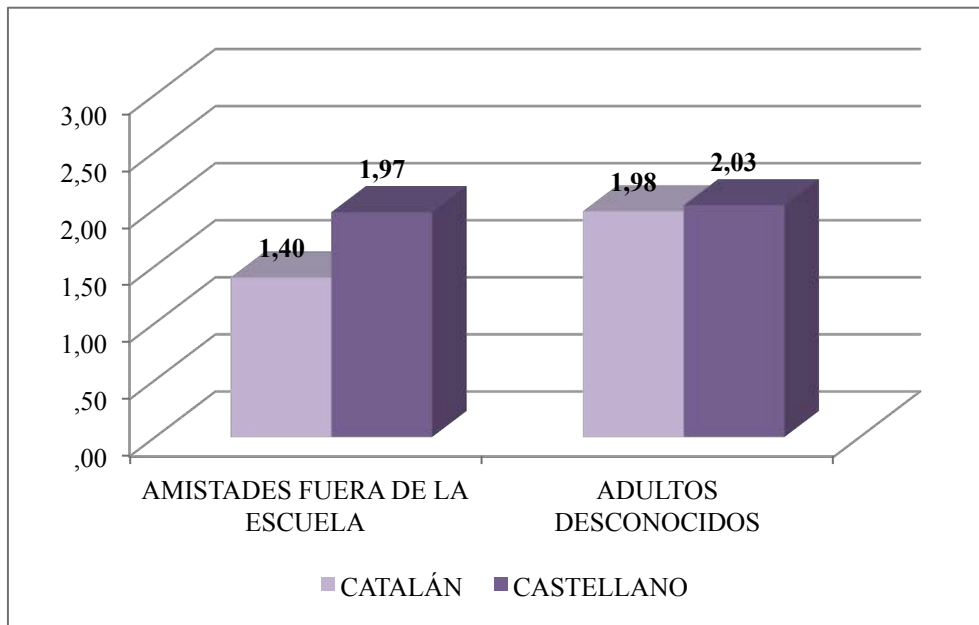


Gráfico 2. Usos del catalán y el castellano de los jóvenes rumanos en el ámbito comunitario

Otro elemento de capital importancia es analizar, por encima de los usos, la relación que se establece entre ellos.

En el ámbito educativo, el uso del catalán y del castellano con los profesores correlacionan de una manera robusta y significativa, pero negativa ($r_s = -.422$; $p < .000$). Ello significa que un más alto uso de una lengua con los profesores supone uno más bajo de la otra. Y un patrón cuasi mimético se reproduce al relacionarlos en el patio ($r_s = -.434$; $p < .000$) (Tabla 1).

	Uso del catalán con los profesores	Uso del castellano con los profesores	Uso del catalán en el patio	Uso del castellano en el patio
Uso del catalán con los profesores	1	-.422**	Uso del catalán en el patio	1
Uso del castellano con los profesores		1	Uso del castellano en el patio	1

* $p < .05$

** $p < .000$

Tabla 1. Matriz de correlaciones. Usos del catalán y castellano en el ámbito educativo de los jóvenes rumanos (Profesores y Patio)

En el ámbito comunitario la tendencia es la misma, aunque la interrelación es más débil. Más concretamente, con las amistades fuera del instituto el valor de la Rho de Spearman se queda en $r_s = -.179$ ($p < .05$) y con adultos desconocidos en $r_s = -.180$ ($p < .05$) (Tabla 2).

	Uso del catalán con las amistades	Uso del castellano con las amistades		Uso del catalán con adultos	Uso del castellano con adultos
Uso del catalán con las amistades	1	-.179*	Uso del catalán con adultos	1	-.180*
Uso del castellano con las amistades		1	Uso del castellano con adultos		1

* $p < .05$

** $p < .000$

Tabla 2. Matriz de correlaciones. Usos del catalán y castellano en el ámbito comunitario de los jóvenes rumanos (Amistades y Adultos desconocidos)

Usos lingüísticos y asistencia al Programa de Lengua, Cultura y Civilización Rumana

El asistir o no al Programa “Lengua, Cultura y Civilización Rumana” introduce algunas variaciones en los datos que acabamos de presentar.

En primer lugar, existe la tendencia hacia unos usos lingüísticos más equilibrados entre los que reciben formación de lengua y cultura rumana, al no existir diferencias significativas en ningún ámbito. Este hecho no ocurre entre los que no asisten, los cuales, sí utilizan significativamente más el catalán que el castellano con los profesores (2,64 vs 2,02, $z = -3,555$; $p < .000$) y el castellano que el catalán con las amistades fuera del instituto (2,00 vs 1,43, $z = -2,764$; $p < .01$).

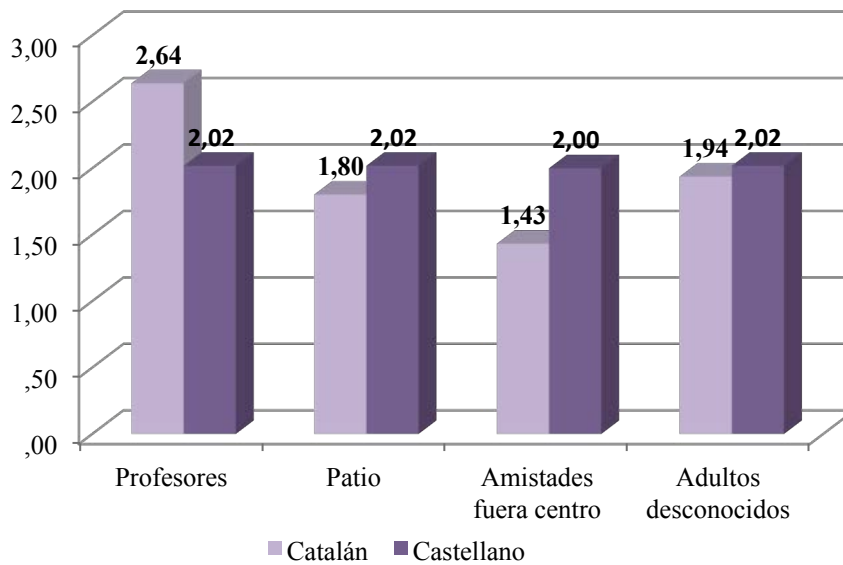


Gráfico 3. Usos del catalán y el castellano en el ámbito educativo y comunitario de los jóvenes rumanos que no asisten al Programa “Lengua, Cultura y Civilización Rumana”

En segundo lugar, la interrelación entre los usos lingüísticos no sufre importantes variaciones en el caso de los jóvenes que no asisten.

Así, en todos los ámbitos las correlaciones son muy similares y en el mismo sentido que las vistas con anterioridad. Más concretamente, el coeficiente de correlación para el uso del catalán y el castellano con los profesores es $r_s = -.446$ ($p < .000$) lo que, recordemos, significa que se encuentran muy asociados y que la utilización de una lengua implica una menor de la otra. Y lo mismo se puede afirmar para el patio ($r_s = -.460$; $p < .000$) (Tabla 3).

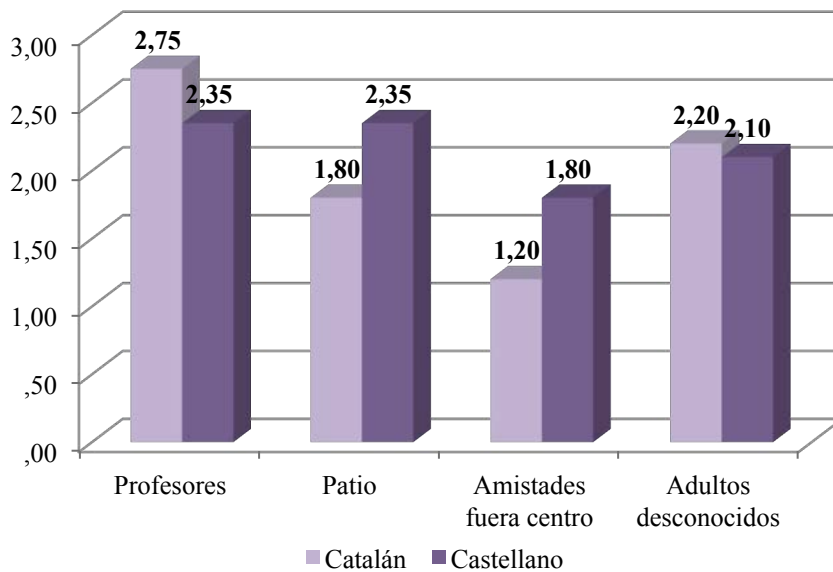


Gráfico 4. Usos del catalán y el castellano en el ámbito educativo y comunitario de los jóvenes rumanos que sí asisten al Programa “Lengua, Cultura y Civilización Rumana”

	Uso del catalán con los profesores	Uso del castellano con los profesores	Uso del catalán en el patio	Uso del castellano en el patio
Uso del catalán con los profesores	1	-.446**	Uso del catalán en el patio	1
Uso del castellano con los profesores		1	Uso del castellano en el patio	1

* $p < .05$

** $p < .000$

Tabla 3. Matriz de correlaciones. Usos del catalán y castellano en el ámbito educativo (Profesores y Patio) de los jóvenes rumanos que no asisten al Programa “Lengua, Cultura y Civilización Rumana”

Igual ocurre en el ámbito comunitario, especialmente con las amistades fuera del centro educativo ($r_s = -.234$; $p < .05$). Pero los usos lingüísticos con adultos desconocidos no correlacionan significativamente, lo que indica que utilizar una u otra lengua no implica usar más o menos la otra (Tabla 4).

	Uso del catalán con las amistades	Uso del castellano con las amistades		Uso del catalán con adultos	Uso del castellano con adultos
Uso del catalán con las amistades	1	-.234*	Uso del catalán con adultos	1	-.169
Uso del castellano con las amistades		1	Uso del castellano con adultos		1

*p< .05

**p< .000

Tabla 4. Matriz de correlaciones. Usos del catalán y castellano en el ámbito comunitario (Amistades y Adultos desconocidos) de los jóvenes rumanos que no asisten al Programa “Lengua, Cultura y Civilización Rumana”

Precisamente esta no interrelación entre los usos es la tónica general entre los que sí reciben formación de lengua y cultura rumana. En otras palabras, entre estos jóvenes desaparece la relación negativa entre los usos del catalán y el castellano.

Más específicamente, en el ámbito educativo, ni con los profesores ni en el patio el indicador es significativo (Tabla 5).

	Uso del catalán con los profesores	Uso del castellano con los profesores		Uso del catalán en el patio	Uso del castellano en el patio
Uso del catalán con los profesores	1	-.300	Uso del catalán en el patio	1	-.210
Uso del castellano con los profesores		1	Uso del castellano en el patio		1

*p< .05

**p< .000

Tabla 5. Matriz de correlaciones. Usos del catalán y castellano en el ámbito educativo (Profesores y Patio) de los jóvenes rumanos que sí asisten al Programa “Lengua, Cultura y Civilización Rumana”

Y lo mismo ocurre con los amigos fuera del instituto o con adultos desconocidos (Tabla 6).

	Uso del catalán con las amistades	Uso del castellano con las amistades		Uso del catalán con adultos	Uso del castellano con adultos
Uso del catalán con las amistades	1	.111	Uso del catalán con adultos	1	-.259
Uso del castellano con las amistades		1	Uso del castellano con adultos		1

Tabla 6. Matriz de correlaciones. Usos del catalán y castellano en el ámbito comunitario (Amistades y Adultos desconocidos) de los jóvenes rumanos que sí asisten al Programa “Lengua, Cultura y Civilización Rumana”

En definitiva, en todos los ámbitos y subámbitos, la no relación entre los usos lingüísticos significa que utilizar una lengua no va en detrimento de la otra.

Discusión y Conclusiones

Como todos, este trabajo tiene ciertas limitaciones que requerirían de análisis más específicos. Por un lado, el tamaño muestral no es elevado, aunque incluya a todos los estudiantes rumanos que siguen el Programa “Lengua, Cultura y Civilización Rumana”. Ello dificulta incluir en el trabajo variables que se han mostrado significativas en otros estudios sobre los usos lingüísticos, como las preferencias y actitudes lingüísticas, el papel de las lenguas en las construcciones identitarias, el tratamiento de la diversidad en los centros educativos, los años de residencia y escolarización, el conocimiento de las lenguas o las dinámicas de mantenimiento-sustitución lingüística. Por otro lado, una profundización cualitativa podría dar luz a propósito de los anclajes de los discursos sobre los usos lingüísticos de estos sujetos.

Pero aun así, y siendo conscientes de estos condicionantes, los resultados aportados permiten extraer algunas conclusiones.

El primer eje de reflexión nos lo ofrecen los usos lingüísticos propiamente dichos.

Con los profesores en el aula la lengua más utilizada es el catalán, lo que es comprensible debido a la formalidad lingüística de este contexto. Pero recordemos que también lo es el castellano, aun teniendo en cuenta que la lengua vehicular de la enseñanza en Cataluña es el catalán. En el patio, un contexto en cual se relaja la formalidad del aula y en el que, además de con los compañeros de clase, también se interactúa con otras personas en otras lenguas (amigos rumanos y de otras procedencias, por ejemplo), es remarcable que el uso del castellano se mantiene en un nivel similar al del aula, pero el catalán, si bien desciende, no lo hace de manera significativa.

Saliendo del contexto educativo los usos lingüísticos muestran alguna diferencia. Con las amistades fuera de la escuela, el castellano se mantiene como la más utilizada y, aunque cae, el catalán sigue estando presente. Este hecho puede indicar que estos jóvenes mantienen un alto contacto con otros colectivos y también con “autóctonos”. También de especial interés son los usos lingüísticos con adultos desconocidos (al ir a comprar, en el transporte público, etc.), con los que el uso del catalán y castellano prácticamente se igualan.

De lo que se acaba de ver se extrae una importante conclusión. En todos los ámbitos (más o menos formales) y en mayor o menor medida, existe un uso tanto del catalán como del castellano. Este aspecto es de gran relevancia, ya que hasta cierto punto contradice la “pauta de subordinación al castellano” (Boix y Vila-Moreno, 1998). La explicación de este hecho puede pasar precisamente por elementos apuntados en el marco teórico, como el contexto sociolingüístico de Lleida (en el que la lengua catalana tiene una presencia social más alta que, por ejemplo, el Área Metropolitana de Barcelona), o la tendencia a desarrollar un perfil de integración asimilacionista de estos jóvenes (Petreñas, Lapresta y Huguet, 2016, 2018).

Un segundo eje de reflexión es la interrelación entre los usos lingüísticos. Tomados todos los jóvenes en su conjunto y en todos los ámbitos, la tendencia es a que el uso de una lengua supone uno menor de la otra y viceversa. De nuevo en este punto, debemos recordar que el perfil de integración que tienden a construir estas personas es asimilacionista (Petreñas, Lapresta y Huguet, 2016, 2018). Pero asimilacionistas no necesariamente hacia el catalán o Cataluña, también hacia el castellano o España. Esta asimilación hacia uno u otro referente, puede implicar una concepción caracterizada por una incompatibilidad de la autoidentificación catalana y española, siendo las lenguas (y también su uso y el “abandono” del rumano) símbolo de ello (Fishman, 1977; Lapresta, Huguet y Janés, 2010).

Todo lo que acabamos de comentar da todavía más importancia al tercer eje de reflexión, que es el diferenciado comportamiento de los estudiantes que sí reciben formación de lengua y cultura rumana.

En su caso, los usos son más equilibrados (no existen diferencias significativas entre ellos), y además, en ningún ámbito utilizar más una lengua supone utilizar menos la otra. Consecuentemente, que no se contrapongan es ya un significativo avance, aunque en una situación ideal el uso de una lengua debería potenciar el uso de la otra.

Los datos muestran pues, que recibir formación en lengua y cultura de origen supone unos más efectivos usos lingüísticos de cara a su integración actual y futura. Pero como se ha argumentado en el marco teórico, no es el mero hecho de recibir esta formación, sino todo lo que ello implica. Estos cursos se traducen en una valoración y capitalización de las lenguas y culturas de origen, lo que revierte en una percepción de valoración escolar y social mayor. De este modo, se consigue que estos chicos y chicas

alcancen un mayor grado de competencia y uso de sus lenguas maternas, y también unos usos más equilibrados de las lenguas oficiales de Cataluña (Portes y Hao, 1998; Portes y Rumbaut, 2001; Trenchs y Newman, 2009; Laparesta, Huguet y Janés, 2010; Alarcón y Parella, 2013; Coelho, Oller y Serra, 2013).

Evidentemente, no se puede caer en la ingenuidad de pensar que solamente recibiendo estas clases se producen necesariamente los outputs deseables. Sin duda otros factores, que superan los límites de este trabajo y que se han citado con anterioridad, juegan un importante papel (Lapresta, Huguet y Fernández-Costales, 2017; Lapresta, Huguet y Janés, 2018; González-Riaño, Fernández-Costales, Lapresta y Huguet, en prensa).

Finalmente, los datos obtenidos invitan a ser optimistas y a abogar por una profundización en este tipo de medidas, en pos de una más satisfactoria incorporación de los descendientes de migrantes.

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CHAPTER 7. LANGUAGE ATTITUDES OF YOUNG ROMANIANS IN CATALONIA (SPAIN): THE ROLE OF HERITAGE LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE PROGRAMS

Abstract

This article presents a mixed method analysis of the language attitudes held by secondary education students of Romanian origin, which are members of the second largest immigrant population living currently in Catalonia. The relevance of this data is based on the cardinal role played by attitudes in the success of any educational or linguistic policy (Lewis, E. Glyn. 1981. *Bilingualism and bilingual education*. Oxford, UK: Pergamon.) – a topic of special relevance in contexts with considerable migratory influxes, such as Catalonia, which aims to achieve social cohesiveness in a framework of interculturalism and multilingualism. The various initiatives implemented for this purpose include the heritage language maintenance programs, such as the “Romanian Language, Culture, and Civilization” (RLCC) program. The results showed that the young Romanians had the most favourable attitudes towards Spanish, followed closely by Romanian, and lastly Catalan, which was the least valued language. Furthermore, these attitudinal patterns were not determined by RLCC attendance. The insights provided by the in-depth interviews indicated various components and meanings associated with the attitudes towards the three languages. Namely, attitudes towards Spanish were primed by its international status and ease of learning, while attitudes towards Catalan were build on its integrative value and social status. Although esteemed for its emotional and symbolic bonds, Romanian seemed to be on a path towards invisibilization. Finally, the educational and social implications of these findings are discussed, emphasising the importance of involving and working with both the autochthonous and the Romanian immigrant population.

Keywords: language attitudes, immigrants, multilingualism, bilingual education

Introduction

Catalonia, the north-eastern Spanish Autonomous Community, has been widely praised for its success in revitalizing its minority language – Catalan, which now has co-

official status alongside Spanish (Fishman 1991, 2001; Hoffmann 2000). Using Lewis (1981) guidelines as a framework of analysis, and, thus, considering that:

no policy will succeed which does not do one of three things: conform to the expressed attitudes of those involved; persuade those who express negative attitudes about the rightness of the policy; or seek to remove the causes of the disagreement. In any case, knowledge about attitudes is fundamental to the formulation of a policy as well as to success in its implementation (p. 262).

It can be seen how the initial success of the Catalan immersion education has been driven by the alignment of the policies with people's favourable attitudes towards Catalan language and education (Huguet, Lasagabaster & Vila 2008). It follows then that understanding the attitudes of the migrant communities is essential to ensure the attainment of objectives such as strengthening the position of the Catalan language, promoting bilingualism, providing equal opportunities, and fostering a cohesive and inclusive society.

Accordingly, starting from the premise of migrant population's heterogeneity, the attitudes of different immigrant collectives have been studied (e.g, Alarcón & Garzón 2013; Fukuda 2016; Huguet, Janés, & Chireac 2008; Newman, Patiño-Santos, & Trenchs-Parera 2012; Trenchs-Parera, Larrea Mendizabal, & Newman 2014). However, there is little to no information about the attitudes of the Romanian collective – the second most numerous one. Therefore, this study provides a mixed analysis of the language attitudes held by Romanian students living in Catalonia. Following, we briefly review the findings concerning language attitudes in Catalonia and the characteristics of the Romanian community.

7.1 Journal paper

Literature review

Languages in the Catalan education system: a brief contextualization

The recovery of Catalan has been promoted by the legal framework – including among others the Linguistic Normalization Law ratified in 1983 and the Linguistic

Policy Law of 1998 – created to promote Catalan in public administration, media, the economic world, and education. Nonetheless, the success of these policies can be traced back to the favourable attitudes of the population, both Catalan and Spanish-speaking (Huguet, Lasagabaster & Vila 2008; Hoffmann 2000; Huguet 2007). In this regard, Edwards (2016) underlines the social consensus that propelled the implementation of a Catalan-medium education system. Specifically, the total immersion programs in Catalan, adopted in 1993, aimed to educate all students in conditions of equality, regardless of their origin or mother tongue, ensuring that they finish compulsory education with a mastery of Catalan and Spanish (Lasagabaster 2017). Their results have often been qualified as impressive with respect to the Catalan and Spanish-speaking populations (Vila 1995; Serra 1990; Bel, Serra & Vila 1991).

Thus, a social, political, and educational framework centred on the role of Catalan as the region’s language of communication and instrument of social cohesion was clearly defined by the beginning of the twenty-first century when an influx of international migration considerably changed the demographic landscape. In this regard, the immigrant population residing in Catalonia increased from 2.9% in 2000 to 13.8% in 2017 (Idescat 2018). People from over 170 countries moved to Catalonia, enriching its cultural and linguistic resources. According to the Grup d’estudi de Llengües Amenaçades (2016), there are 300 languages spoken in the territory. However, the most numerous groups are from Morocco (19.9% of the immigrant population), Romania (8.6%), China (5.5%).

The policies and measures designed to facilitate the integration of newcomers in Catalan society and education system continued to strengthen the Catalan language and to promote equal rights. Thus, considering that “it is necessary to raise awareness, promote and consolidate Catalan as the mainstay of a multilingual and intercultural education policy in order to achieve greater social cohesion” (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2004, p.4), the Plan for Language and Social Cohesion was adopted in 2004, the Plan to Update the Immersion Methodology in the Current Sociolinguistic Context in 2007, and the Citizenship and Migration Plans were approved in 2011 and 2017. Accordingly, reception classrooms are organised for newcomer students – a resource of intensive learning of Catalan until they achieve basic communicative competences equivalent to the A2 level in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR).

Their school hours are initially divided between attending mainstream and reception classrooms, the latter being limited to a maximum of 50% of their schedule and gradually diminished as their language knowledge increases (Generalitat de Catalunya 2018). After analysing the language knowledge and school adaptation of a sample of over 5000 students of immigrant origin, Vila et al. (2009) concluded that reception classrooms are an efficient tool in promoting knowledge of Catalan.

Furthermore, one of the cardinal ideas of these policies is the premise that “knowledge and awareness of one’s own cultural identity are indispensable keys to opening up to other cultures and recognizing what makes them unique” (Llei d'educació 12/2009, p. 6). Hence, the maintenance of the language and culture of origin is promoted by the Spanish and Catalan educational authorities (Generalitat de Catalunya 2009; Generalitat de Catalunya 2017), as they acknowledge the importance of the L1 in language learning processes (Cummins 2000), as well as for psychological adjustment and social integration in the new culture (Lapresta et al. 2009, Petreñas, Lapresta & Huguet 2018).

Consequently, schools are encouraged to develop linguistic projects that incorporate the heritage languages of students of immigrant origin, which can be offered as curricular optative courses, when there is sufficient demand and trained personnel, or as extracurricular courses (Generalitat de Catalunya 2018). There are several programs heritage languages maintenance in Catalan schools – chronologically by year of initiation: Arabic, Chinese, Berber, Dutch, Romanian, Ukrainian, Portuguese, Bengali, Urdu, and Quechua (Generalitat de Catalunya 2015).

The program “Romanian language, culture, and civilization” (RLCC) was initiated in 2007 as a collaboration between the Romanian Ministry of Education, Research, and Youth and the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science (Romanian Government Decision 857/2007). The program offers courses of Romanian language and culture, which are designed and taught by Romanian teachers. The main objectives of this initiative are to cultivate the Romanian language in its standard form, maintain the heritage cultural identity of Romanian youth living abroad, promote the principles of multilingualism, and foster intercultural openness – thus facilitating the integration in the host country (Hotarare de Guvern 454/2008, Ordin 3823/2013).

The RLCC course is directed towards students between 3 and 18 years of age, enrolled at all compulsory educational levels, and is organized as an optional and

extracurricular course taking place two hours a week (Ordin 3823/2013, Ordin 4277/2008). Overall, the course has attracted an increasing number of students since its introduction. Specifically, during the academic year 2016-2017, three teachers were imparting the Romanian language and culture course to 242 children and teenagers (Institutul Limbii Romane, 2017).

Language attitudes and immigration in Catalonia

Previous studies conducted in Catalonia seem to have reached a consensus regarding the different attitudinal patterns of autochthonous and immigrant students – immigrant children and teenagers have more positive attitudes toward Spanish and less favourable attitudes toward Catalan compared with their autochthonous peers (Bernaus, Moore & Cordeiro Azevedo 2007; Ianos, Huguet & Lapresta 2017; Madariaga, Huguet & Janés 2016; Madariaga, Huguet & Lapresta 2013).

Differences were further found between the various immigrant groups. Students coming from Latin America were often identified as the ones with the least favourable attitudes toward Catalan (Huguet, Janés & Chireac 2008; Lapresta et al. 2009; Newman, Trenchs-Parera & Ng 2008; Newman, Patiño-Santos & Trenchs-Parera 2012). Similar attitudes were manifested by the Japanese people living in Catalonia interviewed by Fukuda (2016), who prioritized learning Spanish – deemed necessary – over Catalan, which was generally seen as expendable. On the other hand, immigrants from Morocco (Alarcón & Garzón 2013), China (Trenchs-Parera 2013; Trenchs-Parera, Larrea Mendizabal & Newman 2014), and Pakistan (Estors Sastre 2014) had favourable attitudes towards Catalan, fostered by a pragmatic acknowledgement of the instrumental value of both official languages and, in some cases, by a symbolic identification with Catalan.

This variation in language attitudes is most likely determined by the characteristics of each group, the specific experiences in the host society, their expectations, and social prejudices they might face (Siqués, Vila & Perera 2009; Lapresta, Huguet & Janés 2018; Alarcón, Parella & Yiu 2013; Alarcón & Garzón 2013). In this regard, the Japanese respondents were mainly temporary residents with plans to return to Japan or move to another country (Fukuda, 2016), while many of the

other migrant groups had long-term plans to establish themselves in Catalonia (Alarcón, Parella & Yiu 2013). The latter are probably more inclined to understand and respond to Catalan's instrumental and integrative value. Trenchs-Parera and Newman (2009) interviewed young people of Latin American origin and found that they had an increasing appreciation for Catalan as a means for social progress. Along the same lines, Newman (2011) observed that length of residence, language proficiency, and school support contributed to more positive attitudes toward Catalan. The perception of social and school integration was also reported to be a critical factor in the construction of favourable attitudes by Lapresta, Huguet, and Janés (2010). Furthermore, changes in attitudes toward Catalan, fostered by an awareness of its role for social integration and professional opportunities, were confirmed in a longitudinal study conducted over a 2-year period by Ianos et al. (2017). In addition, young people seem to have been developing a linguistic cosmopolitanism ideology, characterised by a support for multilingualism and respect for other groups' language preferences (Newman, Trenchs-Parera & Ng 2008; Trenchs-Parera & Newman 2009; Woolard & Frekko 2012).

Despite the fact that the Romanian collective is the second largest one in Catalonia, counting 88.776 people (INE, 2018), it has a relatively scarce representation in the specialised literature. A series of analyses of the Romanian migration in the Spanish context were carried out by Marcu (2012; 2015), who observed how the opening of the Schengen area borders to Romania in 2002 has marked a new stage in Romanian migration, leading to the development of a culture of migration. The children raised in this migration culture have constructed hybrid identities, which incorporate elements of the cultures of origin and of the host society (Marcu 2012). Petreñas et al. (2018) observed a similar hybrid identity being constructed by young people of Romanian origin living in Catalonia.

Hence, the RLCC course provides an optimal context to study the language attitudes of Romanian youth, which will contribute to understanding the attitudes of the one of the most important communities in Catalonia. For this purpose, a mixed method study has been conducted, using qualitative data to expound on the quantitative attitudinal patterns identified. Specifically, the objectives were: a) to describe the language attitudes of secondary education students of Romanian origin; b) to analyse where Romanian youth stands in comparison with other immigrant groups living in

Catalonia; c) to analyse the effect of attendance at the RLCC program on language attitudes; d) to gain in-depth insights into the configurative aspects of these attitudes.

Methodology

Participants

The quantitative data was gathered from 131 secondary education Romanian students (74 girls and 57 boys; $M_{age} = 15.06$, $SD = 1.58$) studying in two provinces of Catalonia (Lleida and Tarragona). They were all born in Romania and had been residing in the region for between 1 and 12 years, with a mean of the length of residence of 5.71 years ($SD = 2.46$). The sample included the entire population of Romanian secondary education students who at the time had been taking optional RLCC classes in Catalonia ($n = 43$) and, for comparative analyses, classmates of these students who had not attended RLCC classes ($n = 88$).

Following, a subsample of 34 students (19 girls and 15 boys) answered semi-structured interviews. Among these, 14 participated in the RLCC programme and 20 did not participate.

Instruments

Language attitudes towards Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian were assessed through three scales. Each scale contained 10 dichotomous items covering various aspects (i.e., the aesthetic of a language, the instrumental value, language learning, and language use). Students were asked to indicate if they agreed or not with each of these statements. An answer indicating a favourable attitude was codified with +1 and one indicating a negative attitude with -1. The final score for each language was placed on a scale ranging from -10 (very negative attitude) to +10 (very positive attitude). The questionnaire selected was among the most used in previous language attitude research conducted in Catalonia (e.g., Huguet, Janés, et al., 2008; Ianos, Huguet, Janés, et al., 2017; Madariaga et al., 2013, 2016).

Additionally, demographic variables were also included in the questionnaire, participants filling in data regarding their age, sex, country of birth, and length of residence in Catalonia.

Procedure

The study was approved by the Department of Education of the Government of Catalonia, after which the written consent of both students and parents was requested. Participants were also guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality, according to the ethical guidelines of the European Commission (2010). Firstly, the participants filled in the language attitudes questionnaire in specially assigned classrooms. The average time of completion was between 15 and 30 minutes.

Secondly, some of the students were interviewed in the language of their choice – the one they felt most comfortable to use among Romanian, Spanish, and Catalan. This was possible due to the participation of Romanian researchers during all the stages of the study, from its design to its implementation and analysis. This collaboration with members of the studied group is in line with participative qualitative studies (Petreñas, Lapresta & Huguet 2018) and aims to enrich our understanding of the data.

The quantitative data was analysed using the software package SPSS v.20, which served to compute descriptive statistics and analyses of variance. Regarding the qualitative data, a content theme analysis based on categories (Bardin 1986) was conducted with the help of the ATLAS-TI v.6 software.

Findings

Quantitative data regarding language attitudes

Considering that the final scores of the language attitudes scales can vary from -10 to 10, a first look at the means that describe the attitudes towards Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian on the part of Romanian students suggest that these are mostly neutral and favourable.

A mixed-design ANOVA with language attitudes as the within-subjects factor and RLCC attendance as the between-subjects factor was carried out to analyse the effect of students' participation in the RLCC course on their attitudinal patterns (see Table 1 for the corresponding descriptive statistics). The results, adjusted with the Huynh-Feldt factor ($\epsilon = .91$), did not confirm the expected interaction effect between language attitudes and RLCC attendance ($F_{(1.81, 233.67)} = 2.72, p = .111$). Furthermore,

RLCC attendance did not influence the language attitudes held by Romanian youths ($F_{(1, 129)} = 0.15, p = .699$).

Table 1. Means and standard deviations of language attitudes depending on RLCC attendance

RLCC attendance	Variables	M	SD
Attended	1. Attitudes towards Catalan	3.67	5.18
	2. Attitudes towards Spanish	7.35	2.53
	3. Attitudes towards Romanian	7.07	2.77
Did not attend	1. Attitudes towards Catalan	4.68	4.55
	2. Attitudes towards Spanish	6.82	2.67
	3. Attitudes towards Romanian	6.14	3.43

On the other hand, there were significant differences between the three languages investigated ($F_{(1.81, 233.67)} = 21.01, p < .001$). Namely, regardless if they attended or not the RLCC course, participants showed the least positive attitudes towards Catalan ($M = 4.35, SD = 4.77$), seeing that these were significantly lower than their attitudes towards Spanish ($t_{(130)} = 5.30, p < .001, r = .44$) and towards Romanian ($t_{(130)} = 5.00, p < .001, r = .42$); and there were no significant differences between the attitudes towards Spanish ($M = 6.99, SD = 2.63$) and the attitudes towards Romanian ($M = 6.44, SD = 3.25, t_{(130)} = 1.21, p = .685, r = .11$).

Qualitative data regarding language attitudes

The qualitative results are presented according to the attitudes towards the three languages: Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian. As can be seen throughout the results, the youth who attend the RLCC program and those who do not attend are specified.

Attitudes towards Catalan – the mediation of integrative motivation and social status

Most of the participants showed negative attitudes toward Catalan, while preferring Spanish. Only few of those interviewed expressed more positive attitudes towards Catalan than towards Spanish.

Interviewer: And what has helped you the most to learn the three languages?

Ana: Spanish: my desire to learn something new. And I was enthusiastic that...even if I came here on holiday, it was something new! And if you are enthusiastic to learn something new, you do. Catalan: I was already not that enthusiastic anymore because I had to learn a language I didn't really like.

(Ana, 17 years old, no attendance)

The qualitative results improve our understanding of the reasons for their negative attitudes towards Catalan. The most widespread reason given in their discourses seems to be related to the difficulty of learning the language. Generally, the respondents consider that learning Catalan is more difficult than learning Spanish. This is what Elena says referring to Catalan,

Interviewer: Ok. Was it easy or difficult for you?

Elena: Difficult. Pretty difficult.

Interviewer: Why was it difficult?

Elena: Well, I was little and I was scared of the new world, if I can say like this, and... It was difficult. It was hard.

(Elena, 14 years old, attendance)

On the other hand, those who show more positive attitudes towards Catalan agree that it has been easier for them to learn Catalan than Spanish. It seems that the difficulty or ease of language learning is strongly interrelated with the language attitudes they construct.

Participants also highlighted previous contact with the language as an important element in attitude formation. A significant part of the participants had had contact with Spanish before their arrival, because they had studied it as a foreign language or because they watched soap operas, and they were familiar with it. Subsequently, when

they arrived, they encountered another language they did not expect – which determined a more negative relationship with the Catalan language.

Associated with the above, most of the students mention that the first contact with Catalan usually occurs in the school context, specifically in the newcomers' reception classroom. Therefore, it can be inferred that attitudes towards Catalan are largely related to the first school experiences in the host society.

Interviewer: And what was your contact, for example, with the Catalan language? Have you been to school, outside of school?

Bogdan: No, no. The first time it was, it was here at the institute. Because I started with the reception classroom ... and this ... and it was the first time that the words came out a bit strange, I did not understand anything ... Because my father told me, before coming here: “Well, you go to learn a new language that is different ... “And me:” How? Different? “I say: But if we go to the same place?” “No, no, we’re going somewhere else, now.”

(Bogdan, 16 years old, no attendance)

Nonetheless, most of the discourses include a clear instrumental orientation, since they refer to the fact that learning Catalan facilitates their academic access and progress. Some students explain that they wish to study at the University of Barcelona, and that for this purpose they need to be fluent in Catalan. Besides this instrumental dimension, the attitude towards Catalan has a clearly integrating component. Raluca expounds:

Raluca: Well, if you are in Catalonia, it's proper to speak Catalan and a lot of Catalans will see you with different eyes, maybe, if you speak Catalan.

Interviewer: With different eyes, you mean better or worse?

Raluca: Better.

Interviewer: Why?

Raluca: Because. I don't know, because it's their language and they feel more comfortable speaking this language.

(Raluca, 16 years old, attendance)

Raluca outlines a background of the complex social reality regarding bilingualism and the role of the Catalan language in Catalonia. Olivia (18 years old, no attendance) says that “I do not like Catalan, but I like to live here, and I want to feel integrated”. In this regard, many agree that speaking in Catalan positively influences how Catalans view them and, consequently, they feel more integrated, because, according to their interpretation, the autochthones value the added effort made to respect and use Catalan. Maria (17 years old, no attendance) comments: “I mean they appreciate you more if you speak Catalan, especially if you’re an immigrant, than if you speak Castilian”. This aspect leads to a higher social status if Catalan is spoken. Apart from the role that language plays in social integration, others consider it is important to speak Catalan in order to revitalize the language, as explained by Codrina (15 years old, attendance) “if we didn’t speak Catalan this language will disappear and that doesn’t seem fair”.

Finally, the political dimension of language appears in their discourse as one of the arguments used to explain why it is better for them as immigrants to speak Catalan.

Interviewer: And do you think it is well regarded to speak Catalan in society?

Maria: Yes. In Catalonia, it is. Because they are very nationalist, they want independence and they want that Catalonia to be independent and all that...that means that if you start to speak Catalan or you speak Catalan they appreciate you more than if you speak Castilian.

(Maria, 17 years old, no attendance)

The possibilities that Spanish opens: attitudes towards Spanish

In line with the above, the qualitative results show more positive attitudes towards Spanish – actually, none of the participants show negative attitudes towards this language. Although Catalan seems to have a higher social status in the Catalan context, Spanish is greatly appreciated by the participants. The most common reason that all the young people interviewed agree on is the possibilities of internationalization that Spanish offers them. They place Spanish as an internationally useful and valued

language that will allow them to move and interact in other countries. For example, Diana and Codrina explain:

Interviewer: But you consider that Catalan, Romanian, Spanish are useful to you?

Diana: Spanish, yes. Spanish yes, I think so because there are many countries where it is spoken., and many people who speak it. And I think yes, the most important I think is Spanish.

(Diana, 16 years old, no attendance)

Interviewer: Do you like to learn and speak Spanish?

Codrina: Yes.

Interviewer: Why?

Codrina: Because ... I mean, even if you're here you still have to know how to speak it. And if you want to leave Catalonia, you have to speak Spanish. And because in other countries they speak it and it's good to know.

(Codrina, 15 years old, attendance)

As it can be seen, Diana discusses the usefulness of Spanish, even more so than her own language, Romanian, while Codrina refers more to the motivational dimension that drives her to want to speak Spanish.

Another reason frequently mentioned, and that appears in contrast with Catalan, is again the ease with which they can learn Spanish. In fact, Razvan confirms that because it is easier for him, it leads to greater use.

Interviewer: Aha, I understand. Collectively, what language do the young Romanian here use more of the three?

Razvan: Spanish.

Interviewer: Spanish. Why do you think that is?

Razvan: Because it is, a bit easier than Catalan.

(Razvan, 14 years old, no attendance)

In addition, despite the fact that the language used in the educational system is Catalan, the ease of Spanish use also exists in academic contexts.

Interviewer: For you, is it easy or difficult to learn Catalan?

Octavian: Well...

Interviewer: To learn ok? We are talking about learning situations.

Octavian: For me, Spanish is easier. I do not know, it's easier for me to see as well when I read it.

(Octavian, 17 years old, no attendance)

Octavian, in alignment with other participants, reports that the ease with Spanish also extends to reading. Again, ease of learning and attitudes are interrelated.

Through emotional anchor to invisibilization: the attitudes towards Romanian

Regarding Romanian, all the participants agree on an emotional bond, on an anchor that unites them in an emotional and symbolic way with their place of origin and with the family they have left behind in Romania.

Interviewer: And with Romanian? How do you see learning and speaking Romanian?

Laura: Yes, Romanian is also very useful... essential to learn it... because to know how to speak and write it all Romanians who are abroad... because it is your mother tongue even if they don't want to and it is very important to know it. At least to say Hello in your own language, where you come from.... and....

(Laura, 15 years old, attendance)

Notwithstanding the emotional link, some of the participants report that there are people within the Romanian collective who have more positive attitudes towards Spanish than towards Romanian. And this may be one of the reasons why they choose not to continue learning their heritage language when they are in the host society. This is how Madalina portrays it:

Interviewer: I understand, ok. And at general level, do you think that the other youngsters would reply the same way as you did? Would it be a different situation for them?

Madalina: So youngsters who are from Romania maybe came here when they were young or maybe don't know to write.

Interviewer: What? Romanian?

Madalina: Yes.

Interviewer: Ok.

Madalina: And they don't come to Romanian classes.

Interviewer: They don't attend Romanian classes.

Madalina: No, not really. And I don't know, they like Spanish more.

(Madalina, 14 years old, attendance)

Along these lines, the prospect of future migration also influences their attitude towards their language of origin. For Vlad (16 years old, attendance), for example, who believes that learning Romanian is “a waste of time, is the truth. Because they think they do not want to go back to Romania, or do not plan to go there in the future”. Ana, on the other hand, appreciates it because she plans to return to Romania.

Interviewer: And do you think that in general, the other Romanians consider it useful to learn and speak Catalan, Spanish or Romanian? Referring to Catalan?

Ana: Some don't because... Ok, they learn it because, like it or not, they live here.

Interviewer: But do they think it's useful?

Ana: Some don't because, the same, they feel that we're Romanian, we're going back to Romania....and some feel that in Romanian you have nothing to do with the two languages anymore.

(Ana, 17 years old, no attendance)

Furthermore, many agree that the lack of use of Romanian is causing it to lose visibility in their lives, and to be relegated to the family environment.

Interviewer: Aha. And the Romanian? You like to speak it?

Gabriela: Yes, I like it, but as I told you before, it is very difficult for me to speak it, because... I, I live here and it is very difficult to speak four languages. And as I use Spanish much more, I have forgotten most of the words. I can write, I can read, but the words.... let's see, I say them when I talk to you, as you can see that I am speaking half Romanian and more Spanish... well, I use, let's see, I use the Spanish words to communicate with my mother. Because if I try, for example, look, "zahăr" [sugar], I forget how it is said. I say "azúcar" [sugar]. Then, my mother will yell, leaving me shocked, and say: "Speak Romanian!". But I say to her, "I can't. It's your fault for bringing me here."

(Gabriela, 15 years old, no attendance)

This loss of visibility of the Romanian language is also due to external factors, such as the avoidance of discrimination and "misunderstandings" in the host society, as Mihai explains.

Interviewer: I understand. And Romanian? Is it well regarded to speak it?

Mihai: I don't think so.

Interviewer: Why is that?

Mihai: Well some do not even understand it maybe... For instance, if you are talking or you say a joke and you laugh with the person you are talking to, maybe someone next to you who does not understand what you are saying can say that you are laughing at him or that you are talking about him...

(Mihai, 15 years old, no attendance)

This invisibility also prompts them to make an effort in their pronunciation in Spanish and Catalan so as not to appear Romanian, which means that they find themselves in situations such as the one narrated by Cosmin, and a significant number of the study's participants.

Cosmin: You are integrated when you speak the contact language, when you have a good pronunciation ... Right? When there is not a difference. Same as in my case. No one can tell the difference, right? For example, I have a friend I've known for a long time ... we've known each other for 6 years, and she was

not in my class, she was in the other class, so she never knew about my real name. She always knew that my name was Juan, she knew nothing about where I was from. Until this year. Because this year she comes to my class, and she told me: “You’re Romanian, really?”.

(Cosmin, 17 years old, no attendance)

Thus, although the attitudes towards Romanian are favourable overall, they have a more emotional and symbolic component than a pragmatic one. In their daily lives, students of Romanian origin tend to make their heritage language invisible in order to feel better integrated into the host society, either by reducing the contexts of use, which makes them less competent, or by becoming highly competent in Catalan and Spanish so as not to appear Romanian.

Discussion and conclusions

Overall, Romanian young people show a clear preference for Spanish and Romanian in contrast with Catalan, which received the lowest ratings. Moreover, the in-depth interviews conducted offer several insights into the configuration of these language attitudes.

While attitudes towards Spanish and Romanian appear to have similar degrees of favourability, the meanings associated with each language are widely different. Spanish was well liked for its international presence and ease of learning, while Romanian was appreciated mostly for the emotional and symbolic bond with their heritage culture and family. Although the quantitative results showed that the attitudes towards Spanish and attitudes towards Romanian were highly similar, as no statistically significant differences between the two were detected, the qualitative results showed a preference for Spanish, primarily driven by instrumental considerations. Namely, some Romanian teenagers focus on the benefits of knowing an international language widely used around the world, such as Spanish, in the detriment of a language with low status and prestige as Romanian. This is further conditioned by their future migrant expectations (Petreñas, Lapresta & Huguet 2016). These results are not surprising considering the wealth of studies noting that languages of wider communication are preferred to heritage languages by people who “seek additional memberships in

sodalities forged on the basis of shared aspirations rather than that of shared origins” (Adejunmobi 2004:205).

Furthermore, the attitudes towards Catalan were the least positive ones. Nevertheless, there is a considerable diversity among the participants – as indicated by the relatively high standard deviation and observed in the qualitative data. The negative attitudes manifested by most of the students seem to have roots in the perceived difficulty of learning Catalan – a challenge many of the newcomers did not expect before arriving. The surprise of encountering two official languages instead of only one has also been reported by other immigrant groups (Huguet, Janés & Chireac 2008; Madariaga, Huguet & Janés 2016; Trenchs-Parera & Newman 2015).

The relevance of previous contact with the language or lack thereof in language attitudes construction points to at least two aspects to consider in future policy making. Firstly, making Catalan more visible internationally, especially in the media, increasing thus the odds that immigrants would have come into contact with the language before arriving in Catalonia, and would have developed incipient favourable attitudes. Secondly, as the first contact with Catalan mostly takes place in the reception classrooms, we need to inquire how to capitalise on their substantial potential of being a breeding ground of positive language attitudes. The information offered by the Romanian participants indicates that their first school experiences with the Catalan language were not optimal for the construction of positive attitudes towards the regional language. Along these lines, spending a high number of hours in the reception classrooms risks becoming a segregation practice (Siqués, Perera & Vila 2012) and it does not provide an adequate exposure to Catalan (Newman, Patiño-Santos & Trenchs-Parera 2012). Additionally, more time spent in the mainstream classrooms has been found to be associated with higher language competences (Vila et al. 2009; Siqués, Perera & Vila 2012). A possible redesign would consist of incorporating its resources in the mainstream classroom, instead of organizing them in a separate physical space (Siles et al. 2015).

Attitudes towards Catalan might be further improved by potentiating the integrative motivation of learning and using the language. Most of the participants with favourable attitudes showed an acute awareness of the importance of Catalan for their social integration. They have perceived the host society’s attitudes, beliefs, and

preferences and adapted accordingly. This phenomenon can be described as a double-sided coin. On the one hand, speaking Catalan has elicited positive reactions from the autochthonous populations, which has been found to make immigrants feel more integrated and to encourage a more frequent use of the language (Newman, Patiño-Santos & Trenchs-Parera 2012; Ianos et al. 2017). On the other hand, speaking Romanian was reported to lead to negative or uncomfortable situations marked by discrimination or misunderstandings. As a result, Romanian youngsters avoid speaking their language in public places and strive to lose their accent. The disheartening conclusion to which this data points seems to be that young Romanians' language attitudes are guided by the host society's message of assimilation. Additionally, assimilationist patterns were identified in the identity construction of young Romanians (Petreñas, Lapresta & Huguet 2016; Petreñas, Lapresta & Huguet 2018). Similar observations were also made with respect to immigrants of Moroccan origin (Alarcón & Garzón 2013). Young people of immigrant origin usually perceive that their languages are not valued by the Catalan society (Alarcón 2010; Lapresta, Huguet & Janés 2010). Thus, there seems to be a disjoint between the political discourse and the educational and linguistic policies adopted, on one side, and the general attitudes and practices of the society, on the other side.

Previous studies carried out in Barcelona (Newman, Trenchs-Parera & Ng 2008; Trenchs-Parera & Newman 2009; Woolard & Frekko 2012) emphasised the emergence of a linguistic cosmopolitanism. In the light of the present findings, further investigation is required to understand the sociolinguistics contexts where cosmopolitan and the assimilationist ideologies are usually found. In this regard, although the sample of this study included the whole population of secondary education students of Romanian origin attending the RLCC program, they were all living in Lleida and Tarragona. There might be regional differences across Catalan territories, or between urban and rural areas, which will need future study. Nonetheless, cultivation of favourable attitudes towards multilingualism and cosmopolitanism is vital for social cohesion and harmony (Lasagabaster 2017; Newman, Trenchs-Parera & Ng 2008; Woolard & Frekko 2012).

Furthermore, both quantitative and qualitative data showed that participation in the RLCC program did not affect the language attitudes of young Romanians. While it seems clear that programs dedicated to the visibilization and maintenance of heritage

languages, such as the RLCC program, are unquestionably needed, a reconceptualization of these might be beneficial. However, further analyses regarding the contents and methodology of the course would be first required first, to know which aspects could be improved. It seems relevant to suggest a stronger focus on processes of language attitude and identity construction, as well as on helping young migrants to value their heritage languages.

Returning to Lewis' (1981) guidelines for successful linguistic policies, the aforementioned findings highlight the imperative of aligning population's attitudes and policy principles and objectives. Initiatives that foster favourable language attitudes and cosmopolitan ideologies will be successful only if they focus on all the groups involved – both the autochthonous and the various immigrant communities.

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PART III

DISCUSSION AND PROSPECTIVE

CHAPTER 8. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Discussion, conclusions and prospective analysis of the thesis

This Doctoral Thesis studies in depth two of the most important topics in relation to the socio-educational and linguistic integration of Romanian pupils: the use of languages and language attitudes in accordance with attendance of the programme.

In this respect, this work complements and analyses in depth previous research studies related to this group which attends the programme (Petreñas, Lapresta, & Huguet, 2016; Petreñas, Lapresta, & Huguet, 2016b; Petreñas, Lapresta, & Huguet, 2018; Petreñas, Ianos, Sansó, & Huguet, 2019).

The first article allows us to obtain data on the use made of the different languages by these schoolchildren in both the public and the private context. The different analyses performed have allowed us to verify, first, that the identity variable and language attitudes have a very strong explanatory power in relation to how young Romanians use the three languages analysed in the private sphere.

Again, significant use of the Romanian language is appropriate in the private sphere as a result of the hybrid self-identifications that these young people have constructed and which make it possible to demonstrate, to a certain extent, the result of the different integration strategies (a clear example would be the programme). Furthermore, the assimilationist integration profiles which make use of Catalan and/or Spanish in this sphere, replacing Romanian, do not necessarily imply a positive or negative achievement, since the emotional significance with which Romanian is endowed is still maintained.

When paying attention to the public sphere, the results of previous studies are reiterated (Petreñas, Huguet, & Lapresta, 2016; Petreñas, Huguet, & Lapresta, 2016b; Newman, Patiño-Santos, & Trenchs Parera, 2012; Woolard, & Frekko, 2013) in relation to the international and pragmatic character of Spanish and to the importance of Catalan as a facilitator of academic and labour opportunities in Catalonia. The most noteworthy aspect of the issue lies in the importance of Catalan, given that it still fails to have a sufficiently dominant and socially important value, once again being the least prestigious language out of those in which they are competent.

Along similar lines, the third article focuses on language uses in the community and educational spheres and on the influence of the LCCR programme on the use of Catalan and Spanish. The community context is characterized by being an intimate and relaxed setting, while the academic context entails formality and teaching regulation, it being precisely this change of register which encourages the pupil to use one language or the other. One of the highly influential factors in determining language use is their integration profile, another being the self-identification of the pupils. Although the profile is mainly assimilationist, the self-identification of the young people in question again depends on the symbolism of the language as one of the most powerful identity traits (Fishman, 1977), a tendency also pointed out, although more tentatively, by the results of the previous chapter. Catalan is certainly present in both spheres, with considerable use. However, the balance between the use of the two languages is noteworthy over time, becoming important information which complements and lists the results obtained in the public sphere in the previous chapter.

Although the results are optimistic in relation to the use of Catalan, Spanish continues to be the predominant language in the community context, clearly demonstrating the point made in the previous chapter and relegating Catalan to second choice, also in the social sphere.

Finally, the last article making up this doctoral thesis allows us, through its mixed methodology design, to explore attitudinal aspects and language preferences in depth. This article does, however, incorporate a comparison with the other groups of immigrants in Catalonia, enriching the study on obtaining new perspectives and possible conclusions which call for an improvement of current educational proposals.

Along the lines of the previous chapters, language preference is for Spanish rather than Catalan, revealing language attitudes more favourable toward Spanish or Romanian, with Catalan remaining in last position. A new, highly important, fact contributed by this article is precisely the surprise factor of Catalan at the time of arriving in Catalonia. Although they expected to encounter Spanish, finding a second official language which is essential for their schooling can have a negative impact, as revealed in the results of this study. These results invite us to reflect once again on the relations with the use which is made of these languages. Although Catalan is a language which allows them to prosper within the autonomous community, Spanish is important

and at the same time preferable due to its international nature and prior contact that they may have had with the language. Once again, Romanian is shown to be the emotional and ancestral language, coinciding with the results of the previous chapters, sharing this status with Moroccan students in Catalonia. This phenomenon represents an invitation to reflect on current language policies, language maintenance programmes and reception classrooms, considered to be spaces mainly for the gestation of language attitudes and skills. However, one of the possible proposals entails a more integrative concept in the natural classroom of the pupil. Although this is one of the most widely awaited future proposals, at the same time it represents a great challenge on all political and educational levels.

Indeed, this doctoral thesis has given rise to new challenges, considerations, unknown quantities and limitations. Although it is true that the sample of young Romanians is the total sample of those attending the Romanian Language, Culture and Civilization programme, it is still a small sample from which to obtain statistically significant results. Following the line of previous studies, the socialization of immigrant students must take into account the expectations, the social value of each of the languages and the importance of improving their descendants through their mother tongue (Petreñas, Lapresta, & Huguet, 2016). The status of the languages, including their mother tongue, is very important to predict the students' relations with them and choices. As presented in this document, despite taking into account their language and culture of origin, the young people show a preferential tendency to learn L2 and L3 and to attend extracurricular activities. Thus, attending the LCCR programme in order to progress in the immersion process in which the native culture predominates is pushed into the background.

Finally, the different evidence provided through these four articles clearly shows that the total sample of pupils who attended the LCCR programme is characterized by its assimilationist profile. We can, however, state that the results obtained are positive and invite us to be optimistic in relation to the promotion of a greater social and educational integration of immigrant students.

As a whole, the four articles combine quantitative and qualitative data to create a detailed image of the use of language and attitudes of young Romanians living in Catalonia. A series of common findings should be highlighted.

First, the results repeatedly show that the language uses, language attitudes and identity are intrinsically related. Although the identity construction processes were not among the objectives, it was essential to comprehend the identities of the young Romanians in order to understand how their language uses and attitudes are shaped. On analyzing this aspect in depth with the help of qualitative data, it was observed that the young Romanians tend to construct a hybrid identity.

Second, although they have a hybrid identity, in terms of cultural and linguistic acculturation, the preferred strategy appears to be that of assimilation. In this respect, the Romanian language has a symbolic and emotional value, but is relegated to private use, and even then it is not always the predominant language. Meanwhile, public use is divided between Spanish and Catalan.

Third, although the language attitudes significantly predict language use, there are other variables of equal or greater significance. In particular, as our results show, contextual factors, such as living in a rural or urban environment, play an important role. Another noteworthy factor is the perception of the value that is given to languages, especially in terms of social promotion.

Finally, it was found that the LCCR programme does not have a significant statistical or practical effect on language use and attitudes. Thus, in its current shape, the LCCR programme is not achieving its objective of encouraging interculturalism and educational inclusion. The results show that it is necessary to do more in order to attain this objective and point toward certain possibilities: increase the social value given to minority languages and cultures in the host society, create more opportunities to use minority languages in public settings and work to foster a cosmopolitan ideology.

Future studies are needed to analyse other minority language maintenance programmes in depth (for example, the programmes devoted to Arabic or Chinese), in order to compare programmes and communities of immigrant origin. Taking into account the above observations, it is necessary to combine individual factors, such as language attitudes, cultural and linguistic identity and the use of language with contextual factors, such as the type of environment, the linguistic and social characteristics of each context, policies and educational practices.

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