



Universitat de Lleida

## Multilingualism as misbehavior: Linguistic acculturation, identity, and immigrant heritage languages in Catalan schools

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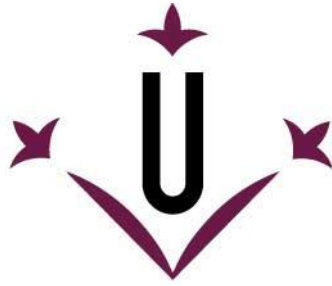
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**Universitat de Lleida**

**TESI DOCTORAL**

**Multilingualism as misbehavior:  
Linguistic acculturation, identity, and immigrant  
heritage languages in Catalan schools**

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## Abstract

This dissertation uses language as the unit of analysis, as it intersects issues of ethnic symbolism, group belonging, school curriculum, and discourse on immigration. It explores multilingual linguistic acculturation in Catalan high schools, considering the relationship between Spanish, Catalan and the heritage languages of immigrant communities. It analyzes both the linguistic acculturation patterns of high school students of immigrant background and the expectations of their teachers and peers of no immigrant background, exploring issues like identity complexity, ethnic differences and the meaning of integration. After selecting 5 high schools with a high ratio of foreign students in the province of Lleida, and following a mixed-methods approach, 198 students of immigrant background and 345 students without immigrant background completed a questionnaire on these topics. Then, 13 high-school students of immigrant background and 15 without immigrant background as well as 10 teachers participated in the qualitative part of the analysis.

The results show that linguistic acculturation profiles in more private areas such as the home tend towards heritage language maintenance, and this is accepted by the dominant group. However, there are differentiated profiles in public spaces like school. While all students use Catalan, some combine it with Spanish and heritage languages. The use of heritage languages in school is frowned upon by the dominant group and associated with rebellious behavior, particularly if the students are perceived as 'not integrated'. This is particularly notable in negative attitudes towards those of Moroccan origin. We conclude that the pressure of assimilation under the name of integration has a detrimental effect on those who are forced to assimilate as well as those who reject it, as it may cause them to feel like they do not belong in the society where they live.

## Resum

Aquesta tesi utilitza el llenguatge com a unitat d'anàlisi, ja que està interrelacionat amb temes de simbolisme ètnic, pertinença a un grup, currículum escolar i discurs sobre la immigració. Explora l'aculturació lingüística multilingüe a instituts catalans considerant la relació entre l'espanyol, el català i les llengües d'herència de les comunitats immigrants. Analitza tant els patrons d'aculturació lingüística d'estudiantis<sup>1</sup> de secundària d'origen immigrant com les expectatives del professorat i companys d'origen no immigrant, explorant qüestions com la complexitat identitària, les diferències ètniques i el significat de la integració. Després de seleccionar 5 instituts amb alta proporció d'alumnat estranger a la província de Lleida, i seguint un mètode mixt, 198 alumns d'origen immigrant i 345 alumns sense origen immigrant van emplenar un qüestionari sobre aquests temes. A continuació, 13 estudiantis d'origen immigrant i 15 sense origen immigrant, així com 10 professors van participar en la part qualitativa de l'anàlisi.

Els resultats mostren que els perfils d'aculturació lingüística en espais més privats com la llar tendeixen al manteniment de la llengua d'herència i això és acceptat pel grup dominant. No obstant això, hi ha perfils diferenciats en espais públics com l'escola. Tot i que tots els estudiants utilitzen el català, alguns el combinen amb el castellà i les llengües d'herència. L'ús de llengües d'herència a l'escola està mal vist pel grup dominant i s'associa amb un mal comportament, particularment si es percep als estudiantis com a "no integradis". Això és especialment notable en les actituds negatives envers l'estudiantat d'origen marroquí. Concloem que la pressió de l'assimilació sota el nom d'integració té un efecte perjudicial tant

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<sup>1</sup> Aquest text utilitza la terminació "i" com a marca neutra de gènere

per a lis que es veuen obligadis a assimilar-se com per a lis que la rebutgen, ja que els pot fer sentir que no pertanyen a la societat on viuen.

## Resumen

Esta tesis utiliza el lenguaje como unidad de análisis, ya que está interrelacionado con aspectos como simbolismo étnico, pertenencia a un grupo, currículo escolar y discurso sobre la inmigración. Explora la aculturación lingüística multilingüe en institutos catalanes, considerando la relación entre el español, el catalán y las lenguas de herencia de las comunidades inmigrantes. Analiza tanto los patrones de aculturación lingüística de estudiantes de secundaria de origen inmigrante como las expectativas de sus profesores y compañeros<sup>2</sup> de origen no inmigrante, explorando cuestiones como la complejidad identitaria, las diferencias étnicas y el significado de la integración. Tras seleccionar 5 institutos con una alta proporción de alumnado extranjero en la provincia de Lleida, y siguiendo un método mixto, 198 alumnos de origen inmigrante y 345 alumnos sin origen inmigrante cumplimentaron un cuestionario sobre estos temas. A continuación, 13 estudiantes de secundaria de origen inmigrante, 15 sin origen inmigrante y 10 profesores participaron en la parte cualitativa del análisis.

Los resultados muestran que los perfiles de aculturación lingüística en espacios más privados como el hogar tienden al mantenimiento de la lengua de herencia, y esto es aceptado por el grupo dominante. Sin embargo, existen perfiles diferenciados en espacios públicos como la escuela. Si bien todos los estudiantes hablan catalán, algunos lo combinan con el español y las lenguas de herencia. El uso de lenguas de herencia en la escuela está mal visto por el grupo dominante y se asocia con mal comportamiento, particularmente si se percibe a los estudiantes como “no integrados”. Esto es particularmente notable en las actitudes negativas

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<sup>2</sup> Este texto utiliza la terminación “e” como marca neutra de género



hacia estudiantes de origen marroquí. Concluimos que la presión de la asimilación bajo el nombre de integración tiene un efecto perjudicial tanto para quienes se ven obligados a asimilarse como para quienes la rechazan, ya que les puede hacer sentir que no pertenecen a la sociedad en la que viven.

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## Introduction and objectives

As international migration has become an intrinsic part of the globalized world, state migration policies and rhetoric tend to revolve around restricting and preventing immigration, arguing about who deserves to be *let in* and who doesn't, portraying migrants as a kind of societal pollution on an otherwise functioning, harmonious society. Faced with the inevitability of immigration, the dominant society then tolerates immigrants as long as they *integrate*, i.e., assimilate so that their presence is as imperceptible as possible. The immigrant as the problematic other is a powerful discursive tool, that relies on a social imaginary of an ethnically homogeneous nation state that is corrupted by outside interference. These narratives are conveniently oblivious to the fact that international migration is an unavoidable consequence of the globalized labor market, which perpetuates the geographic inequalities created through a history of colonization, as it cannot sustain itself without them.

The children of immigrants and the children who have migrated themselves are not exempt from these discourses, as they too are instrumentalized for political purposes (Cheddadi, 2020; Neubauer, 2021). The experience of being reduced to a point of debate for others, while dehumanizing for all ages, can be extremely challenging for children and teenagers of foreign background. The children of immigrants are forced to navigate stressful situations such as the uncertainty of moving, economic hardship and the pressure of having to act as interpreters for their parents in unfamiliar settings such as the administration or the doctor's office. Their school years are vital for them, as they will affect their personal development as they grow, as well as their future career opportunities, and yet research shows that immigrant children often feel less sense of belonging (Ham, Yang, & Cha, 2017), lower expectations from their

teachers (Hutchinson, 2013; Yoon, 2008) and get bullied more often (Xu, Macrynika, Waseem, & Miranda, 2020).

In this dissertation we have chosen language as the unit of analysis, as it is a vehicle that intersects issues of school curriculum, group belonging, ethnic symbolism and cultural hierarchies. Rosa and Flores (2017) explain how language practices are racially embodied and are inseparable from the racial attributes ascribed to the communities that speak them. As such, the linguistic acculturation profiles of students of immigrant origin and the linguistic acculturation expectations of their peers and teachers are excellent ways to analyze covert ethnic discourse at school.

Consequently, this dissertation has the following objectives:

1. Exploring how students who have immigrated or who are the children of immigrants construct their linguistic acculturation profiles, in a space that is cocreated along with peers and teachers without immigrant background
2. Exploring how the linguistic acculturation profiles of these students are influenced by overarching societal attitudes on immigrants and their languages. We have aimed to avoid the too common bias of focusing solely on migrants as the object of study disregarding the enormous influence of the dominant group, but at the same time recognizing their agency to find different ways of either conforming or challenging external pressures to assimilate.
3. Identifying the specific linguistic acculturation expectations that their peers without immigrant background and teachers place on them, to understand how this may be shaping the school climate.

This PhD dissertation is composed of four academic articles that complement each other to achieve these research objectives. The first two papers have a quantitative design while the last two follow qualitative methods, which allows us to have a comprehensive understanding of the three focus groups: high school students of immigrant background, high school students whose both parents have been born in Spain, and their teachers. The first paper addresses the linguistic acculturation profiles of students of immigrant origin, and how these relate to geographic origin and language attitudes towards Catalan, Spanish and heritage languages. The second one looks at the linguistic acculturation expectations of their peers without immigrant background, exploring the effect of self-identification with Catalan, Spanish or both, through the construct of identity complexity. The third study utilized life-stories and focus groups to dive deeper into immigrant and non-immigrant background students' understanding of what integration means and its relation to linguistic acculturation profiles. In the fourth paper, teachers were interviewed to explore their discourse regarding the legitimacy of heritage languages within the school context. Then, after the four articles are discussed individually, the global discussion section goes over the main results again focusing on how they can be combined to provide a more comprehensive outlook on the topic. Finally, the thesis concludes with a discussion of the derived educational implications.

### Theoretical background

The theoretical background for each of the four studies that form this dissertation is further explained in its devoted chapter. Here we briefly introduce the three main theoretical areas that accompany this research project: the linguistic branch of acculturation theory and research, a multilingual approach to language and immigration that takes into account the complexity of more than one majority and one minority language, and the ethnic inequalities and prejudice that taint society's views on certain languages.



### *Acculturation theory and linguistic acculturation at school*

In order to analyze these issues, we have used Berry's Acculturation Theory (1997; 2005), which proposes four acculturation profiles depending on the degrees of heritage culture maintenance and the degree of adoption of the dominant culture that result when different cultures come into continuous contact. The four profiles are: (1) assimilation, that is high adoption of the majority culture and low heritage culture maintenance; (2) separation: low adoption of the dominant culture combined with high heritage culture maintenance; (3) integration: high adoption and maintenance of both, and (4) marginalization: low levels of both. While research shows that integration profiles are associated with better levels of wellbeing, self-esteem and mental health (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Retortillo & Rodriguez, 2010), studies also highlight the influence that the dominant society's acculturation expectations play on defining immigrants' profiles. In this dissertation we will see how even though immigration policy and discourse tend to claim to have immigrant integration as a focus, this rarely means the balanced combination of cultures that Berry proposes. Instead discourse on immigrant integration is often riddled with assimilative expectations towards immigrants and their children. This is particularly worrying, since in societies where assimilation is promoted, integration profiles are associated with higher levels of perceived discrimination, which prevents immigrants from benefitting from the aforementioned psychological benefits of integration profiles (Berry & Hou, 2016).

Language is a powerful identity marker and a crucial vehicle for cultural transmission and group belonging (Heller, 2008). As such, it is usually considered as one of the components of acculturation. However it can also be studied on its own, as linguistic acculturation patterns can be grouped into the same four profiles according to the degree of maintenance of the language(s) of origin and adoption of the language(s) of the dominant society (He, 2010; Lee,

2002). In this dissertation we use the widely used term 'heritage language' (HL) to refer to the ancestral language of a community which is different from the dominant societal language (Valdés, 2017).

In the case of young people of immigrant descent, the school context is a fundamental socializing agent where general and linguistic acculturation expectations are learnt. While the school may have positive views of multilingualism in its student, this tends to refer to languages of high status of perceived market value (Duchêne & Heller, 2012), while the languages of immigrants are often portrayed as an obstacle to integration that must be overcome (Ali & Ready, 2021). Teachers and peers can have enormous influences on the acculturation process of students of immigrant origin, as they can shape the school environment to be more or less inclusive of its existing diversity.

#### *Language and immigration: beyond binary*

When it comes to language, research on immigrant integration tends to have a binary outlook that includes a dominant language to which immigrants may be expected to assimilate, and immigrants' minority languages which suffer from various degrees of under representation or even repression. However, most contexts are far more linguistically complex than that. There is plenty of articles addressing the effect of English as a neoliberal lingua franca and the detrimental effect it has on regional and minority languages (Heller & Duchêne, 2012), and many regions may have more than one local language to take into account. This is the case of Catalonia, where both Spanish and Catalan are official and widely used, as are those without official status such as Amazigh, Arabic or Romanian. In this dissertation we have tried to consider the complexities of a multilingual environment where multiple languages have different social status and political connotations. The linguistic adaptation of immigrants

needs to be contextualized, since there are fundamental differences in the social significance of learning English or Spanish and learning a regional language with a history of repression such as Catalan.

### *Systemic ethnic inequalities*

At the same time, the study of the linguistic adaptation of immigrants cannot be separated from the ethnic inequalities of the general experience of migration as well as the racial attributes assigned to the speakers of certain languages. While immigrants are portrayed as a threat to the homogeneity of the nation state, not all ethnic groups are equally threatening. The founding myth of the Spanish nation is constructed on the defeat and expulsion of Muslims from the continent, a trope that is still used in current right-wing rhetoric (Mateo Dieste, 2017). This ties in with general trends of Western islamophobia that treat Muslim immigrants as a potential terrorist threat that must be contained and under constant surveillance. In official terrorist prevention protocols, simple acts of cultural expression such as 'excessive' linguistic maintenance may be interpreted as dangerous signs of future terrorist intent (Choudhury, 2021; Douhaibi & Almazian, 2019). Thus, it is vital to account for differences in attitudes towards different ethnic groups, since attitudes towards languages are closely linked to the attributes assigned to the communities that speak them (Rosa & Flores, 2017).

### *Sociolinguistic context of Catalonia*

The context of Catalonia is particularly suitable for this study, since the existence of more than one official language coexists with a high presence of immigration. Four languages are official in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia: Catalan, Spanish, Aranese Occitan (spoken in a smaller region) and Catalan Sign Language. Catalan and Spanish are most commonly used,

explaining why the region is commonly thought of as officially bilingual. Catalan has suffered several periods of repression from the central government, the most recent and severe being the period of Franco's dictatorship in Spain (1939-1975). After the end of the dictatorship, an autonomous Catalan government was established, and a period of 'linguistic normalization' policies who aimed to restore the social presence of Catalan in Catalonia. Official policies framed Catalan the territory's 'own language', that is, as ethnic symbol and group marker, while Spanish was defined as the 'state language' (Pujolar, 2010).

While language normalization policies were considerably successful in promoting Catalan literacy and everyday use, the turn of the century brought new trends of foreign immigration to Spain and particularly Catalonia, problematizing the discourse of Catalan as an ingroup language. New language policies reframed Catalan as an asset for social cohesion in a multicultural society (Arnau & Vila, 2013; Generalitat de Catalunya, 2007, 2009; Pujolar, 2010).

Nevertheless, this was less successful, since Catalan is still widely considered an in-group language (Lapresta-Rey, Huguet, Petreñas, & Ianos, 2019; Pujolar, 2010; Woolard & Frekko, 2013). Adult immigrants may not be motivated to learn an additional language if they can communicate in Spanish, especially if they are not set on settling in Catalonia. Simultaneously, many locals switch to Spanish by default when they address a stranger who they perceive as an immigrant, which hinders their exposure and participation in Catalan communicative context and reinforces this divide (Pujolar, 2010). As for the children of immigrants and young immigrants, research also shows significant differences between Catalan and Spanish knowledge and use. Even though public education is conducted in Catalan (other than the mandatory Spanish class and foreign language classes), Catalan knowledge highly depends on their sociolinguistic environment and social networks (Arnau & Vila, 2013). On the other hand

Spanish acquisition seems to be relatively uniform across Catalonia, regardless of classes being taught in Catalan.

The acculturation research that has been done in Catalonia shows that most teenagers of immigrant background adapt to the cultural patterns of the dominant society with little resistance or confrontation from parents (Portes, Aparicio, & Haller, 2009). Those who assimilate into the dominant culture also have better psychological adaptation due to experiencing less discrimination during the process (Briones, Verkuyten, Cosano, & Taberero, 2012). However not all groups benefit equally from assimilation: for example, when comparing young Moroccans and Ecuadorians, the former have been shown to need more time in Spain to present said psychological benefits (Briones et al., 2012). Catalan adoption tends to be associated to expectations of upward social mobility and occupational aspirations of higher pay (Di Paolo & Raymond, 2012; Lapresta-Rey, Janés, & Alarcón, 2021), although the real possibility of upward mobility through Catalan use has been challenged by some authors (Alarcón & Garzón, 2013; Pujolar & González, 2013).

Currently 16.11% of the Catalan population have foreign nationalities, above the Spanish average of 11.42%. In the province of Lleida, where our research takes place, this ratio ascends to 18.21%, with Romanians and Moroccans being the largest origin groups, respectively accounting for 26.82% and 22.14% of the total foreign population in the province (IDESCAT, 2021). The latest Survey on Language Uses of the Population shows that the province of Lleida also has a higher-than-average use of Catalan, with 57% of people using mostly Catalan in their daily life, above the Catalan average of 36.1% (mostly due to the lower ratios of Catalan use in the highly populated province of Barcelona) (IDESCAT, 2018). The survey shows Arabic (likely Moroccan Arabic or Darija) as the third most common mother

tongue in Catalonia. However, other studies estimate that Amazigh, a minoritized language from northern Africa, is the mother tongue of between 50% and 80% of the Moroccan diaspora in Catalonia (Barrieras, 2013; Tilmatine, 2005). The authors theorize that the stigma associated to the language in northern Africa along with the lack of knowledge of the Catalan population may be the cause of this bias towards Arabic in self-reported surveys.

The heritage languages of immigrant communities are similarly present in Catalan schools. However, studies show that school teachers are reticent to acknowledge the HLs of these students, many explicitly stating that they wish that its usage stayed at home (Comellas et al., 2014). Other studies corroborate these results, showing that both teachers and non-immigrant students in Catalan schools prefer immigrant students to use only the official languages, particularly at school (Petreñas, Ianos, Lapresta, & Sansó, 2019; Serra, Besalú, & Casademont, 2015; Serra i Salamé, 2001). This is crucial to understand how students of immigrant background construct their identities as they grow, since the school is a key socializing agent in assigning value to certain languages (Comellas et al., 2014; Johnson & Johnson, 2015).

#### Structure of the thesis

In order to have a comprehensive outlook on linguistic acculturation and language attitudes at the selected schools, the four studies tackle different interrelated factors. The first study explores the language attitudes that students of immigrant background hold towards Spanish, Catalan and the HLs of immigrant communities, focusing on the relationship between these language attitudes and the linguistic acculturation profiles that they present in the school context, as well as geographic origin. It points out relevant differences among origin groups

and discusses how these may be related to differences in societal perceptions regarding each ethnic group, which affects their feelings of belonging in Catalonia.

However, both the general linguistic acculturation patterns as well as the ethnic differences in students of immigrant background cannot be understood without exploring the influence from other peers. Therefore, the second study focuses on students without immigrant origin and the acculturation expectations they have towards their peers of Moroccan and Romanian background. Drawing from the theory of identity complexity, we compared three identity groups: identification with Catalan, with Spanish and with both languages. The results lead to a discussion on how more complex identities (i.e. those who incorporate seemingly opposed languages such as Catalan and Spanish) may have broader perspectives on what it means to be Catalan, explaining higher support for linguistic integration profiles.

Upon having analyzed quantitative trends in both groups of students, we were interested in understanding students' reasoning behind their own linguistic acculturation choices and expectations for others. The third study focuses on both students with and without immigrant background and adopts a qualitative approach. This allows us to dive deeper into how the acculturation profiles of students of immigrant background are constructed and how the expectations placed upon them by students without immigrant background are formed. The topic of appearing 'integrated' in public arises, highlighting the importance of public vs. private conceptions on socially acceptable forms of linguistic and cultural maintenance. Some students mention being reprimanded or forbidden from speaking HLs at school, which lead us to turn our attention to the role played by teachers in the process of shaping linguistic acculturation profiles and expectations in class.

Thus, in study four, teachers were interviewed. As figures of authority, most teachers present HL use as a form of misbehavior in class, where only the languages of the official curriculum are considered suitable. Muslim students, particularly those of Moroccan descent, are frequently identified as particularly problematic since their HL use is not only considered against school linguistic policy but associated to negative cultural stereotypes.

The results of these four studies are deeply connected in various ways. For instance, when students without immigrant background complain about their peers talking in Arabic or Romanian, they are reproducing linguistic hierarchies that we later see being validated by teachers. Additionally, teachers' statements regarding cultural incompatibility between Catalans and Moroccans as opposed to Romanians can be directly linked to the different ethnic trends in linguistic acculturation profiles presented by the students.

While several studies have analyzed the topic of language attitudes and use in immigrants in Catalonia, few of them include languages such as Amazigh, Arabic or Romanian, which are also widely used in the territory. Therefore, this dissertation aims to have a comprehensive view of the linguistic aspect of the high school experience of students of immigrant background, understanding how peer and teacher expectations influence their acculturation process and shape their identity in an unequal society.

## Method

To meet the research objectives, this dissertation combines quantitative and qualitative methodology in a mixed methods approach. The two first quantitative studies allow us to explore patterns of acculturation profiles and expectations and how they relate to other variables such as geographic origin, language attitudes and identity. On the other hand, the two qualitative studies served us to explore the more complex meanings that participants



assign to linguistic acculturation profiles and expectations. The methodology of each study is explained in further detail in its dedicated chapter.

### Context

Six high schools were selected for this study. They were located in the province of Lleida, which is characterized by a comparatively high presence of both immigration and Catalan use (as opposed to the Barcelona area where Spanish is more prevalent). This provided an invaluable environment to analyze the relationship between school language and immigrant students' heritage languages in a context where neither has official status at the state level. These high schools were purposely selected due to their location in areas with particularly high ratios of foreign residents, although they differed in their demographic characteristics:

- School 1 was public and located in the province capital, and had around 20% of foreign students, mostly from Morocco and Romania. It was in an area largely composed by Spanish speaking families that immigrated in the 50's and 60's from other areas of the country, as well as a high presence of foreign residents in the last 20 years. The school had been classified by the government as 'high complexity' and 18% of the students had been born abroad.
- School 2 was also public and in the province capital, but in an area of higher Catalan use. However, it had a similar presence of foreign families. The school had around 20% of foreign students, mostly from Morocco and Romania.
- School 3 was a public school in a rural area which had seen a recent raise in foreign workers in the primary sector. 23% of the students came from Morocco and 5% from other countries, constituting a total of 28% foreign students.

- School 4 was located in a rural area with a particularly high ratio of foreign residents, predominantly from Romania and Ukraine, most of them working in the secondary sector. It was the only catholic semi-private school, and its ratio of foreign students was 26%.
- School 5 was in the same area as school 4 but it was publicly funded. 30% of its students had foreign nationalities, mostly from Romania and Ukraine.
- School 6 participated in the quantitative section of the study, but due to scheduling difficulties it was not possible to include it in the qualitative part. It was located in the province Capital, in an area characterized by a history of immigration from other regions of Spain in during the 50s and the 60s. Then, in the last twenty years there had been a second influx of foreign immigration. The school had a ratio of foreign students of 14%, mainly from Maghreb, Western Africa and Latin America, and to a lesser extent Asia and Eastern Europe.

### Participants

Our participants were a total of 543 students and 10 teachers.

### *The students*

543 students completed a questionnaire regarding linguistic acculturation profiles, expectations, self-identification, and sociodemographic characteristics. This included 198 students of immigrant background, (i.e., with at least one parent born abroad) and 345 students with both parents born in Spain, They were in their 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> years of secondary education and their ages ranged from 14 to 18 years ( $M = 15.15$   $SD = .84$ ).

The students of immigrant background were 47.24% female and 52.76% male. As for their place of birth, 70.85% were born abroad, 28.14% were born in Catalonia and 1.01% in other

areas of Spain. All of them had at least one parent born abroad. 90.45% of their fathers were born abroad, 5.53% were born in Catalonia and 3.52% in other areas of Spain. As for the mothers, 96.98% were born abroad, 2.51% were born in Catalonia and 0.50% in other areas of Spain. The following table shows their distribution by continents and countries of origin according to their parents' birthplace.

Table 1. Distribution of participants of immigrant background by continent and country of family origin.

<b>Continent</b>	<b>Continent total</b>	<b>Country of origin</b>	<b>Country total</b>
<b>Africa</b>	76	Morocco	51
		Gambia	6
		Algeria	5
		Senegal	5
		Cameroun	2
		Cote d'Ivoire	2
		Ghana	2
		Angola	1
		Togo	1
		Tunisia	1
<b>Latin</b>	43	Colombia	12
<b>America</b>		Argentina	7
		Bolivia	7
		Brazil	5

		Dominican Republic	3
		Ecuador	3
		Paraguay	2
		Peru	2
		Venezuela	2
<b>Europe</b>	<b>79</b>	Romania	42
		Ukraine	17
		Bulgaria	5
		France	4
		Italy	2
		Moldavia	2
		Russia	2
		United Kingdom	2
		Andorra	1
		Belgium	1
		Germany	1

Most of the students without immigrant origin had a Catalan background. All of them were born in Catalonia, Spain. As for their parents, 80.6% of the fathers and 85.5% of the mothers were born in Catalonia, and the rest in other areas of Spain. 50.7% of them were female and 49.3% were male.

Participants from 5 of the 6 schools were also called to participate in the qualitative part of the analysis. 13 life stories were conducted with high-school students of immigrant background (10 girls and 6 boys). Since language was a main focus of the research objectives, students of immigrant background with heritage languages other than Spanish were selected, specifically Arabic, Amazigh and Romanian. Their families had been born in Algeria, Morocco and Romania. 5 of them had been born in Catalonia and the rest had been born abroad, with their ages of arrival ranging from 4 months to 7 years old.

Table 2. Participants of immigrant background. Sociodemographic data and linguistic acculturation profiles

	<b>Age</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Parents' origin</b>	<b>Age of arrival</b>	<b>HL</b>
<b>Assimilation to Catalan</b>					
<b>Amira</b>	16	F	Algeria	Born in Catalonia	Arabic
<b>Adel</b>	17	M	Morocco	3 years old	Amazigh
<b>Mihai</b>	16	M	Romania	5 years old	Romanian
<b>Assimilation to Catalan and Spanish</b>					
<b>Hasna</b>	15	F	Algeria	Born in Catalonia	Arabic
<b>Catalan and heritage language dominant multilingualism</b>					
<b>Alexandru</b>	17	M	Romania	7 years old	Romanian
<b>Ana</b>	17	F	Romania	7 years old	Romanian
<b>Andreea</b>	16	F	Romania	4 years old	Romanian
<b>Nojoum</b>	16	M	Morocco	3 months old	Arabic

<b>Adriana</b>	15	F	Romania  (mother)  Catalonia (father)	Born in Catalonia	Romanian
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**Balanced multilingualism of Spanish Catalan and HL**

<b>Laila</b>	16	F	Morocco	Born in Catalonia	Arabic
<b>Aisha</b>	15	F	Morocco	4 years old	Arabic
<b>Hassan</b>	17	M	Morocco	Born in Catalonia	Amazigh
<b>Souhaila</b>	17	F	Morocco	10 years old	Arabic

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Additionally, 5 focus groups were carried out with 15 students without immigrant background (10 girls and 5 boys). They had all been born in Catalonia, and both of their parents had been born in Catalonia or other areas of Spain. Two of them reported both Spanish and Catalan as their languages of identification, while the remaining 13 identified mainly with Catalan.

Table 3. Participants without immigrant background. Sociodemographic data.

<b>Focus group</b>	<b>Pseudonym</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Dominant language</b>
<b>1</b>	Mireia	16	Female	Catalan
	Joana	15	Female	Catalan
	Diana	16	Female	Catalan
<b>2</b>	Marina	15	Female	Catalan and Spanish
	Jordi	15	Male	Catalan
	Gloria	15	Female	Catalan
	Sara	15	Female	Catalan and Spanish

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	Celia	15	Female	Catalan
	Judit	15	Female	Catalan
<b>3</b>	Pia	16	Female	Catalan
	Iván	17	Male	Catalan
	Oriol	17	Male	Catalan
<b>4</b>	Mar	16	Female	Catalan
	Gerard	15	Male	Catalan
	Albert	15	Male	Catalan

#### *The teachers*

Then, 10 teachers completed a semi-structured interview (7 women and 3 men). They had diverse levels of experience teaching and belonged to various academic areas (see table below).

Table 4. Interviewed teachers. Sociodemographic data.

<b>High-school code</b>	<b>Participant code</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Years at the school</b>	<b>Total years of teaching</b>	<b>Language of identification</b>
<b>1</b>	1F	Female	Catalan	9	35	Catalan
	2F	Female	Mathematics, tutor	5	12	Spanish

<b>2</b>	3M	Male	Social Sciences, History	18	22	Catalan
	4F	Female	Catalan	23	26	Catalan
<b>3</b>	5F	Female	Economics, mathematics	4	18	Catalan
	6M	Male	Mathematics, tutor	3	11	Catalan
<b>4</b>	7F	Female	Physical Education	8	8	Catalan
	8F	Female	English	1	2	Catalan
<b>5</b>	9F	Female	Mathematics	6	10	Catalan
	10M	Male	Spanish	2	5	Spanish

#### Instrument

The students were given a 45-minute-long questionnaire inquiring about sociodemographic information such as age, gender, their place of birth, and their parents' birthplace and education level. Then depending on whether they or at least one of their parents had been born abroad they were given questions on linguistic acculturation (for students of immigrant background) or linguistic acculturation expectations towards immigrants (for students without immigrant background). Students of non-immigrant background responded to these questions twice, once about their expectations towards Romanians and once about



Moroccans. The questions followed a 5-point Likert scale format and were adapted from Navas et al.'s scales (2005; 2010) and adjusted to fit the multilingual context of Catalonia where a state language, a regional language and heritage languages had to be included.

As for the qualitative section of the study, different methods were used to better fit the research objectives. In the case of students of immigrant origin, we conducted individual life stories, which allowed us to focus on their personal experiences throughout their life. Students without immigrant background were grouped into 5 focus groups, since we hoped to create a casual environment where everyday group beliefs could be discussed (Parker & Tritter, 2006). Finally, we conducted semi-structured interviews with teachers, allowing them to express themselves in a natural way and to expand on the topics they deemed relevant.

The life stories, focus groups and interviews were conducted in empty classrooms at the participants' high-schools, and took between 45 and 90 minutes. Even though all participants were fluent in Catalan and Spanish, their preferred language was selected. They complemented the quantitative section by going into more depth in the topics of linguistic acculturation profiles and expectations, linguistic identity, and attitudes surrounding languages and immigration.

### Procedure

After obtaining the required permissions from the Department of Education, a research team visited the 6 schools to administer the questionnaires to all students, which took around 45 minutes. Then, the team asked some students (both with and without immigrant background) and teachers to volunteer for the qualitative section of the questionnaire. Five of the schools were visited again to conduct this second part of the data collection, since visiting the last one could not be arranged with the school authorities. The life-stories, focus groups and semi-

structured interviews were conducted in empty classrooms kindly provided by the school. They were done in Catalan or Spanish according to the participants' preference and took between 45 and 90 minutes. Consent forms were signed by the minors' legal guardians.

This study follows the ethical standards set by the European Union, the data collection being done with the participants' free and informed consent and following the principles of anonymity and confidentiality.

### Analysis

The first two studies follow quantitative methods to explore the linguistic acculturation profiles of students of immigrant background and the linguistic acculturation expectations of their peers without immigrant background. Then, the relationship between acculturation patterns and issues related to language attitudes, linguistic identity and ethnic origin is explored. The last two studies complement the previous ones using qualitative methods. First, life stories were conducted with students of immigrant background to understand how their specific experiences shaped their linguistic acculturation profiles and attitudes. Then focus groups were conducted with students of non-immigrant background, to get a grasp the everyday norms and beliefs shared by them. Finally, teachers were interviewed on their views of immigration and languages, and how they apply to the school context.

### Quantitative section

The quantitative part of the study consisted of a questionnaire for all students. While the section on sociodemographic data was identical, students completed different versions of the questionnaire depending on whether any of their parents had been born abroad.

The quantitative analysis included descriptive statistics, chi square tests, ANOVAs and linear regression. For students of immigrant background, we used k-means cluster analysis to create

groups according to linguistic acculturation profiles at school. Secondly, a series of chi-square tests were conducted to check if the groups differed significantly in sociodemographic characteristics. Then, various ANOVAs were conducted to check the relationship between linguistic acculturation profiles and language attitudes towards Catalan, Spanish and HLs and between linguistic acculturation profiles and continent of origin. Finally, a two factor ANOVA was run to test the interaction effects between language attitudes and geographic origin regarding language attitudes. The analyses were carried out using IBM SPSS Statistics, and the significance level used was .05.

#### Sociodemographic data

The questionnaire included sociodemographic data like age, gender, language of identification, birthplace, and each of their parents' birthplace. They also wrote both of their parents' education level, that was later grouped into (1) No studies / primary education, (2) secondary education and (3) university.

#### Linguistic acculturation at school (for students with at least one immigrant parent)

Berry's (2006) four acculturation profiles were adapted to focus on the linguistic domain of acculturation regarding Spanish, Catalan, and Heritage languages. Latin American students whose HL was a different variety of Spanish were instructed to refer to their parents' variety as the HL, and to Castilian Spanish in the questions about Spanish. The measure was adapted from Navas et al (2005, 2010), using a 5-point Likert scale where 1 meant never and 5 meant always. The questions were formulated as follows:

- To what extent do you maintain your language
  - In class
  - With teachers

- At recess
- To what extent do you adopt Catalan
  - In class
  - With teachers
  - At recess
- To what extent do you adopt Castilian Spanish
  - In class
  - With teachers
  - At recess

Linguistic acculturation expectations (for students with no immigrant parent)

Berry's (2006) four acculturation profiles were adapted to focus on the linguistic domain of acculturation and to the multilingual nature of our sample where two dominant languages had to be taken into account. They were operationalized through a series of 5-point Likert-scale questions where 1 meant 'completely disagree' and 5 meant 'completely agree'. There were two sets of questions, once asking about Moroccans and once about Romanians.

- Separation from Catalan: For (Moroccans/Romanians), speaking their language should be more important than Catalan
- Separation from Spanish: For (Moroccans/Romanians), speaking their language should be more important than Spanish
- Assimilation to Catalan: For (Moroccans/Romanians), speaking Catalan should be more important than their language
- Assimilation to Spanish: For (Moroccans/Romanians), speaking Spanish should be more important than their language

- Integration to Catalan: For (Moroccans/Romanians), speaking their language should be as important as speaking Catalan
- Integration to Spanish: For (Moroccans/Romanians), speaking their language should be as important as speaking Spanish
- Integration to Catalan and Spanish: For (Moroccans/Romanians), speaking their language should be as important as speaking Catalan and Spanish
- (Moroccans/Romanians) should not have to be interested in speaking any language well

#### Language attitudes

The questionnaire on language attitudes had been originally developed in a different bilingual context, Wales (Sharp, Thomas, Price, Francis, & Davies, 1973), and had already been adapted to the context of Catalonia in previous studies (González-Riaño, Fernández-Costales, Lapresta-Rey, & Huguet, 2019; Ianos, Rusu, Huguet, & Lapresta-Rey, 2020). It included the following 5-point Likert-scale questions:

#### Attitudes towards HLs:

1. It would be nice if in primary and secondary schools in Catalonia, where there are students that speak languages other than Catalan and/or Spanish (like Arabic, Romanian, Chinese, Fula, etc.), this language could be studied
2. Learning a language other than Catalan and / or Spanish (like Arabic, Romanian, Chinese, Fula, etc.) must be unpleasant
3. Learning languages different than Catalan and/or Spanish (like Arabic, Romanian, Chinese, Fula, etc.) is useless because I may never use it

4. We should all work harder to promote the use of languages other than Catalan and/or Spanish (like Arabic, Romanian, Chinese, Fula, etc.)
5. Learning English or French is more important than learning other languages other than Catalan and/or Spanish (like Arabic, Romanian, Chinese, Fula, etc.).
6. If my family came (or comes) from a country other than Spain I should know the language well
7. Languages other than Catalan and Spanish (like Arabic, Romanian, Chinese, Fula, etc.) should only be studied by those who speak them.
8. Languages other than Catalan and Spanish (like Arabic, Romanian, Chinese, Fula, etc.) sound bad.
9. I like speaking (or I would like to speak) languages other than Catalan and Spanish (like Arabic, Romanian, Chinese, Fula, etc.)
10. I like listening to people speaking languages other than Catalan and Spanish (like Arabic, Romanian, Chinese, Fula, etc.)

Attitudes towards Catalan:

1. I approve of all the children in my town studying Catalan.
2. Learning Catalan is unpleasant.
3. Learning Catalan is useless because I may never use it.
4. We should all try harder to use Catalan more frequently.
5. Learning Spanish is more important than learning Catalan.
6. I live in a place where Catalan is spoken, so I must know, study and speak Catalan.
7. Only Catalan people should study Catalan.
8. Catalan is an ill-sounding language.

9. I like (or I would like) to speak Catalan.
10. I like listening to people speaking Catalan.

#### Attitudes towards Spanish

1. (Spanish is a beautiful language.
2. In my town, we must know how to speak Spanish.
3. Spanish should only be learned and studied by Spanish speakers.
4. I like listening to people speaking Spanish.
5. In my town, other languages than Spanish should be studied.
6. Catalan is more important than Spanish.
7. Spanish is a language that is easy to learn.
8. Learning Spanish is boring.
9. Spanish should be taught in all countries.
10. In my town, we should speak less Spanish.

#### Self-identification

Participants answered the questions 'to what extent do you identify with Catalonia?' and 'to what extent do you identify with Spain?', on a 5-point Likert scale, where 1 meant 'not at all' and 5 meant 'to a great extent'.

#### Qualitative section

##### Students

Qualitative data pertaining to students was analyzed using qualitative content analysis (Bardin, 1986). Three researchers separately read and did a preliminary analysis of each life story and focus group, extracting relevant categories deductively and inductively. Then, they

jointly discussed the analysis until consensus was reached. These were analyzed using ATLAS.ti software.

We focused on the linguistic acculturation patterns of students of immigrant background and the linguistic acculturation expectations of their peers without immigrant background and how these were negotiated in public and private spaces, as well as how they related to other topics such as identity and integration (see table below).

Table 5. Categories in the content analysis for student life stories and focus groups

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Sub-categories</b>	<b>Areas</b>
Linguistic acculturation (immigrant origin)	<i>Heritage Language</i>	Private:
	<i>Catalan</i>	• With parents
Linguistic acculturation expectations (autochthonous towards immigrant origin)	<i>Spanish</i>	• With siblings
Language attitudes		Public
Discrimination		• With friends
		• At school
Integration	<i>Definition</i>	
	<i>Perceived degree of integration</i>	
	<i>Relationship with language</i>	

Preliminary analysis quickly showed clear differences in linguistic acculturation between public and private spaces in students of immigrant origin. While most participants shared similar private patterns, there were two distinct trends in public. Thus, based on the RAEM



(Navas et al., 2004), participants were grouped into two broad groups depending on their degree of heritage language maintenance in the public sphere: assimilation and multilingualism<sup>1</sup>. Within these groups some showed a clear dominance of Catalan over Spanish, while others did not distinguish between these two languages. The resulting profiles were:

1. Assimilation to Catalan (Catalan assimilation): low maintenance of the heritage language and dominance of Catalan over Spanish
2. Assimilation to Catalan and Spanish (Cat-Sp assimilation): low maintenance of the heritage language and high adoption of Catalan and Spanish
3. Catalan and HL dominant multilingualism (Cat-HL multilingualism): high maintenance of the heritage language and dominance of Catalan over Spanish
4. Balanced multilingualism (Cat-Sp-HL multilingualism): high maintenance of the heritage language and high adoption of Catalan and Spanish

## Teachers

In the case of teachers, a different approach was taken. We were interested in analyzing covert attitudes towards heritage languages subtly embedded in everyday conversation. For this reason, the analytical tool selected was a combination of Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) and Narrative Positioning through small stories.

MCA is a qualitative method of analysis that focuses on social categories and the characteristics associated to them by what is regarded as 'common knowledge'. These categorizations can be created explicitly when the participants themselves mention said category, or it can be heavily implied by constructing a group of attributes that refer to the same unnamed category (i.e. category bound activities and attributes) (Sacks, 1972). In study

4 we focus on the teacher's mentions of maintenance and use of HLs, and how these are associated to certain positive and negative traits that belong to different categories of immigrants.

CA is then complemented with Narrative Positioning (Deppermann, 2013; Dier-Boté & Martin-Rubió, 2018; Martin-Rubió & Cots, 2016), an analytical tool initially developed by Bamberg (1997) conformed by a three-level analysis. Level 1 analyzes the story that is told, including the main plot and characters. Level 2 refers to how the teller positions themselves vis-à-vis the interlocutors as the story is told. Finally, level 3 refers to how the teller constructs their own identity vis-à-vis societal discourse. Georgakopoulou (2013) finds these levels in 'small stories', that is, small episodes told within larger narratives, where these three levels of positioning can be located.

Following Stokoe's (2012) suggested steps for MCA and positioning analysis, we initially extracted relevant categories from the interviews, produced directly by the participants. Second, we extracted the category bound predicates and activities that participants associated with said categories. Finally, we analyzed how participants were positioning themselves within these stories and vis-à-vis the interlocutor as well as general society.

As for the categories of analysis, two main category pairs brought up by the participants were analyzed. First there was the integrated student, presented as the preferred option as opposed to the non-integrated immigrant, associated with ghettos and other negative attributes. When it came to the students and HL use, a second category pair was produced: the rebellious student who uses their HL in inappropriate context such as the classroom, and the good HL user who keeps the language in the appropriate environments.

## Study 1. Regional, state, and immigrants' heritage languages in high school: The effect of geographic origin and linguistic acculturation profiles on linguistic attitudes

### Abstract

This study explores the language attitudes that high school students of immigrant origin hold towards Catalan, Spanish and the heritage languages of immigrant communities, with a particular focus on linguistic acculturation profiles in the school context and geographic origin of these students. It takes place in Catalonia (Spain), a multilingual setting where both Spanish and Catalan have official status. Using a 5-point Likert scale, 198 students of immigrant background were asked about their attitudes regarding these three languages, as well several questions concerning their linguistic acculturation profiles at school. The results show that those in the acculturation profile that incorporates all three languages at school have significantly lower attitudes towards Catalan, suggesting that heritage language maintenance is perceived as incompatible with Catalan in the school context. As for geographic origin, the European origin group are more commonly placed in the Catalan assimilation acculturation profile than the African and Latin American groups. There is also a significant interaction effect between origin and acculturation profile, with the European multilingual group showing significantly less positive attitudes towards Catalan. These results complement previous general acculturation research showing that, for linguistic acculturation as well, racialized ethnic hierarchies affect the acculturation options available to different linguistic groups.

**Keywords:** immigration, heritage language, acculturation, linguistic acculturation, integration, Catalonia

## Introduction

Language attitudes are key in the process of identity construction, and as such, they play a vital role in immigrants' feelings of belonging to a new society, as well as general societal ideas of immigrant integration. In the case of teenagers, the school context is particularly crucial in assigning value and legitimacy to certain languages, which in turn regulates different linguistic groups' access to knowledge, friendship or material goods, acting as a form of symbolic domination (Bourdieu, 1982).

Even though acculturation profiles that include both the dominant and the heritage culture are generally associated with psychological benefits such as better self-esteem, wellbeing, and mental health (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Retortillo & Rodriguez, 2010), the school context tends to encourage assimilation profiles even considering the languages of immigrants as a hindrance for integration (König, Dailey-O'Cain, & Liebscher, 2015; Liu & Evans, 2016; Sáenz-Hernández, Lapresta-Rey, Petreñas, & Ianos, 2021). This is especially salient in the case of racialized groups such as those of African origin, since language use is associated to the racial attributes assigned to the communities that speak it (Khan & Gallego-Balsà, 2021; Rosa & Flores, 2017).

The context of Catalonia (Spain) is particularly relevant, as it is both an important receptor of foreign residents as well as an officially multilingual territory. Previous research on language attitudes have highlighted that Catalan and Spanish are generally viewed in terms of opposition (Pujolar, 2010; Woolard & Frekko, 2013), but fewer studies have incorporated the attitudes towards the wide range of unofficial languages present in the territory, such as Arabic, Amazigh, or Romanian.

Thus, this study aims to explore the relationship between linguistic acculturation profiles that students of immigrant origin present in the school context, their attitudes towards Catalan, Spanish and the heritage languages of immigrant communities, and the effect of geographical origin.

#### Acculturation theory and linguistic acculturation

Acculturation can be described as the phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact causing changes in their original culture patterns (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936, p. 149). Berry's acculturation theory (1997; 2005) established four profiles, determined by the degree of heritage culture maintenance and the degree of adoption of the dominant culture: (1) assimilation: characterized by a high level of adoption of the culture of the dominant society and low heritage culture maintenance; (2) separation: low adoption of the dominant culture and high heritage culture maintenance; (3) integration: high adoption and maintenance of both, and (4) marginalization: characterized by not having strong ties to either culture.

Integration profiles, where both cultures and languages are maintained and treated as compatible, have been associated with higher levels of wellbeing, self-esteem and mental health (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Retortillo & Rodriguez, 2010). However, these profiles are not freely selected by minorities. They are heavily influenced by the expectations of the dominant society as well as institutional requirements regarding residence permits, citizenship, among others. When immigrants are expected to assimilate into the cultural and linguistic norms of the dominant group, any expression of their cultural background may be interpreted as lack of effort or disrespect towards the host society (Flubacher, 2016; Verdía Varela, Fernández Suárez, & DePalma, 2020). This is particularly salient in the case of racialized groups, whose

cultural and linguistic practices tend to be ascribed negative attributes such as incompatibility with the dominant society, backwardness or even unsafety (Choudhury, 2021; Rosa & Flores, 2017). Thus, Bourhis et al.'s acculturation model (1997) built on Berry's model by incorporating the perspective of the dominant society regarding immigrant groups, and how it relates to the ethnic origin of said groups. The dominant society is more likely to support integration when it comes to valued cultural groups, while expectations of assimilation and segregation tend to be comparatively higher for devalued groups, influenced by cultural hierarchies shaped by colonial history (Kunst & Sam, 2014; Martín Rojo, 2010; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004). Similarly, how immigrants construct their identity within these unequal power dynamics affects their ability and motivation to interact with the dominant society or learn the dominant language(s) (Ali, 2020).

Additionally, acculturation profiles and expectations tend to vary among different areas of life. The Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM) postulates that immigrant groups will prioritize cultural maintenance in more private areas such as values and family customs, and they will lean more towards assimilation in more public domains such as work or school (Navas, Rojas, García, & Pumares, 2007). The expectations of the dominant group also tend to follow this pattern (López-Padilla, Ordóñez-Carrasco, Sánchez-Castelló, & Rojas Tejada, 2021).

#### Language attitudes and the role of school

Language is crucial to the process of identity building and group belonging, and as such, a major element of the acculturation process (Heller, 2008). The term 'heritage language' (HL) refers to the ancestral language of a speaker or community, which is different from the societal language, such as the languages of immigrant communities (Valdés, 2017). Linguistic

acculturation patterns can be grouped into the same four profiles depending on the degree of maintenance of the HL and adoption of the language(s) of the host community (He, 2010; Lee, 2002). Additionally, these are shaped by language attitudes held by both minority and majority groups.

Language attitudes have been central to the study of language learning since the seminal works by Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972). They can be defined as the individual's emotional and intellectual response towards certain languages, dialects and accents of their social context (Trudgill, 2003). Language attitudes are formed by three main elements (González-Riaño et al., 2019; Huguet & González-Riaño, 2004):

1. Personal needs: language attitudes are affected by the expectations that individuals' desire to achieve through use of certain languages.
2. Social group: The need for social cohesion and approval from one's valued social group may influence attitudes towards languages.
3. Information: which may be received through mass media (press, TV, social media, etc.) or direct experiences.

Given that immigrant groups' needs, social groups and experiences tend to differ from the dominant society, it is unsurprising that research shows that immigrants' language attitudes differ as well from the dominant group. In Catalonia, research tends to show that people with no immigrant background tend to favor Catalan over Spanish, while the opposite is true for immigrants (Lapresta-Rey, Huguet, & Janés, 2010, 2018). However, this is a general overview that does not account for the diversity within immigrants that might influence language attitudes (such as cultural and linguistic proximity, experience of racism and migration prospects) or the wide variety of language attitudes within non-immigrants.

In the case of high school students, the school environment is key in assigning value and legitimacy to certain languages (Comellas et al., 2014; Johnson & Johnson, 2015; Sáenz-Hernández et al., 2021), which in turn influences how students are able to negotiate and express their identities (Liu & Evans, 2016). While Catalan, Spanish and English are legitimized by the school curriculum, teachers' attitudes towards HLs regulate how they are treated in school. A study that surveyed Catalan high-school students showed that 45% agreed to the statement that HLs should not have any role in school and should stay at home (Comellas et al., 2014). Other studies conducted in Catalan schools corroborate these results, showing that both teachers and students present highly assimilative attitudes towards these the HLs of immigrant students (Petreñas et al., 2019; Serra et al., 2015; Serra i Salamé, 2001).

#### Sociolinguistic context of Catalonia

Spanish, Catalan, Aranese Occitan and Catalan Sign Language, enjoy official status in Catalonia, although the region is commonly referred to as bilingual, since Spanish and Catalan are the most prevalent. Catalan was given official status and defined as the territory's 'own language' after the repressive period of Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975), during which it was forbidden from public use. Concurrently, Spanish was defined as 'the state language', and made a compulsory subject in public education, while the rest of subjects would be conducted in Catalan (Pujolar, 2010).

With the steady arrival of foreign immigration since the year 2000, the official narrative changed the discourse around Catalan to a 'language for social cohesion', but this narrative coexists with the pervasive view of Catalan as an ethnically marked in-group language in opposition to the unmarked Spanish (Lapresta-Rey et al., 2019; Pujolar, 2010; Woolard & Frekko, 2013). Adult immigrants tend to consider learning Spanish more useful for



communicating in and outside of Catalonia, and locals tend to reinforce this pattern by switching to Spanish by default when they encounter someone they perceive as a foreigner (Pujolar, 2010). The children of immigrants attend school in Catalan, but in their case as well regular communication in Catalan (as opposed to Spanish and particularly other heritage languages) makes them appear more integrated to the dominant group (Petreñas et al., 2019; Sáenz- Hernández, Lapresta-Rey, Ianos, & Petreñas, 2020; Sáenz-Hernández et al., 2021).

Currently 16.11% of the Catalan population have foreign nationalities, above the Spanish average of 11.42%. In the province of Lleida, where the study takes place, this ratio ascends to 18.21%, with Romanians and Moroccans having the largest presence, respectively accounting for 26.82% and 22.14% of the total foreign population in the province (IDESCAT, 2021). The latest Survey on Language Uses of the Population also showed that the province also has a higher-than-average use of Catalan, with 57% of people using mostly Catalan in their daily life, above the Catalan average of 36.1% (mostly due to the effect of a lower ratio in the highly populated province of Barcelona) (IDESCAT, 2018). While the survey shows Arabic as the third most common mother tongue in Catalonia, other studies estimate that Amazigh, a minoritized language from northern Africa, is the mother tongue of between 50% and 80% of the Moroccan diaspora in Catalonia (Barrieras, 2013; Tilmatine, 2005). This is not reflected in official reports due to the stigma associated to the language in northern Africa and the lack of knowledge of the Catalan population.

### Objectives

The aim of this study was to explore the relationship between linguistic acculturation profiles, geographic origin, and attitudes towards Catalan, Spanish and the heritage languages of

immigrant communities. More specifically, we based the design on the following research questions:

1. What are the linguistic acculturation profiles of students of immigrant background within the school context?
2. What attitudes do students of immigrant background hold regarding Catalan, Spanish and their HLs and do they differ depending on their linguistic acculturation profile?
3. Are there differences in language attitudes depending on the students' geographic origin?
4. Are there any interaction effects between language attitudes and geographic origin when it comes to language attitudes?

## Method

### *Participants*

The participants in this study were 198 students of immigrant background from six high schools in the province of Lleida (47.2% female, 52.8% male). They were in their 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> years of secondary education and their ages ranged from 14 to 18 years ( $M = 15.31$   $SD = .064$ ). As for their place of birth, 70.9% were born abroad, 28.1% were born in Catalonia and 1% in other areas of Spain. All of them had at least one parent born abroad. 90.9% of their fathers were born abroad, 5.6% were born in Catalonia and 3.5% in other areas of Spain. As for the mothers, 97% were born abroad, 2.5% were born in Catalonia and 0.5% in other areas of Spain.

Table 1. Participant distribution by continent and country

<b>Continent</b>	<b>Continent total</b>	<b>Country of origin</b>	<b>Country total</b>
<b>Africa</b>	76	Morocco	51
		Gambia	6

		Algeria	5
		Senegal	5
		Cameroun	2
		Cote d'Ivoire	2
		Ghana	2
		Angola	1
		Togo	1
		Tunisia	1
<b>Latin</b>	<b>43</b>	Colombia	12
<b>America</b>		Argentina	7
		Bolivia	7
		Brazil	5
		Dominican Republic	3
		Ecuador	3
		Paraguay	2
		Peru	2
		Venezuela	2
<b>Europe</b>	<b>79</b>	Romania	42
		Ukraine	17
		Bulgaria	5
		France	4
		Italy	2

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Moldavia	2
Russia	2
United Kingdom	2
Andorra	1
Belgium	1
Germany	1

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### *Procedure*

After obtaining the necessary permissions from the Department of Education, a research team visited six secondary education centers with a high ratio of foreign students in the province of Lleida (Catalonia, Spain) and administered a 45-minute-long questionnaire. Three of the high schools were located in the city of Lleida and three in smaller towns of the province.

### *Instrument*

The participants were given a questionnaire inquiring about sociodemographic information such as age, gender, their place of birth, and their parents' birthplace and education level. Then they were asked to agree using a 5-point Likert scale to a series of questions regarding linguistic acculturation profiles. These were adapted from Navas et al.'s scales (2005; 2010) and adjusted to fit the multilingual context of Catalonia where a state language, a regional language and heritage languages must be taken into account.

### *Variables*

#### *Sociodemographic characteristics*

Participants were asked to provide sociodemographic data such as their gender, age, age of arrival, place of birth, and parents' place of birth.

### Linguistic acculturation at school

Berry's (2006) four acculturation profiles were adapted to focus on the linguistic domain of acculturation regarding Spanish, Catalan and Heritage languages. In the case of Latin American students whose HL was a different variety of Spanish they were told to refer to their specific dialect as the HL, and to Castilian Spanish in the questions about Spanish. The measure was adapted from Navas et al (2005, 2010), using a 5-point Likert scale with 1 meaning never and 5 meaning always. The questions had the following format:

- To what extent do you maintain your language
  - In class
  - With teachers
  - At recess
- To what extent do you adopt Catalan
  - In class
  - With teachers
  - At recess
- To what extent do you adopt Castilian Spanish
  - In class
  - With teachers
  - At recess

### Language attitudes

For language attitudes we used a questionnaire originally developed for the also bilingual context of Wales (Sharp et al., 1973), which had already been adapted to the context of Catalonia (González-Riaño et al., 2019; Ianos et al., 2020). The final measures were created by calculating the mean of 10 5-point Likert scale questions for each language. The Cronbach's

alpha coefficients were .72 for the scale measuring attitudes towards Catalan, .73 for attitudes towards Spanish, and .76 for attitudes towards HLs. Again, Latin American students were asked to differentiate between their heritage variety of Spanish and the variety spoken in Spain. It included three separate scales:

- Language attitudes towards heritage languages
- Language attitudes towards Catalan
- Language attitudes towards Castilian Spanish

#### *Data analysis*

The analysis included descriptive statistics, chi square tests and ANOVAs. First, a K-means cluster analysis was conducted to create identity groups based on linguistic acculturation profiles at school. Various chi-square tests were conducted to test if linguistic acculturation groups differed in sociodemographic characteristics. Then, a series of ANOVAs were run, first to analyze the relationship between linguistic acculturation profiles and language attitudes towards heritage languages, Catalan, and Spanish, and secondly between linguistic acculturation profiles and continent of origin. Finally, a two factor ANOVA was conducted to test the interaction effects between language attitudes and geographic origin regarding language attitudes.

The data were analyzed using IBM SPSS Statistics, and the significance level used was .05.

#### Results

##### *Linguistic acculturation at school*

First, a k-means cluster analysis was conducted to create groups according to linguistic acculturation profiles. The analysis showed that the best fit model included three clusters, to which the participants were assigned. 25.3 % of participants had high scores for all three

languages and were grouped under the Multilingual profile group. 37.4% had lower scores for their HL but high scores for Catalan and Cast. Spanish and they were assigned to the Spanish-Catalan Assimilation profile group. Finally, the remaining 37.4% presented high scores only for Catalan and were grouped under the Catalan Assimilation profile group (see table 1).

Table 1. Final centers of the clusters. Range 1-5.

		Multilingual (n=50)	Assimilation Sp-Cat (n=74)	Assimilation Catalan (n=74)
To what extent	In class	3.89	1.31	1.85
do you maintain	With	3.44	1.05	1.23
your language	teachers			
	At recess	4.18	1.59	2.32
To what extent	In class	3.44	3.95	4.44
do you adopt	With	3.56	4.17	4.65
Catalan	teachers			
	At recess	2.65	2.66	4.01
To what extent	In class	4.22	4.48	2.43
do you adopt	With	3.65	4.27	2.24
Castilian Spanish	teachers			
	At recess	4.40	4.65	2.19

A chi-square test of independence (see table 2) showed that there was no significant association between gender and linguistic acculturation profile ( $\chi^2 (2, N = 198) = 0.757, p$

= .685). However, there was a significant association of continent and linguistic acculturation profile ( $\chi^2 (4, N = 198) = 56.524, p < .001$ ).

Then, participants were grouped following Rumbaut's classification of generational cohorts: 'second generation' for those born in Spain (n=58), '1.75 generation' for those whose age of arrival was between 0 and 5 years of age (n=75), '1.5 generation' in the case of arrival between 6 and 12 years of age (n=52), and finally participants who arrived to Spain at a later age than 13 were classified as '1.25 generation' (n=10). Another chi square test was conducted comparing the first three groups, since the 1.25 generation group was too small, but it did not yield significant results ( $\chi^2 (4, N = 185) = 3.764, p = .439$ ).

Table 2. Summary of Chi Square tests results comparing sociodemographic variables among the linguistic acculturation profile groups

Variable distribution within profile	Categories	Multilingua l (n=50)	Spanish	Catalan	$\chi^2 -$ Cramer's V
			and Catalan assimilation n (n=74)	assimilation (n= 74)	
<b>Gender (%)</b>	Female	44	51.4	45.9	N/S
	Male	56	48.6	54.1	
<b>Continent (%)</b>	Africa	28	56.8	27	$\chi^2 =$ 56.524**
	America	54	8.1	13.5	



	Europe	18	35.1	59.5	*
					V= .378
<b>Generational cohort (%)</b>	Born in Spain	30.2	37.1	26.4	N/S
	1-5 years old	34.9	41.4	43.1	
	6-12 years old	34.9	21.4	30.6	

\*\*\*  $p < .001$

#### *Linguistic acculturation profiles and language attitudes*

Language attitudes were overall high for all languages. General means and standard deviations for all languages can be seen in table 3, on a scale of 1 to 5.

Table 3. Summary of means and standard deviations for language attitudes for all participants.

<b>Attitudes (all groups)</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>SD</b>
<b>HL</b>	3,94	,66
<b>Catalan</b>	3,75	,71
<b>Cast. Spanish</b>	3,81	,64

When comparing linguistic acculturation groups, the lowest mean was 3.43 for attitudes towards Catalan in the Multilingual profile group. A series of ANOVAs showed statistically significant differences in attitudes towards Catalan ( $F_{(2,189)} = 7.47, p = .001$ ), but not for attitudes towards Cast. Spanish or heritage languages.

Table 4. Summary of ANOVAs and post-hoc tests for language attitudes by linguistic acculturation profile groups.

Attitudes	Multilingual (n=50)		Assimilation Sp- Cat (n=74)		Assimilation Catalan (n=74)		F(2,189)	$\eta^2$
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD		
<b>HL</b>	3.81	0.67	3.92	0.63	4.04	0.68	N/S	
<b>Catalan</b>	3.43	0.76	3.78	0.75	3.92	0.57	7.467**	.075
<b>Cast. Spanish</b>	3.89	0.61	3.89	0.58	3.68	0.70	N/S	

\*\*  $p = .001$

Tukey's HSD Test for multiple comparisons showed that the multilingual profile group had significantly lower means regarding attitudes towards Catalan compared to the Assimilation to Catalan and Spanish group ( $p = 0.019$ , 95% C.I. = [-0.66 -0.47]), and the assimilation to Catalan group ( $p = 0.001$ , 95% C.I. = [-0.80, -0.19]).

#### *Language attitudes and continent*

Attitudes were overall quite high for all languages in all origin groups as well, with a minimum of 3.49 (on a scale of 1 to 5) for attitudes towards Catalan in the Latin American origin group. A series of ANOVAs showed statistically significant differences in attitudes towards Catalan ( $F_{(2,190)} = 3.69$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and Cast. Spanish ( $F_{(2,190)} = 4.27$ ,  $p < .05$ ), but not for HLs.

Table 5. Summary of ANOVAs and post-hoc tests for language attitudes by geographic origin groups.

Attitudes	Africa (n=76)		Latin America (n=43)		Europe (n=79)		F(2,190)	$\eta^2$
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD		
HL	3.88	0.72	4.03	0.62	3.95	0.62	N/S	
Catalan	3.85	0.66	3.49	0.69	3.79	0.74	3.685*	.039
Cast. Spanish	3.76	0.63	4.05	0.58	3.71	0.65	4.266*	.044

\*  $p < .05$

Tukey's HSD Test for multiple comparisons showed that students of African origin had significantly better attitudes towards Catalan than students from Latin America ( $p = .026$ , 95% C.I. = [0.03, -0.69]), and students of Latin American origin had significantly better attitudes towards Castilian Spanish than those of African and European descent ( $p = 0.049$ , 95% C.I. = [-0.00, -0.58]).

#### *Linguistic acculturation profiles, language attitudes, and continent*

A two-way ANOVA was conducted that examined the effect of continent of origin and linguistic acculturation profile on language attitudes. There was a statistically significant interaction between the effects of continent of origin and linguistic acculturation profile on attitudes towards Catalan ( $F(4, 177) = 3.261$ ,  $p = .013$ ) but not for attitudes towards Castilian Spanish or HLs.

To explore these results regarding attitudes towards Catalan, we conducted three ANOVAS for each continent group. Only the European group had statistical differences among linguistic acculturation profiles. Tukey's HSD Test for multiple comparisons showed that the

Multilingual profile group had significantly worse attitudes towards Catalan than the other two groups.

Table 6. Summary of ANOVAs and post-hoc tests for language attitudes towards Catalan by linguistic acculturation profiles and geographic origin groups.

Continent	Multilingual		Assimilation Sp- Cat		Assimilation Catalan		F	$\eta^2$
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD		
<b>Africa</b> <b>(n=76)</b>	3.64	0.52	3.88	0.75	3.93	0.56	N/S	
<b>Latin</b> <b>America</b> <b>(n=43)</b>	3.52	0.78	3.45	0.58	3.43	0.47	N/S	.
<b>Europe</b> <b>(n=79)</b>	2.89	0.76	3.72	0.78	4.03	0.55	11.358***	.235

\*\*\*  $p < .001$

## Discussion

This study aimed to explore the attitudes towards Catalan, Spanish and the heritage languages held by students of immigrant of background, and the relationship between these language attitudes, linguistic acculturation profiles in the school context and geographic origin of the participants.

Since Catalan is the means of instruction, all students incorporate Catalan in their linguistic acculturation profiles at school. Among those that maintain their heritage language at school (i.e., those in the multilingual profile) half are from Latin America, which could be expected.

Even if they speak a different dialect of Spanish, the Castilian dialect of Spanish is official and one of the languages in the school curriculum, which may legitimize its use in school. Additionally, maintenance of Latin American Spanish may be considered more acceptable than other HLs to the majority group (Sáenz-Hernández et al., 2021). However, there is a high percentage of students with multilingual profiles coming from Africa and other European countries as well, whose HLs differ from the official languages.

However, when we looked at differences among groups, we mainly found significant differences regarding attitudes towards Catalan. This aligns with the literature that points out that Catalan is generally considered as politically marked in contrast with Spanish which is viewed as politically neutral. Woolard and Frekko (2005) explained this phenomenon using the ideological constructs of legitimacy through authenticity or anonymity. Since Catalan is strongly associated to an ethnic group and viewed as an identity symbol (Pujolar, 2010), its legitimacy stems from its relationship to this group and therefore its authenticity. This may alienate people who don't feel like they belong to this ethnic group (Sabaté Dalmau, 2015). On the other hand, Spanish is viewed through the lens of anonymity since its lack of tangible ties to a specific ethnic group confers it a sense of neutrality. The high means in language attitudes towards not just Spanish but also the HLs suggests strong emotional ties and self-identification with the heritage ethnic group, which has also been found in previous research (Lapresta-Rey, Sáenz-Hernández, Senar, & Janés, 2022; Petreñas et al., 2019).

It is notable that the multilingual profile group had significantly worse attitudes towards Catalan. Research shows that despite official documents praising linguistic diversity, the school environment promotes the invisibilization of HLs and assimilative practices (Johnson & Johnson, 2015; Liu & Evans, 2016; Martín Rojo, 2010). Students report being reprimanded

when using languages such as Romanian, Arabic or Amazigh in front of peers and teachers, and being asked to speak Catalan instead. They also recognize language maintenance as a source of potential discrimination (Sáenz-Hernández et al., 2021). This may result in Catalan being associated to assimilation pressures by those who maintain their HL and thus perceived as incompatible with HLs, explaining the relationship between HL maintenance and lower attitudes towards Catalan.

As for differences between continent groups, while the European and African groups didn't present big differences between their attitudes towards Castilian Spanish and Catalan, the Latin American group had considerably lower attitudes towards Catalan than Castilian Spanish. This was reflected in the ANOVA results, where Latin Americans presented significantly worse attitudes towards Catalan and significantly better attitudes towards Spanish than the African group, which has been found consistently in previous studies (Huguet & Janés, 2008; Lapresta-Rey et al., 2010). A qualitative study that explored the discourses associated with attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish in different ethnic groups showed that many students of Latin American background were unmotivated to learn Catalan since they felt a strong sense of identification with their Spanish, a language understood by locals, rendering Catalan unnecessary (Lapresta-Rey et al., 2010).

The interaction effect between acculturation profile and continent also provided interesting results: only the European group had significant differences regarding attitudes towards Catalan, with the Multilingual profile group showing significantly lower scores. Research suggests that students of European origin may have the easiest time assimilating to Catalan linguistic norms, since the dominant society has more welcoming attitudes towards them (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004), due to perceived cultural closeness and remanent ethnic

hierarchies from colonial history (Duchêne & Heller, 2012; Rosa & Flores, 2017). Our data also supports this, as most of the students in the European origin group were in the Catalan Assimilation acculturation group as well. For this reason, it is particularly telling that only in the European group there was a significant relationship between maintaining the HL in class and lower attitudes towards Catalan. This may precisely because European immigrant students can assimilate easily to Catalan linguistic norms, those who wish to maintain their HL react negatively to Catalan, viewing as a symbol of assimilation.

### Conclusion

This study analyzed the language attitudes that high school students of immigrant origin have towards Catalan, Spanish and the heritage languages and how they relate with linguistic acculturation profiles in the school context. It explored how geographic origin plays a crucial role in both, highlighting how linguistic adaptation to a new country is mediated by the social constraints of ethnic inequalities.

Although the representativeness of the results is limited to the province where the study took place, the high ratio of immigration as well as Catalan use in the province of Lleida make it particularly suitable to explore complex relationships among languages of different status.

Our results suggest that the linguistic adaptation of immigrants in the school context is affected by perceptions of incompatibility between certain linguistic and cultural groups. If real integration is to be achieved, today's educators need to encourage new inclusive perceptions of what it means to be and speak Catalan, acknowledging the actual cultural and linguistic diversity of the territory.

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## Study 2. Identity and linguistic acculturation expectations. The attitudes of Western Catalan high-school students towards Moroccans and Romanians

### Abstract

This study analyzes the influence of identity complexity on the linguistic acculturation expectations that Catalan high-school students hold towards their peers of Moroccan and Romanian origin. It also takes into account social status and cultural proximity, expecting higher expectations of linguistic integration towards Romanians. Using a 5-point Likert scale, 345 autochthonous high-school students were asked about their degree of self-identification with Spain and Catalonia. Then, they responded to several questions concerning linguistic acculturation expectations regarding Romanians and Moroccans. While integration is the most popular profile for all three groups, the bicultural identity group scored the highest, followed by the Catalan identity group and the Spanish identity group ranking last. Bicultural identification was also a significant predictor for all integration measures, as was Catalan identification for 'integration to Catalan' and 'integration to Spanish and Catalan'. However, the distinctions between answers regarding Romanians and Moroccans were scant. We conclude that incorporating the languages of immigration into a bilingual host society is not only possible, this type of community may even be more welcoming. The potential of working with the concept of identity complexity to decrease black and white thinking and foster tolerance is also discussed.

*Keywords:* Acculturation, linguistic acculturation, self-identification, identity complexity, Catalonia

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## Introduction

Immigration to a new country can be a difficult and stressful process. Immigrants face the challenges of adjusting to a new society and its expectations towards them, learning the language, and often navigating discrimination and economic hardship. Especially in the case of descendants of immigrants, it may entail a reconfiguration of their sense of self and belonging, as they construct their identities and adapt their behaviors. Research on acculturation covers this sociocultural, psychological and often linguistic change that results from intergroup contact (Berry, 1997, 2005; Berry & Hou, 2016).

While people of immigrant origin go through the process of adjusting to a new environment, they may or may not keep their original cultural and linguistic elements and adopt those of the host society to different degrees. These acculturation patterns greatly affect their experience and are heavily influenced by the acculturation expectations that the host population projects on them (Saleem, Dubow, Lee, & Huesmann, 2018; Storm, Sobolewska, & Ford, 2017; Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012). This is particularly relevant when studying the sociocultural integration of immigrant groups, because significant differences between the acculturation strategies of the people of immigrant origin and the expectations of the host population may impede their successful integration and result in intergroup conflict.

In the case of Catalonia (an Autonomous Community in Spain), Spanish and Catalan coexist as official languages and are often associated with opposing identities (Lapresta-Rey et al., 2019). The multiple languages and identities arising from immigration are added to this context, creating a multilingual and multicultural society. Social identity complexity theory suggests that a bicultural host community such as that of Catalonia will be likely to endorse integration (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Furthermore, the Catalan education policies explicitly

intend to promote multiculturalism and multilingualism, as shown by the promotion of language of origin classes (only in the case of some languages<sup>3</sup>), which makes the Catalan education system a very interesting context for this line of research.

Bearing all this in mind, this paper aims to analyze the linguistic acculturation expectations presented by young people in secondary education in Catalonia, and how these expectations are affected by their self-identification and the origin of the immigrant group in question.

#### Acculturation theory

Acculturation can be defined as those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact (Redfield et al., 1936, p.149).

Berry (1997; 2005) conceptualized four acculturation strategies, determined by the degree of cultural maintenance of the heritage culture and the degree of adoption of the dominant culture. This results in four acculturation profiles: (1) assimilation: a relative tendency towards high adoption of the culture of the larger society, as well as low maintenance of the heritage culture; (2) separation: low adoption of the culture of the larger society and high maintenance of the heritage culture; (3) integration: high adoption and maintenance of both, and (4) marginalization: low levels of both.

The literature tends to present the integration profile as the ideal one, as it promotes the inclusion of minority groups in the mainstream society while valuing their heritage cultural background. There is also evidence linking this profile to higher levels of wellbeing, self-esteem and mental health, both in international studies and in the context of Spain (Berry &

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<sup>3</sup> Currently Amazigh, Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Dutch, Portuguese, Quechua, Romanian, Ukrainian, and Urdu are offered (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2019).

Sabatier, 2010; Retortillo & Rodriguez, 2010). However, this is based on the assumption that immigrant communities are free to choose how they wish to acculturate, which is often not the case. The dominant society may show preference for or even enforce certain acculturation patterns on immigrant groups. Minority groups that live in less welcoming societies or feel rejection towards their culture will often present more assimilation and separation profiles, since a high degree of maintenance of both the minority and the mainstream culture may not be seen as a viable option (Saleem et al., 2018; Storm et al., 2017; Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012).

In Spain, acculturation studies have focused on the relationship between acculturation profiles and factors such as prejudice, mental health and social integration, with integration strategies consistently showing positive outcomes (see Julián, 2017 for a comprehensive literature review). There has also been an interest in opposing acculturation strategies and expectations between host and immigrant populations in different domains, and how they can lead to potential intergroup conflict (Navas et al., 2004; Navas, Rojas, & García, 2011; Rojas, Sayans-Jiménez, & Luque, 2012). However, although language is widely recognized as a crucial element of acculturation processes (Gaudet & Clément, 2009) and is usually one of the elements that make up acculturation profiles in research, the studies that have focused on linguistic acculturation are scarce.

Language is a vital factor in the acculturation process, since it is the main vehicle that carries the cultural knowledge and social representations present in a community. It is also quintessential to the complex process of identity construction and the feeling of belonging to a group (Heller, 2008), which supports the relevance of studying acculturation processes in the linguistic domain. Linguistic acculturation strategies can be grouped into the same four

profiles according to the degree of maintenance of the language(s) of origin and adoption of the language(s) of the host community, and this includes not only the actual usage of these languages, but also the symbolic weight that each person attributes to them. Linguistic acculturation strategies are heavily influenced by a variety of factors, such as the linguistic policies of the host community, the ethnolinguistic vitality of minorities, and the historical background of each group. A suitable example of this is a study by Yağmur and van de Vijver (2012), who analyzed the linguistic and cultural acculturation patterns of Turks in Australia, France, Germany and the Netherlands. They observed that the countries whose policies tend to promote assimilation, while seeming to succeed at enforcing the use of the host language, did not achieve a sense of belonging in the immigrant group. On the other hand, in countries that acknowledged the culture and languages of immigration, Turkish immigrants identified more strongly with the host community, resulting in a more cohesive coexistence. Berry et al. (2006) reached similar conclusions in their study analyzing linguistic (among other) patterns in thirteen countries. Furthermore, bilingual communities such as Quebec and the Basque Country tend to endorse integration profiles (Larrañaga, Garcia, Azurmendi, & Bourhis, 2016; Montaruli, Bourhis, Azurmendi, & Larrañaga, 2011; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004). Considering the bilingual nature of Catalonia, we hypothesized that our participants would also endorse linguistic integration for immigrant groups more than the other acculturation profiles.

#### Differences in expectations: cultural distance and social status

As has been said above, the host community also presents acculturation expectations that affect how the immigrant groups behave and how they are perceived. These may vary depending on a number of factors and one of the most influential ones is the immigrant groups' origin. Mainstream society may feel more welcoming towards origins of higher status, less cultural distance, or perceived as less threatening. Research has shown that the dominant

society is more likely to endorse integration when it comes to a valued cultural group, as opposed to devalued groups, where attitudes of assimilation and segregation tend to be comparatively higher (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004). These ethnic hierarchies tend also to be shared by minority and immigrant communities, since another minority group that perceives itself as being higher in the hierarchy may also decrease its contact with devalued groups, as this may risk its own status (Storm et al., 2017). This effect can be even greater towards the second generation of immigrants (Kunst & Sam, 2014). Furthermore, a higher degree of perceived discrimination may increase feelings of cultural distance and separation for minority groups, resulting in a vicious circle (Saleem et al., 2018; Storm et al., 2017). All of these factors related to devalued groups have been associated with immigrants of Muslim background living in western countries (Bleich, 2009; Gattino, Miglietta, Rizzo, & Testa, 2016; Saleem et al., 2018; Spiegler, Güngör, & Leyendecker, 2016; Storm et al., 2017), which could be applied to Moroccans, the largest immigrant group in Spain.

Moroccans and Romanians are the two largest immigrant groups in Catalonia (IDESCAT, 2019), and both could be considered devalued groups (Fernández, Silván-Ferrero, Molero, Gaviria, & García-Ael, 2015; Saleem et al., 2018). However, there are significant differences in perceived cultural closeness. The literature highlights the potential conflict of opposing views in acculturation between Spanish locals and people of Moroccan descent, particularly in the core cultural values, which is directly related to prejudice towards this community (Navas et al., 2004, 2011). Studies conducted in various Spanish regions suggests that perceived cultural proximity plays an important role in the acculturation expectations placed by locals, with a preference for integration being significantly related to perceived cultural closeness (Rojas et al., 2012). As for discrimination, studies carried out in Catalan schools also report Moroccans as one of the most affected immigrant groups (Petreñas et al., 2019; Serra et al., 2015; Serra

i Salamé, 2001). Nonetheless, others have shown that Romanians' perceived discrimination scores in Spain were similar to Moroccans' (Fernández et al., 2015).

Considering the findings in the literature, participants were expected to present higher linguistic integration scores in regard to Romanians than to Moroccans.

#### Social identity and acculturation expectations

On the other hand, since host communities are also diverse and heterogeneous, people may present diverse self-identifications and belong to different social groups, which, in turn, influence language attitudes and expectations placed on other groups. This sense of who someone is, based on belonging to a specific social group, was presented by Tajfel and Turner (1979) through their Social Identity Theory. This construct includes various factors such as the positive or negative judgements and emotions that each individual associates with being a member of this group, and how it affects their vision of the world, through social categorization, social comparison and self-categorization.

This is closely related to the construct of social identity complexity, which refers to the perceived degree of compatibility or overlap between identities or social groups (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Since multiple group membership reduces the importance of ingroup-outgroup categorizations, research suggests that more complex identities, such as multicultural and multilingual identities, are related to integration profiles and higher degrees of tolerance towards diversity (Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Huff, Lee, & Hong, 2017; Saleem et al., 2018). Nevertheless, this may vary depending on the specific characteristics of each context. For example, a study carried out in Quebec, Canada, contradicted this hypothesis, as it showed that Anglophones endorsed more individualism and integration and less assimilation than Francophones. The authors associated this discrepancy to the more welcoming history

of Protestant English schools in Quebec, as opposed to Catholic French ones, that had excluded most non-Catholic immigrants (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004).

As mentioned previously, linguistic acculturation profiles, and linguistic acculturation expectations in particular, are understudied subjects. However, some studies that were conducted in the Basque Autonomous Community have partially supported the effect of self-identification on the general acculturation expectations that locals hold regarding immigration. In a study in the Basque Country (Spain), Larrañaga, Garcia, Azurmendi and Bourhis (2016), found that the bicultural identity group (those who identified with both Spain and the Basque Country) scored higher for individualism and lower for assimilation than those who mainly identified with Spain, but no significant relationships were found with the group that mainly identified with the Basque Country or the other acculturation profiles. The authors argue that despite only identifying with one cultural group, the Basque identity group was still highly bilingual, which might make them more similar to the bicultural group than the more monolingual Spanish identity group. Similar results were found in other studies, where the Spanish group showed less desire to interact with the immigrant groups than the Basques and the biculturals (Garcia, Larrañaga, Berasategi, & Azurmendi, 2017), and more intergroup conflict (Montaruli, Bourhis, & Azurmendi, 2011). On the other hand, in Montaruli, Bourhis, Azurmendi and Larrañaga, 2011, people in the Basque identity group were more supportive of integration towards Moroccans than those in the bicultural identity group.

Consistent with most of the literature on the topic, we hypothesized that participants that are able to reconcile the seemingly opposed Catalan and Spanish identity, and therefore present more complex, bicultural identities, will show higher linguistic integration scores than



the other identity profiles. We also expected bicultural identity to be a significant predictor of integration scores.

#### Sociolinguistic context of Catalonia and linguistic policy

Catalan and Spanish<sup>4</sup> are currently the two official languages of the Autonomous Community of Catalonia. However, Catalan has suffered numerous periods of centralization policies, with the severe repression under Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975) being the most recent. During the following period, and after establishing an autonomous Catalan government in 1980, political documents and language normalization policies have mainly emphasized the importance of preserving the language to protect Catalan identity and culture. However, the rapid increase in foreign residents in Catalonia since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (from less than 200,000 to over one million since the beginning of the millennium, mainly during the first eight years (IDESCAT, 2019), re-framed the role of language. Among the measures implemented in response to these sociodemographic changes was the Plan for Language and Social Cohesion, which presented Catalan as an asset for social cohesion in a multicultural society (Arnau & Vila, 2013; Generalitat de Catalunya, 2007, 2009; Pujolar, 2010).

The 2008 Spanish financial crisis prompted a change in education policy, as the constant arrival of newcomers ceased, and the local population started to emigrate to foreign countries. The Citizenship and Migrations plan (2013-2016) and its current successor of 2017 maintained the previous goal that all students had to be fluent in both Spanish and Catalan by the end of

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<sup>4</sup>Aranese Occitan has also enjoyed the status of official language in Catalonia since 2010, but it is only used in a small region called the Valley of Aran which is not part of this study.

compulsory education, while incorporating one or two foreign languages. This was to be achieved by maintaining Catalan as the vehicular language in school settings. However, they also aimed at promoting the maintenance of the heritage languages of the immigrant population through 'Language of Origin Programs' (Department of Education, 2016). Another important step was the establishment of Plurilingual Linguistic Projects for schools. Following this plan, each institution designs a linguistic teaching plan according to the background of its students and submits it to the Department of Education (Department of Education, 2017).

Foreign residents currently make up 15% of the total population in Catalonia, with Moroccans and Romanians being the two largest groups (IDESCAT, 2019). The amount of people with immigrant background is even higher, as the data do not include those who have obtained a Spanish citizenship or have been born in Spain from immigrant families. As for the province of Lleida, where this study takes place, the foreign resident ratio rises to 17.34%, which considering the educational implications in the region, highlights the need for this type of research.

Despite attending Catalan-medium education, research shows significant differences between Spanish and Catalan learning among immigrant students. While Spanish acquisition seems to be relatively uniform across Catalonia, Catalan knowledge highly depends on the most commonly used language of their sociolinguistic environment and social networks (Arnau & Vila, 2013), with Catalan adoption strongly related to the possibility of upward social mobility (Alarcón & Garzón, 2013). At the same time, native Catalan speakers tend to reinforce this divide by switching to Spanish by default when speaking to people that appear foreign, which hinders their exposure and participation in Catalan communicative contexts (Pujolar, 2010).

## Objectives

The aim of this study was to explore the linguistic acculturation expectations that autochthonous students have regarding their peers of Moroccan and Romanian origin, and how these expectations are related to their self-identification with Spain and Catalonia.

Specifically, it was hypothesized that (1) integration will be highest endorsed acculturation strategy among all participants; (2) Participants will present higher integration scores towards Romanians than Moroccans; (3) Students with a bicultural identity profile will present higher integration scores than the other identity groups, whereas the polarized identity groups will favor the language associated with their identity; and (4) bicultural identity will be a significant predictor of expectations of integration regarding the descendants of immigrants.

## Method

### *Participants*

The participants in this study were 345 autochthonous students of six high schools in the province of Lleida (50.7% female, 49.3% male). Participants born in Spain and whose both parents had also been born in Spain were considered 'autochthonous'. They were in their 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> years of secondary education and their ages ranged from 14 to 18 years ( $M = 15.04$   $SD = .793$ ). All of them were born in Catalonia, Spain. As for their parents, 80.6% of the fathers and 85.5% of the mothers were born in Catalonia, and the rest in other areas of Spain.

### *Procedure*

After obtaining the necessary permissions from the Department of Education, six secondary education centers from the province of Lleida were selected, following the directions of education authorities on the topic of immigrant students. Three of them were located in the city of Lleida and three in smaller towns of the province. One of them was semi-private and

the rest were public schools. A research team visited each center at a scheduled time and distributed the questionnaires to each class in the selected age range. The questionnaires took around 45 minutes to complete.

This study follows the ethical standards set by the European Union, the data collection being done with the participants' free and informed consent and following the principles of anonymity and confidentiality.

### *Instrument*

The participants were given a questionnaire requiring sociodemographic information such as age, gender, first language, place of birth, and their parents' birthplace and education level. Then they were asked to use a 5-point Likert scale to answer a series of questions regarding their linguistic acculturation expectations towards Moroccan and Romanian immigrants. Drawing the conceptual inspiration from the work of Berry (1997, 2005), Bourhis et al. (1997) and Navas (2004), the scale was adapted from Berry et al.'s acculturation measure (2006) to focus on linguistic acculturation and to fit Catalonia's bilingual situation. The participants responded twice, once about Moroccans and once about Romanians.

### *Measures*

#### *Sociodemographic variables*

Participants were asked to write their age, gender and first language. They also had to select their mother's and father's birthplace between two options: (1) Catalonia and (2) rest of Spain. Finally, they wrote both of their parents' education level, that was later grouped into (1) No studies / primary education, (2) secondary education and (3) university.

## Linguistic acculturation expectations

Berry's (2006) four acculturation profiles were adapted to focus on the linguistic domain of acculturation.

- *Linguistic separation*: Understood as the expectation that people of immigrant origin should value their ethnic language more than the local languages.
- *Linguistic assimilation*: The opinion that people of immigrant origin should value the local languages more than their ethnic language.
- *Linguistic integration*: The expectation that they should value their ethnic language to the same degree than the local languages.
- *Linguistic marginalization*: The position that they should not have to value any specific language.

These were adapted to the multilingual nature of our sample where two local languages had to be taken into account. They were operationalized through a series of questions consisting of a 5-point Likert scale, where 1 meant 'completely disagree' and 5 meant 'completely agree'. There were two sets of questions, once asking about Moroccans and once about Romanians.

- Separation from Catalan: For (Moroccans/Romanians), speaking their language should be more important than Catalan
- Separation from Spanish: For (Moroccans/Romanians), speaking their language should be more important than Spanish
- Assimilation to Catalan: For (Moroccans/Romanians), speaking Catalan should be more important than their language
- Assimilation to Spanish: For (Moroccans/Romanians), speaking Spanish should be more important than their language

- Integration to Catalan: For (Moroccans/Romanians), speaking their language should be as important as speaking Catalan
- Integration to Spanish: For (Moroccans/Romanians), speaking their language should be as important as speaking Spanish
- Integration to Catalan and Spanish: For (Moroccans/Romanians), speaking their language should be as important as speaking Catalan and Spanish
- (Moroccans/Romanians) should not have to be interested in speaking any language well

### Self-identification

Participants answered the questions ‘to what extent do you identify with Catalonia?’ and ‘to what extent do you identify with Spain?’, on a 5-point Likert scale, where 1 meant ‘not at all’ and 5 meant ‘to a great extent’. Then, three groups were created using a k-means cluster analysis: two polarized groups that ranked high in one question and low in the other and were henceforth called ‘Catalan identity group’ and ‘Spanish identity group’ and a ‘bicultural group’, that obtained high scores in both questions.

### Data analysis

The analysis included descriptive statistics, t- tests, MANOVAs, and simple linear regressions. First, a k-means cluster analysis was conducted to create identity groups depending on the degree of Catalan and Spanish identification. Several t-tests were conducted to assess the differences between the linguistic acculturation expectations placed on students of Moroccan and Romanian origin (hypothesis 2), and a series of MANOVAs was run to determine the effect of self-identification on these expectations (hypothesis 3). Finally, in order to explore the predictive power of self-identifications on the linguistic acculturation expectations (hypothesis 4), a series of simple linear regressions was performed. For this purpose, the

independent variable was transformed into dummy variables. The analyses were carried out using IBM SPSS Statistics 24, and the significance level used was .05.

## Results

### *Linguistic acculturation expectations*

Regarding hypothesis 1 and the students' expectations towards their Moroccan peers, the results showed that integration scores were the highest of all (see Figure 1), presenting the following means: Integration to Catalan and Spanish ( $M = 4.22, SD = 1.14$ ), to Spanish ( $M = 4.03, SD = 1.16$ ), and to Catalan ( $M = 3.98, SD = 1.25$ ). Assimilation was the second most highly scored: assimilation to Spanish ( $M = 2.83, SD = 1.17$ ), and to Catalan ( $M = 2.77, SD = 1.22$ ); closely followed by separation from Spanish ( $M = 2.6, SD = 1.11$ ), and from Catalan ( $M = 2.59, SD = 1.14$ ). Marginalization had the lowest scores ( $M = 1.31, SD = 0.79$ ).

The attitudes towards their Romanian peers presented the same pattern with integration scores being the highest: Integration to Catalan and Spanish ( $M = 4.24, SD = 1.12$ ), to Spanish ( $M = 4.05, SD = 1.16$ ), and to Catalan ( $M = 3.98, SD = 1.24$ ). Assimilation came second: assimilation to Spanish ( $M = 2.87, SD = 1.19$ ), and to Catalan ( $M = 2.76, SD = 1.22$ ); followed by separation from Spanish ( $M = 2.68, SD = 1.14$ ), and from Catalan ( $M = 2.67, SD = 1.18$ ). Marginalization, again, came last ( $M = 1.42, SD = 0.94$ ).

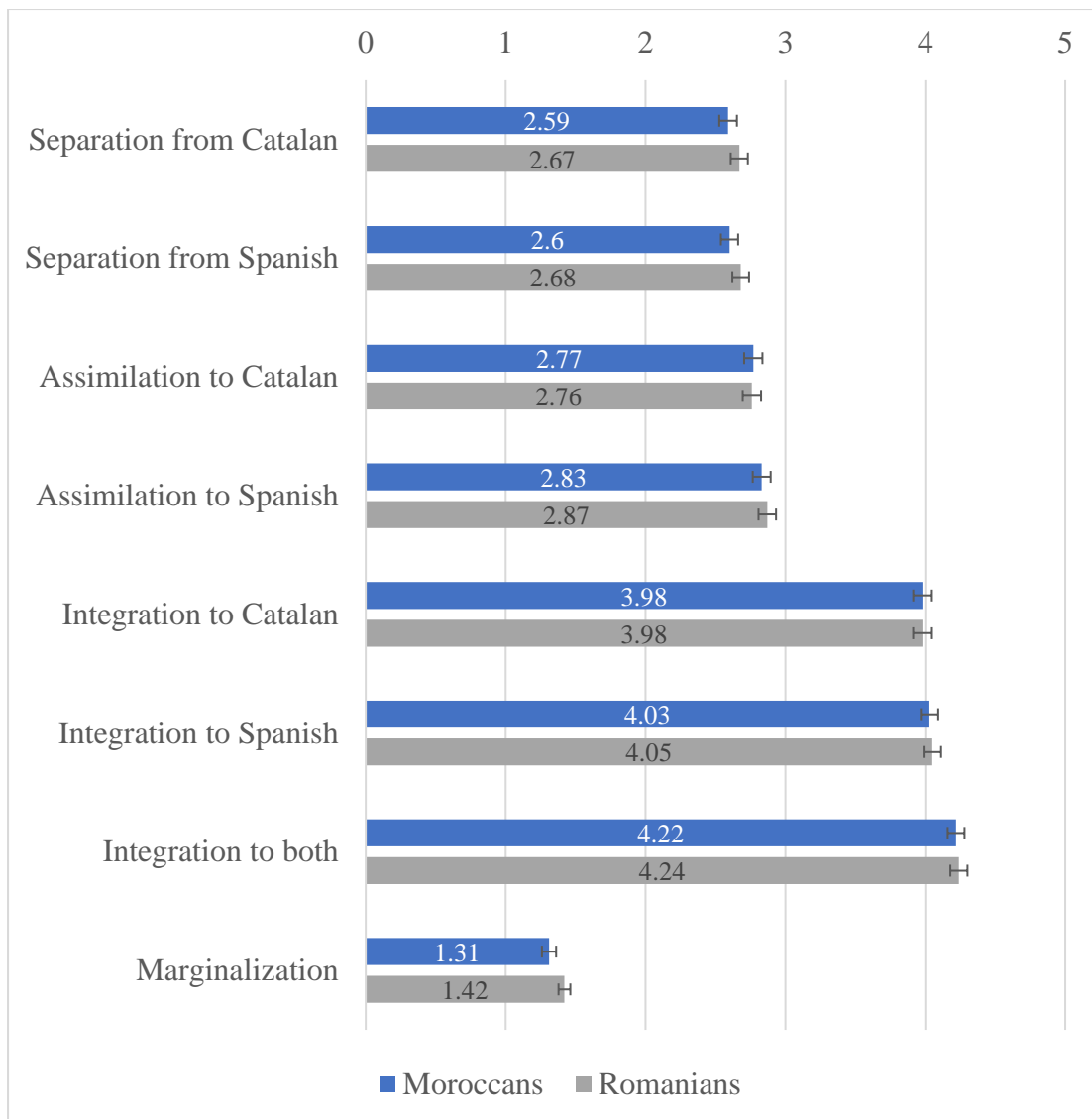


Figure 1

Mean scores of linguistic acculturation expectations towards Moroccans and Romanians.

Error bars show  $\pm$  SE.

Several paired samples t-tests comparing expectations towards Romanians and Moroccans (Hypothesis 2) showed that there were significant differences between the two groups with respect to the separation scores (separation from Catalan,  $t_{(349)} = -3.20, p = .001$ ; separation from Spanish,  $t_{(346)} = -2.82, p = .005$ ) and marginalization scores ( $t_{(346)} = -2.72, p = .007$ ). For these three measures, items regarding Romanians had higher mean scores, indicating that



overall, participants agreed more with the statements ‘speaking their language should be more important than Catalan’, ‘speaking their language should be more important than Spanish’ and ‘they should not have to be interested in speaking any language well’ when answering about Romanians than about Moroccans.

*Self-identification and sociodemographic characteristics*

To answer hypothesis 3, a k-means cluster analysis was conducted first, to create groups according to self-identification (see Table 1). The analysis showed that the best fit model included three clusters, to which the participants were assigned: 138 (39.5%) students were assigned to the Catalan identity group (high Catalan identification and low Spanish identification), 81 (23.2%) to the Spanish identity group (high Spanish identification and low Catalan identification), and 126 (36.1%) to the bicultural identity group (high Catalan and Spanish identification) (See table 1).

*Table 1.*  
*Means and standard deviations for Catalan and Spanish identifications by identity group*

Identity group	n	Catalan		Spanish	
		identification	identification	identification	identification
		M	SD	M	SD
<b>Catalan identity group</b>	138	4.81	.67	1.83	.85
<b>Bicultural group</b>	126	4.40	.68	4.36	.77
<b>Spanish identity group</b>	81	2.21	.83	4.85	.36

The three identity groups were compared to see if there were significant differences in their sociodemographic characteristics. First, an ANOVA showed no significant difference between the groups in terms of age ( $F_{(2, 342)} = 2.95, p = .054$ ). Then, a series of chi-square tests were

conducted for the other categorical variables, revealing significant differences for gender distribution, first language and parents' birthplace and education background (see table 2).

Regarding gender, the bicultural group had a significantly higher ratio of women (60.3%) than the more polarized identity groups (47.1% and 42%). As for their first language, it was strongly related to their self-identification. Thus, 97.5% of students in the Catalan group wrote 'Catalan', and 90.1% in the Spanish group answered Spanish when asked about their first language. The bicultural group had the highest percentage of students that wrote both languages as their first (11.1%), but Catalan (54.4%) and Spanish (34.4%) were still the most popular answers.

In all three groups, most of the parents were born in Catalonia, but the percentage of parents born in other regions of Spain was lowest in the Catalan identity group (6.5% of mothers and 11.6% of fathers) and highest in the Spanish identity group (29.6% of mothers and 34.6% of fathers). There were also noticeable differences in the education level of the parents, with the parents in the Catalan identity group having reached the highest levels and in the Spanish identity group the lowest of the three groups.

*Table 2.*  
*Summary of Chi Square tests results comparing sociodemographic variables among the identity groups*

<b>Sociodemographic variables</b>	<b>Categories</b>	<b>Catalan id. (n=138)</b>	<b>Bicultural (n=126)</b>	<b>Spanish id. (n= 81)</b>	<b><math>\chi^2</math> – Cramer's V</b>
<b>Gender (%)</b>	Female	47.1	60.3	42	$\chi^2= 7.84^*$
	Male	52.9	39.7	58	V= .151
<b>First language (%)</b>	Catalan	97.5	54.4	3.7	$\chi^2=$

	Spanish	2.5	34.4	90.1	204.71**
	Both	0	11.1	6.2	V= .546
<b>Mothers' birthplace (%)</b>	Catalonia	93.5	87	69.1	$\chi^2= 23.24$ **
	Rest of Spain	6.5	12.7	29.6*	V= .260
<b>Fathers' birthplace (%)</b>	Catalonia	88.4	81.7	65.4	$\chi^2=$ 17.39**
	Rest of Spain	11.6	18.3	34.6	V= .224
<b>Mothers' education level (%)</b>	No studies/ Primary	28.2	38.1	58.0	$\chi^2=$ 38.39**
	Secondary	22.1	27.8	22.2	V= .250
	University	42.7	22.2	8.6	
<b>Fathers' education level (%)</b>	No studies/ Primary	38.9	52.4	69.1	$\chi^2=$ 26.08**
	Secondary	31.3	24.6	13.6	V= .207
	University	20.6	12.7	4.9	

\*p< .05 / \*\*p< .001

#### *Influence of self-identification on acculturation expectations*

When the results were divided by identity group, the influence of personal identification on acculturation expectations was evident. The bicultural group scored the highest for all integration variables (see Figures 2 and 3). The polarized identity groups also favored the languages associated with their identity for assimilation scores: the Catalan identity group agreed more with assimilation to Catalan than the bicultural group, and the Spanish identity

group with assimilation to Spanish, while the biculturals ranked in the middle. However, the opinions regarding assimilation to Catalan were visibly more divergent than assimilation to Spanish.

The three groups did not differ greatly for separation measures. As for marginalization, the Spanish identity group scored slightly higher than the other groups but all three still greatly disagreed, with their mean scores approaching the minimum score of one.

Nevertheless, in spite of these differences, all groups followed a pattern that was similar to the general mean and agreed more with the questions related to integration than the other acculturation strategies.

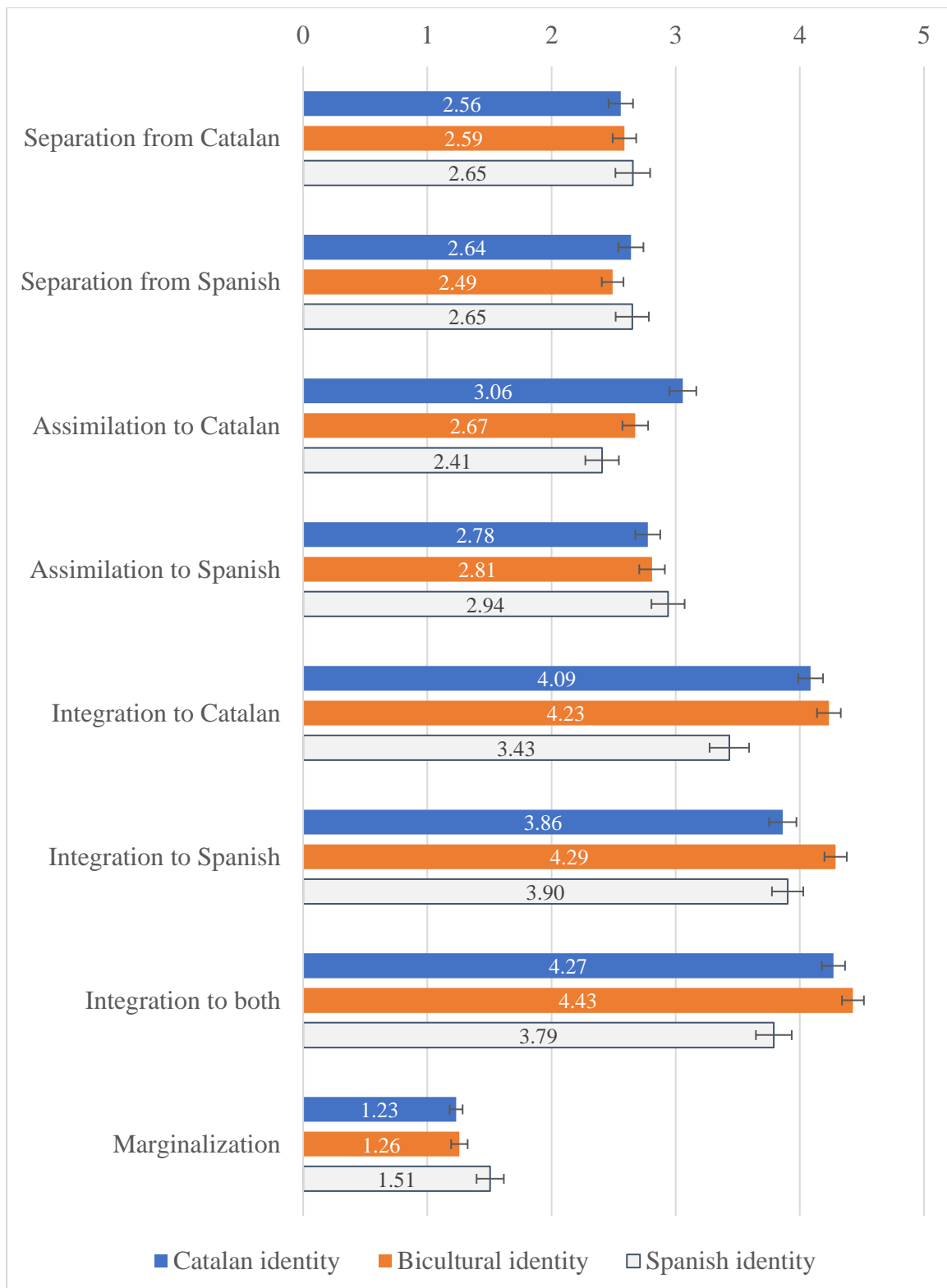


Figure 2

Mean scores of linguistic acculturation expectations towards Romanians by identity group.

Error bars show  $\pm$  SE.

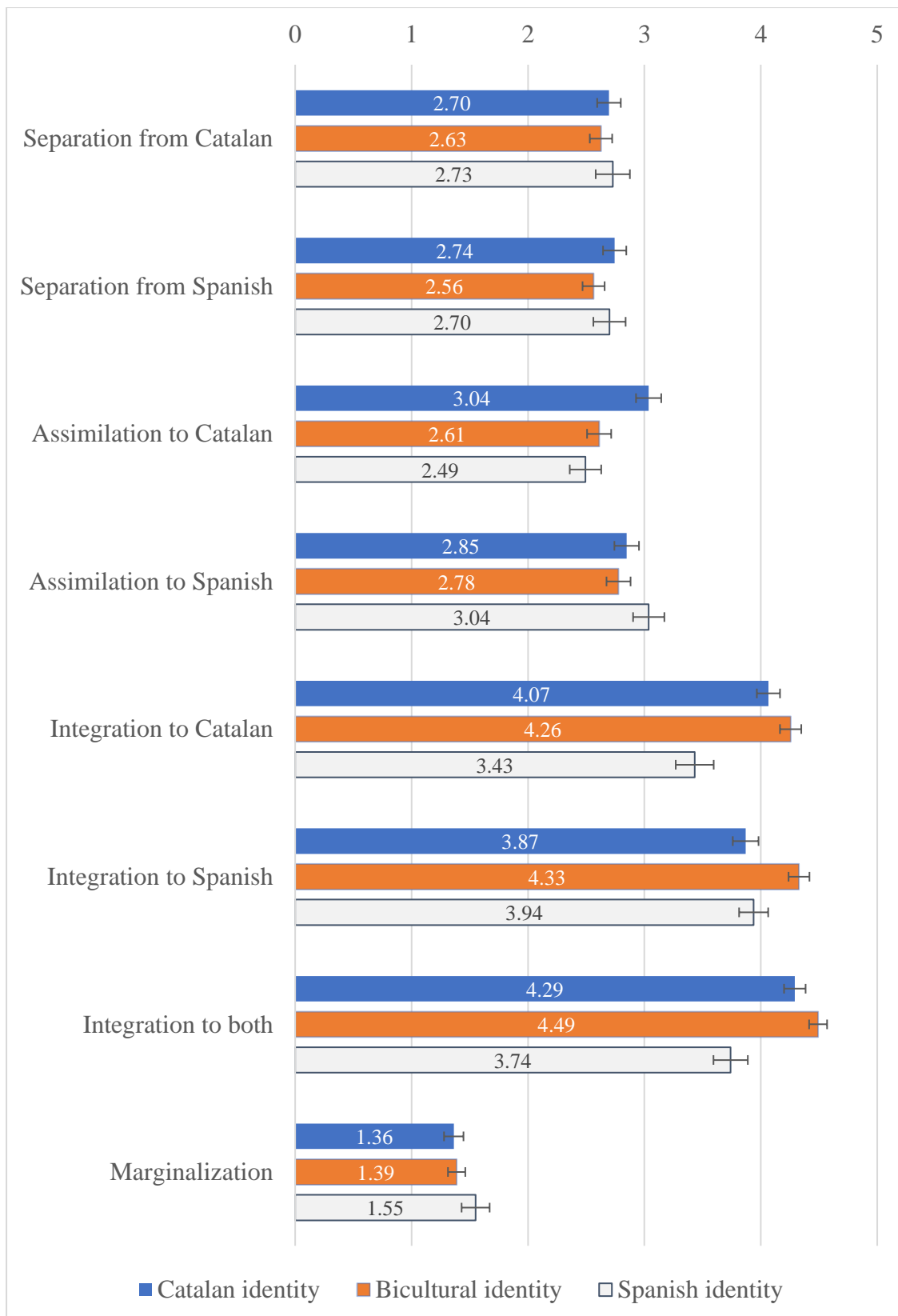


Figure 3

Mean scores of acculturation expectations towards Romanians by identity group. Error bars show  $\pm$  SE.

Then, a series of MANOVAs was performed to check if there were significant differences for acculturation scores among identity groups. This was the case for assimilation to Catalan scores regarding both Moroccans and Romanians. The Catalan identity group had significantly higher ‘assimilation to Catalan’ scores than the other two groups (see table 3). The bicultural group had the second highest scores but the difference from the Spanish identity group was not significant.

Mean scores for ‘integration to Catalan’, as well as ‘integration to both’ were significantly lower in the Spanish identity group than the Catalan and the bicultural identity groups, but there were no significant differences between the Catalan and the bicultural identity groups. As for ‘integration to Spanish’, scores in the bicultural identity group were significantly higher than the Catalan and the Spanish counterparts, but they were not significantly different between Catalan and Spanish identifying participants.

*Table 3.*  
*Summary of MANOVAs and post-hoc tests for linguistic acculturation expectations by identity groups*

Acculturation expectations	<i>F</i>	$\eta^2_p$	Post hoc (Bonferroni)					
			<i>M</i>		<i>M</i>	<i>t</i>		
Assimilation to Catalan (Moroccans)	8.12**	.045	Catalan id.	3.06	>	Bicultural id.	2.68	2.42*
			Catalan id.	3.06	>	Spanish id.	2.41	3.29**
Assimilation to Catalan (Romanians)	6.66*	.037	Catalan id.	3.04	>	Bicultural id.	2.61	1.93*
			Catalan id.	3.04	>	Spanish id.	2.5	2.88*
Integration to Catalan (Moroccans)	11.55**	.063	Catalan id.	4.09	>	Spanish id.	3.43	3.25**
			Bicultural id.	4.23	>	Spanish id.	3.43	4.47**

Integration to Catalan (Romanians)	to	12.53**	.068	Catalan id.	4.07	>	Spanish id.	3.43	3.63**
				Bicultural id.	4.26	>	Spanish id.	3.43	4.94**
Integration to Spanish (Moroccans)	to	5.10*	.029	Bicultural id.	4.29	>	Catalan id.	3.86	3.21*
				Bicultural id.	4.29	>	Spanish id.	3.90	2*
Integration to Spanish (Romanians)	to	5.77*	.033	Bicultural id.	4.33	>	Catalan id.	3.87	3.42*
				Bicultural id.	4.33	>	Spanish id.	3.94	1.88*
Integration to both (Moroccans)	to	8.37**	.047	Catalan id.	4.27	>	Spanish id.	3.79	2.88*
				Bicultural id.	4.43	>	Spanish id.	3.79	4.19**
Integration to both (Romanians)	to	12.18**	.067	Catalan id.	4.29	>	Spanish id.	3.74	3.47*
				Bicultural id.	4.49	>	Spanish id.	3.74	5**

\*p< .05 / \*\*p< .001

#### *Self-identification as a predictor of linguistic acculturation expectations*

Finally, a series of linear regressions was performed to test whether belonging to the different identity groups was a significant predictor of acculturation profiles (Hypothesis 4). Since it was the group that differed the most, Spanish identification was selected as the reference group (Table 4).

Firstly, identification was not a significant predictor for any of the separation measures or assimilation to Spanish. However, Catalan identity was a significant predictor for assimilation to Catalan measures in both Romanians and Moroccans, while bicultural identity was not.

Regarding 'integration with Catalan' and 'integration to Catalan and Spanish', both Catalan and bicultural identification showed to have significant predictive power, although bicultural identification had more weight as a predictor. As for 'integration with Spanish', only bicultural



identification was significant. Again, the same results were found regarding Romanians and Moroccans.

Finally, Catalan and bicultural identity significantly predicted marginalization scores in the case of Moroccans. This relationship was negative, meaning they predicted lower marginalization scores, and the predictive power of Catalan identification was slightly higher than bicultural identification. However, no significant predictors were identified regarding marginalization in the case of Romanians.

Table 4.  
Simple regression analyses for linguistic acculturation expectations predicted by identity group

	Assimilation Catalan			Integration Catalan			Integration Spanish			Integration both			Marginalization		
	b	SE b	$\beta$	b	SE b	$\beta$	b	SE b	$\beta$	b	SE b	$\beta$	b	SE b	$\beta$
<b>Moroccans</b>															
<b>Cat. Id.</b>	.65	.17	.26**	.66	.17	.26**	-.04	.16	-.02	.48	.16	.20**	-.27	.11	-.17*
<b>Bi. Id.</b>	.27	.17	.11	.80	.17	.31**	.39	.16	.16*	.64	.16	.27**	-.25	.11	-.15*
<b>F</b>	8.12			11.55			5.10			8.37			3.63		
<b>R<sup>2</sup></b>	.04			.06			.03			.05			.02		
<b>Romanians</b>															
<b>Cat. Id.</b>	.54	.17	.22*	.63	.17	.25**	-.07	.16	-.03	.55	.15	.24**	-.19	.13	-.10
<b>Bi. Id.</b>	.12	.17	.05	.82	.17	.32**	.39	.16	.16*	.75	.16	.32**	-.16	.14	-.08
<b>F</b>	6.66			12.53			5.77			12.18			1.10		
<b>R<sup>2</sup></b>	.04			.07			.03			.07			.01		

\*p < .05 / \*\*p < .001

## Discussion

The results widely supported our first hypothesis. Linguistic integration scores were the highest for the three groups, with 'integration to both Catalan and Spanish' receiving the overall highest scores, with a mean of over four out of five. Even the Spanish identity group had higher scores for 'integration to Catalan' than for any of the assimilation, separation or marginalization measures. Marginalization scores were also extremely low, approaching the minimal score of one. This could be expected considering the multilingual context of Catalonia, where two languages have official status in the territory, and multilingualism is thus highly valued. Even though they did not focus as closely on languages, similar investigations in other bilingual regions like Quebec and the Basque Country also found that regardless of group differences, integration was overall preferred (Garcia et al., 2017; Montaruli, Bourhis, Azurmendi, et al., 2011; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004).

However, assimilation and separation scores were also relatively high, both approaching 3. This may result in a less welcoming environment for students with an immigrant background where the maintenance of the ethnic language is not considered compatible with the acquisition of the local languages. This contrasts with the official narrative of multilingualism established in the education policies, and a long history of research that shows the benefits that developing both the ethnic and the host languages could have for the students' personal and educational development (Alvarez-Valdivia & Vall, 2013; Alvarez Valdivia, Schneider, & Carrasco, 2016; Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Retortillo & Rodriguez, 2010).

We also expected that Romanians would benefit from higher linguistic integration scores than Moroccans, since, as Europeans, they would be perceived as culturally closer, and coming from an Orthodox Christian culture would not raise as much apprehension as a Muslim background. However, the results did not support this hypothesis. The participants agreed more with 'their language should be more important to them than Catalan/Spanish' in the case of Romanians than in the case of Moroccans, which might indicate a higher tolerance of the use of Romanian, but the difference was minimal. Thus, cultural proximity did not appear to be the main factor that influences the value placed on the languages of immigration. Even though both origin groups can be considered of low status (Fernández et al., 2015; Reitz, Simon, & Laxer, 2017; Saleem et al., 2018), when it comes to language, Arabic might still be highly valued due to its powerful international presence, which might have mediated this effect. It could also be possible that religious and cultural proximity do not play a big role when it comes to the linguistic aspect of acculturation expectations.

The results did support the prediction that the autochthonous students' self-identification would be related to the linguistic acculturation expectations that they hold towards students of immigrant descent. Consistent with the previous literature, the bicultural group had the highest integration scores for all three measures. In terms of identity complexity, reconciling Catalan and Spanish identification can be considered a challenge, given the history of Spanish language centralization policies that peaked during the repressive regime of Franco, and the consequent efforts to revive Catalan that followed the dictatorship (Clua i Fainé, 2011; Pujolar & Puigdevall, 2015). As people with more complex identities, biculturals appear to be less inclined to categorize individuals into homogeneous groups, and instead understand that multiple group

memberships and identities are a reality, perhaps even a positive one (Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Huff et al., 2017). This effect could grow even stronger when more complex linguistic and cultural identities are added into the equation, as various studies point out that multilingual and multicultural Catalan residents tend to endorse integration towards Catalan and Spanish at an even higher degree than bilinguals (Lapresta, Huguet, & Poalelungi, 2014; Ubalde, Alarcón, & Lapresta, 2017) . It is interesting to note that even in the bicultural identity group most people picked either Catalan or Spanish as their first language, with only 11% picking both. These ratios are in line with wider linguistic surveys in Catalonia, where people tend to pick one language or the other as their first, even if they are fluent in both (IDESCAT, 2018). While for polarized identities language seems to be much more determinant, biculturals, being able to combine opposed identities, can also reconcile having one first language and still identifying strongly with both Spain and Catalonia.

Nevertheless, the importance attributed to Catalan over Spanish or vice versa seemed to play as important a role as their opinions about Arabic or Romanian. Consistent with our predictions, students favored the language they identified with for assimilation scores: the Spanish identity group agreed more with assimilation to Spanish, and the Catalan group agreed more with assimilation to Catalan. However, the difference was only significant in the case of assimilation to Catalan, where the groups differed much more. Among integration scores, 'Integration to Spanish' ranked last for the Catalan identity group, but it was still as high as the Spanish group. It appears that even though the Catalan and Spanish identity groups prefer the language associated with their identity, the Catalan group confers more value to integration with Spanish than the Spanish group does in the case of Catalan. This might be attributed to greater

importance being placed on Catalan as a cultural symbol. Spanish is not only the common state language, but also widely spoken internationally, so the utility of learning Spanish when living in the country is unquestionable. Consequently, the Catalan identity group in our study was more supportive towards Spanish in its responses than the Spanish identity group regarding Catalan. On the other hand, Catalan is highly valued as an in-group language and identity marker, which would explain its importance to achieve assimilation (Pujolar, 2010).

Woolard (2005) explains this difference in attitudes towards Spanish and Catalan on the basis of ideologies of linguistic authority. While the authority of Catalan is legitimized on the basis of authenticity, that is in its relationship to group membership, Spanish is legitimized on the basis of anonymity, as a language of broader communication, detached from political connotations and specific groups. Here we see how this reality intersects with self-identification. Additionally, there has been a tendency among immigrants in Catalonia to learn Spanish first and use this language more than Catalan, which might make language a topic of concern for people with a strong Catalan identity (Pujolar, 2010; Solana, Luken, García, & de Sans, 2012). The Spanish identity group also agreed more with 'their language should be as important as Catalan and Spanish' than 'their language should be as important as Catalan', which shows that there is a sensitivity to the topic of Catalan and Spanish that is unrelated to the immigrant languages.

The similarities between the bicultural and the Catalan identity groups are worth noting, as they only differed in 'integration to Spanish', where the bicultural group scored higher. Although the differences in measurement do not allow an exact comparison, the results resemble the ones found in studies conducted in the Basque Country, where there were

no significant differences between Basque and bicultural identification (Garcia et al., 2017; Larrañaga et al., 2016). The authors hypothesized that, since those with a strong Basque identity where fluent bilinguals they might still be highly bicultural, unlike the Spanish identity group, who had a lower command of Basque (Larrañaga et al., 2016). In this case all participants attend schools where Catalan is the vehicular language, which suggests that even though they are all bilingual, those with a Catalan identity behave in a way that is more like biculturals. It is also possible people who identify strongly with Catalonia perceive Catalan as a threatened language that needs support, and thus feel strongly about multilingualism as well as the importance of preserving the languages of other minorities (Pujolar & González, 2013).

The results also showed the predictive power of self-identification when it comes to acculturation expectations placed on immigrant communities. As expected, belonging to the bicultural group was the strongest predictor of integration scores, which was consistent with the literature and reaffirmed the conclusions drawn from the MANOVAs. However, belonging to the Catalan identity group also predicted (to a lesser extent) integration to Catalan, and integration to both languages, which ties in with the idea that even polarized Catalan identifying participants could be considered closer to the bicultural group than the Spanish identity group. Catalan identity was also a significant predictor of assimilation to Catalan scores, but none of the identity groups significantly predicted assimilation to Spanish scores. Again, it seems that the debate in question is not the importance of Spanish, but whether Catalan should or should not be given the same importance. While the MANOVAs did not show any significant relationship between identity and marginalization scores, the regression did provide significant results. Both Catalan and bicultural identification negatively predicted marginalization

scores for Moroccans. This is consistent with the idea that the biculturals and the participants who strongly identify with a minority language are less likely to not consider any language important, unlike the Spanish identity group, who may not attach as much cultural significance to language. The fact that identity was not a significant predictor in the case of marginalization in Romanians may show an origin effect, but again, marginalization scores were extremely low for both.

Although it was not part of the research questions, there were some relevant group differences worth discussing. First, the parents' educational background in the Catalan identity group was significantly higher than the bicultural and the Spanish identity group, which had the lowest. One possible explanation for parents' higher level of education being associated with Catalan identity could be found in Catalonia's history of immigration. Between 1960 and 1975 Catalonia underwent rapid industrial development and needed to expand its workforce. Approximately a million and a half people immigrated to Barcelona from more rural areas of Spain, mainly Andalusia, Extremadura and Murcia, settling in the new overcrowded metropolitan area. This coincided with Franco's dictatorship (1936-1975) that heavily repressed any expression of cultural diversity as well as regional languages like Catalan, and did not favor the newcomers' integration, let alone learning a language that could only be used behind closed doors (Clua i Fainé, 2011). Despite the efforts dedicated towards linguistic normalization, the effects of this period may remain, linking Spanish identity with families with a lower level of education. Even if the percentage of parents born outside Catalonia does not exceed 35% in the Spanish identity group, we do not have data on the origins of the previous generations, but this variable could be added in future research. Nevertheless, even though the parents of the Catalan identity group had the



highest educational level, the bicultural group still had higher integration scores and it was a stronger predictor of integration measures, giving even more support to the effect of identity complexity.

Additionally, although the original sample was quite balanced regarding gender (50.7% female, 49.3% male), there were significant differences among the three identity groups. While the Catalan and the Spanish group had more males (52.9% and 58%, respectively), females dominated the bicultural group (60.3%). Due to the different societal expectations placed on men and women it could be possible that women are less likely to hold 'extreme' ideas and tend to reconcile different opinions more than men. A similar example can be found in Ubalde, Alarcón, and Lapresta (2017), where girls were more likely to integrate Catalan and Spanish than boys. Unfortunately, gender differences are usually not reported in studies on cultural identity, which is something that could be reconsidered in future research projects.

All in all, the results of this study support the idea that introducing immigrant languages to an already multilingual society is not only doable but potentially fosters a more welcoming environment. The current linguistic policies that have attempted to protect the multilingual nature of Catalonia while giving space for new languages seem to be successful in creating these positive attitudes towards multilingualism. However, this does not completely prevent intergroup conflict or discrimination, and thus increasing tolerance in multicultural and multilingual communities is a reasonable concern.

The aforementioned findings entail important educational implications. Promoting dichotomous and exclusive identity orientations not only can create conflict within the host population, but it appears to be related to less inclusive acculturation expectations

towards immigrant communities. Presenting Catalonia as a multilingual, multicultural and multiethnic reality may help to decrease dichotomous thinking. In the school context, this may be achieved by raising awareness about Catalonia's multilingual and multicultural reality and developing more inclusive linguistic programs that make space for the many languages of its population, giving them the same value as the European languages that have been traditionally present in Spanish classrooms (see Martín et al., 2003 and Yağmur & Extra, 2011 for a broader discussion on the legitimization of the languages of immigration).

### Conclusions

This study supported the empirical validity of linguistic acculturation as a relevant tool to analyze inter-group relationships and immigration processes, reinforcing the need to continue this underdeveloped line of research and highlighting the importance of language in social relations. Still, this investigation has some limitations, one being that the representativeness of the sample is limited to the area of Lleida. One must be aware that the distribution of identity profiles of other areas of Catalonia may vary, particularly in Barcelona, although the relationship between identity and acculturation expectations is expected to be similar. Additionally, further research is necessary to delve deeper into the effect of identity and linguistic acculturation processes. A qualitative approach could provide more detailed information regarding how the construction of these identities relates to attitudes on immigrant acculturation and immigrant languages, and further studies could shed more light on the effects of gender and social class.

As for the educational implications of this study, future research could explore further how addressing tensions within host communities in a school environment can not only

reduce said tensions, but also impact tolerance towards minority groups like immigrants and increase social cohesion.

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### Study 3. When immigrant and regional minority languages coexist: linguistic authority and integration in multilingual linguistic acculturation

#### Abstract

This study explores integration and linguistic acculturation in Catalonia (Spain), a multilingual setting where a state and a regional language coexist with those of immigration. Using qualitative content analysis, we examined the linguistic acculturation profiles of 13 high-school students of immigrant background and the linguistic acculturation expectations of 15 autochthonous students, considering Spanish, Catalan and heritage languages. Then, we explored their understanding of what integration means and its relation to language. Public use of heritage languages was the main source of friction. Participants of immigrant origin with assimilation profiles only used heritage languages with family while those in multilingual profiles also used them in the public domain. Autochthonous students condemned their use in public, although they supported their use at home. Students from immigrant background advocated for a more inclusive understanding of integration, particularly those in multilingual profiles, but autochthonous students equated integration to assimilation. Educational implications are discussed.

*Keywords:* immigration, heritage language, acculturation, linguistic acculturation, integration, Catalonia

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## Introduction

Attempting to compete with the overpowering influence of state languages and languages with a strong geopolitical presence such as English, minority languages have often resorted to a discourse based on the legitimacy of authenticity, where language is a source of pride and identity for a supposedly ethnically homogeneous, geographically-defined community. This rhetoric, ironically also used by dominant nationalisms to oppress minorities, loses its validity in a more complex setting than a binary opposition between a majority and a minority group (Heller & Duchêne, 2012; O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2013). While the idea of a clearly delimited homogeneous community is debatable at any point in history, the rise in international immigration has transformed societies into much more diverse contexts, increasing the need for a new understanding of what defines a community and the role that each language is to play.

This article takes the theoretical framework of the linguistic aspect of acculturation, traditionally framed as a binary relationship between a dominant and a minority culture and adapts it to a multilingual setting. In Catalonia (Spain) two official languages, Catalan, the regional language, and Spanish, the state language, tend to be associated with opposing identities (Lapresta-Rey et al., 2019) and coexist with hundreds of languages coming from immigration.

While language is usually one of the aspects considered in acculturation studies, there is a lack of research focusing on linguistic acculturation, even more so from a multilingual point of view. A particular topic of concern is how to achieve a cohesive society in such a complex multilingual setting. Aiming to address these issues, this article explores the multilingual acculturation profiles presented by high-school students of immigrant

background, the linguistic acculturation expectations set by their autochthonous peers, and how the concept of integration is associated with language by each linguistic acculturation profile.

Literature review

### *Acculturation theory, language and integration*

Acculturation has been described as the phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact (Redfield et al., 1936, p. 149). Berry's acculturation theory (1997; 2005) included four profiles, determined by the degree of heritage culture maintenance and the degree of adoption of the dominant culture: (1) assimilation: a tendency of high adoption of the majority culture and low heritage culture maintenance; (2) separation: low adoption of the culture of the larger society combined with high heritage culture maintenance; (3) integration: high adoption and maintenance of both, and (4) marginalization: low levels of both.

Integration is often presented as the ideal profile, since it contemplates the inclusion of minorities into mainstream society respecting the maintenance of their cultural background. Integration profiles have also been associated with higher levels of wellbeing, self-esteem and mental health (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Retortillo & Rodriguez, 2010). However, minorities are affected by the expectations of the dominant society, which may prefer or even try to enforce certain profiles. A mismatch between them may result in conflictive intergroup relations (Bourhis et al., 1997). Additionally, acculturation profiles and expectations may vary depending on the situation. The Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM) postulates that more private areas such as values

and family customs tend to lean towards a separation profile while more public areas such as work environment lean towards assimilation profiles (Navas et al., 2007).

However, while the term 'integration' is prevalent in academic, political and everyday discussions surrounding immigration, it has been attributed a wide range of different meanings, that often differ from Berry's definition. In the sociological tradition of Durkheim and Parsons, the term was associated with the equilibrium between different forces that allowed for solidarity and social cohesion, influenced by the formation of Western European nation states (Loch, 2014; Wieviorka, 2008). Immigration research followed on from this tradition, studying elements such as social cohesion, intergroup relationships, and cultural exchange in multicultural societies (Meissner & Heil, 2020; Wieviorka, 2008).

While some have defined integration as the bi-directional process of adaptation from both immigrants and the host society (Berry, 2004; Verdía Varela et al., 2020), others have used the term as the unidirectional adaptation of immigrants *into* the host society (Loch, 2014; Wieviorka, 2014; Zapata-Barrero, 2003), often expecting immigrants to switch to the dominant culture and language. (Martín Rojo et al., 2003; Verdía Varela et al., 2020). This pattern can be seen in government reports and naturalization laws, and is often presented as a requirement for immigrants' access to fundamental rights (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2010; Verdía Varela et al., 2020). Even when the dominant society is encouraged to embrace cultural diversity, this is often limited to folkloric elements, disregarding pressing issues such as unemployment, residential segregation, poor educational outcomes, and political marginalization (Kymlicka, 2010).

Such interpretations of the meaning of integration have not only been widely criticized, they are also patently ineffective in achieving social cohesion, since immigrant communities show stronger self-identifications with host societies that acknowledge their culture and languages (Berry et al., 2006; Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012). Additionally, many immigrant communities have quite negative connotations associated with the concept of integration, due to their experiences of suffering assimilative efforts under its name (Verdía Varela et al., 2020).

Language is a crucial element of the acculturation process, as a vehicle of cultural knowledge and a symbolic part of identity building and group belonging (Heller, 2008). Linguistic acculturation strategies can be grouped into the same four profiles according to the degree of maintenance of the language(s) of origin and adoption of the language(s) of the host community (He, 2010; Lee, 2002). However, discussions on linguistic integration suffer from the same inconsistencies as the general discourse on integration, often exclusively focusing on the acquisition of the majority language, even regarding Heritage Languages (HL) as hindrances for integration (König et al., 2015). While research shows that Catalan students support the maintenance of HLs (Sáenz-Hernández et al., 2020), the school context tends to perpetuate linguistic hierarchies. A study that surveyed high-school teachers in Catalan schools showed that 65% thought that some HLs hinder learning, particularly Arabic and Chinese, and almost half preferred HLs to be kept at home (Comellas et al., 2014). The literature shows that teacher expectations and their relationship with students have an enormous impact in minority students' education (Thijs & Fleischmann, 2015), and that those who openly show their heritage cultures experience more discrimination (Berry & Hou, 2016).



In this study, we will use the term 'multilingualism' for a linguistic acculturation profile that encompasses both heritage language (HL) maintenance and host language adoption, to differentiate it from the general conversation around the concept of immigrant integration.

#### *From a bilingual to a multilingual Catalonia*

Catalan and Spanish are both the official languages of the Autonomous Community of Catalonia, Spain. This was established following Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975), a period of heavy repression of regional languages like Catalan, after which it was defined as the territory's 'own language', while Spanish was designed as the state language (Pujolar, 2010). After the steady arrival of foreign immigration from the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, official policies reframed the role of the Catalan language as a means for social cohesion, but Catalan is still widely considered an in-group language, and locals tend to switch to Spanish by default when they interact with someone they identify as a foreigner (Pujolar, 2010).

Woolard (2005) explained this phenomenon through two ideological constructs: authenticity and anonymity. Originally, Catalan was legitimized based on authenticity, as it is rooted in a geographic territory and community. By contrast, Spanish, being a dominant language internationally, drew its symbolic value from its unmarked presence in the public sphere, because the idea of it not belonging to any particular group confers it a sense of neutrality and objectivity. Thus, it was legitimized through anonymity.

Lately, the changing demographic makeup of Catalonia and the rise of cosmopolitan ideals have prompted a rise in discourse that treats culture and language in economic terms, which Duchêne and Heller (2012) explain in terms of 'pride' and 'profit'. Within

this theoretical framework, 'pride' refers to the cultural value attributed to a language, differentiating the legitimate members of a community. By contrast, 'profit' represents the practical, socioeconomic benefits of knowing a certain language, regarding language as human capital with a market value. Due to a history of domestic immigration from the South of Spain, regular use of Spanish instead of Catalan tends to be associated with working-class families regardless of ethnicity (Clua i Fainé, 2011). As a result, Catalan has been widely considered a tool for upward social mobility, available for children of immigrant background (domestic and international) through immersion at school (Di Paolo & Raymond, 2012). Nevertheless, the veracity of this belief has been challenged, as the possibility of social mobility through Catalan knowledge is highly dependent on socioeconomic factors (Alarcón & Garzón, 2013; Pujolar & González, 2013).

The province of Lleida is particularly suited for studying the intersection of regional and immigrant languages. Foreign residents constitute 17.39% of the total population, higher than the Catalan average of 15.11%. Moroccans and Romanians are the two largest groups, respectively accounting for 28.44% and 21.64% of the total immigrant population in the province (IDESCAT, 2019). This does not include those who have obtained Spanish citizenship, making the total amount of people with immigrant background even higher. Lleida also has a higher use of Catalan than the average in Catalonia. The 2018 Survey on Language Uses of the Population showed that 57% of people use mostly Catalan in their daily life, followed by mostly Spanish (22.5%) and both (7.2%) (IDESCAT, 2018).

## Objectives

This study aimed to explore trilingual acculturation profiles focusing on the complex relationship between the state language, the regional language and languages from immigration. Additionally, it analyzes how the integration of immigrants is defined, and how it shapes linguistic acculturation attitudes and practice.

Thus, three research questions guided this investigation:

1. What types of discourse are anchored to acculturation profiles of students with immigrant background?
2. What are the linguistic acculturation expectations held by autochthonous students towards their peers of immigrant background?
3. How do students understand the concept of integration and how does it relate to linguistic acculturation profiles?

## Method

### *Participants*

The participants were 29 students from five high schools in the province of Lleida. Thirteen, eight girls and five boys, had an immigrant background (at least one parent born abroad), specifically Moroccan Algerian and Romanian origin (see Table 1) and 15, ten girls and six boys, were autochthonous (both parents born in Spain). Their ages ranged from 16 to 18.

Table 1. Participants of immigrant background. Sociodemographic data and linguistic acculturation profiles

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<b>Age</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Parents' origin</b>	<b>Age of arrival</b>	<b>HL</b>
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<b>Assimilation to Catalan</b>					
<b>Amira</b>	16	F	Algeria	Born in Catalonia	Arabic
<b>Adel</b>	17	M	Morocco	3 years old	Amazigh
<b>Mihai</b>	16	M	Romania	5 years old	Romanian
<b>Assimilation to Catalan and Spanish</b>					
<b>Hasna</b>	15	F	Algeria	Born in Catalonia	Arabic
<b>Catalan and heritage language dominant multilingualism</b>					
<b>Alexandru</b>	17	M	Romania	7 years old	Romanian
<b>Ana</b>	17	F	Romania	7 years old	Romanian
<b>Andreea</b>	16	F	Romania	4 years old	Romanian
<b>Nojoum</b>	16	M	Morocco	3 months old	Arabic
<b>Adriana</b>	15	F	Romania	Born in Catalonia	Romanian
			(mother)		
			Catalonia (father)		
<b>Balanced multilingualism of Spanish Catalan and HL</b>					
<b>Laila</b>	16	F	Morocco	Born in Catalonia	Arabic
<b>Aisha</b>	15	F	Morocco	4 years old	Arabic
<b>Hassan</b>	17	M	Morocco	Born in Catalonia	Amazigh
<b>Souhaila</b>	17	F	Morocco	10 years old	Arabic

Table 2. Autochthonous participants. Sociodemographic data.

<b>Focus group</b>	<b>Pseudonym</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Dominant language</b>
<b>1</b>	Mireia	16	Female	Catalan
	Joana	15	Female	Catalan
	Diana	16	Female	Catalan
<b>2</b>	Marina	15	Female	Catalan and Spanish
	Jordi	15	Male	Catalan
	Gloria	15	Female	Catalan
	Sara	15	Female	Catalan and Spanish
	Celia	15	Female	Catalan
	Judit	15	Female	Catalan
<b>3</b>	Pia	16	Female	Catalan
	Iván	17	Male	Catalan
	Oriol	17	Male	Catalan
<b>4</b>	Mar	16	Female	Catalan
	Gerard	15	Male	Catalan
	Albert	15	Male	Catalan

### *Instrument*

An individual life story approach was the method selected for participants of immigrant background, to focus on their personal experiences. Since the research aims regarding autochthonous students centered shared beliefs and group dynamics, we created four separate focus groups of three to five students to induce debate (see table 2). Both followed a semi-structured design, and were adapted from previous acculturation

research (Navas et al., 2004). Life stories included the participants' background and immigration story, language use and language attitudes, perceived discrimination, and their views on integration. Focus groups with autochthonous students covered their perceptions on the linguistic acculturation profiles of their peers of immigrant origin, as well as their opinions on what these profiles should be, language attitudes, and their views on integration.

### *Procedure*

Life stories and focus groups were conducted at the participants' schools during school hours, in empty classrooms kindly provided by the school authorities. They were done in Catalan or Spanish depending on the participants' preference and lasted between 45 and 90 minutes. Consent forms were signed by the participants' legal guardians.

This study follows the ethical standards set by the European Union, the data collection being done with the participants' free and informed consent and following the principles of anonymity and confidentiality.

### *Analysis*

A qualitative content analysis was conducted to examine the data (Bardin, 1986). Each life story and focus group was independently read by three researchers, to capture the essential information. Then, they separately analyzed some of the data and extracted categories from them, both deductively and inductively. These categories were coded using the ATLAS.ti software and discussed reaching consensus. The resulting categories were used to carry out the final analysis (see table 3), maintaining a critical and open dialogue.

Table 3. Categories in the content analysis

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Sub-categories</b>	<b>Areas</b>
Linguistic acculturation (immigrant origin)	<i>Heritage Language</i>  <i>Catalan</i>	Private:  • With parents
Linguistic acculturation expectations (autochthonous towards immigrant origin)	<i>Spanish</i>	• With siblings  Public  • With friends
Language attitudes		• At school
Discrimination		
Integration	<i>Definition</i>  <i>Perceived degree of integration</i>  <i>Relationship with language</i>	

Based on the RAEM (Navas et al., 2004), participants of immigrant origin were grouped into two broad groups depending on their degree of heritage language maintenance in the public sphere: assimilation and multilingualism<sup>1</sup>. Within these groups some showed a clear dominance of Catalan over Spanish, while others were more balanced. The resulting profiles were:

5. Assimilation to Catalan (Catalan assimilation): low maintenance of the heritage language and dominance of Catalan over Spanish
6. Assimilation to Catalan and Spanish (Cat-Sp assimilation): low maintenance of the heritage language and high adoption of Catalan and Spanish
7. Catalan and HL dominant multilingualism (Cat-HL multilingualism): high maintenance of the heritage language and dominance of Catalan over Spanish

8. Balanced multilingualism (Cat-Sp-HL multilingualism): high maintenance of the heritage language and high adoption of Catalan and Spanish

Table 1 shows the distribution of participants with immigrant background in said groups.

## Results

The results are discussed in three sections: how students of immigrant origin explain their linguistic choices, the expectations placed by autochthonous peers, and a discussion on integration

### *Discourse anchored to linguistic acculturation profiles*

All students of immigrant background confidently said that maintaining the HL was important to them. However, a closer look at what ‘maintaining the HL’ meant for each of these groups revealed some slight differences.

Those in the assimilation groups did not have friends in Catalonia or elsewhere with whom they used the HL and did not seek other opportunities to maintain it either. They felt a sense of duty to be able to use the language to communicate with elders from their family, but in their daily life and future prospects, Catalan, Spanish and even other languages such as English were given more importance.

#### Extract 1:

My mum always tells me that when I’m older I have to teach Romanian to my children, and I will, a little, but I won’t be super strict either, because they are going to live here after all.

(Mihai, Catalan assimilation)

#### Extract 2:



I like Catalan the most, then Spanish, and I like Amazigh the least (laughs)

It's funny because it should be the other way around.

(Adel, Catalan assimilation)

Conversely, in those grouped under 'multilingualism' used the HL with some friends of the same background, and often tried to encourage others or even teach those who were not as fluent. Many also maintained relationships in their parents' country despite the distance, and actively tried to find opportunities to use the language or improve their knowledge of it. Some of them showed interest in other people's HLs as well, learning a few words.

The reasons given were almost always identity-based, such as 'because you have to know the language of your country' or 'because it is my language' although the general advantages of multilingualism for travel and work were also mentioned.

Extract 3:

I maintain the language on my own, watching TV. You can't forget Arabic, if the TV is in Arabic, and your phone. When you are an immigrant communicating with your country and your family, it is the most important thing.

(Souhaila, Cat-Sp-HL multilingualism)

Hassan not only maintained Amazigh with friends in Catalonia, he even learned Arabic from them. At the same time, he helped his Moroccan friends learn Spanish and Catalan.

Extract 4:

I learnt Amazigh in Morocco, and I learnt Arabic from my Arabic-speaking friends here in Spain. Some of them only speak Arabic so I try to say some words in Spanish and Catalan. One of my friends learnt like this, much better than in school (laughs)

(Hassan, Cat-Sp-HL multilingualism)

As for attitudes towards the local languages, there were important differences between those who had Catalan dominant profiles ('Catalan assimilation' and 'Cat-HL multilingualism') and those who were not dominant in either of the local languages ('Cat-Sp assimilation' and 'Cat-Sp-HL multilingualism'). Many students in Catalan dominant profiles considered Catalan their favorite language and an important part of their identity, relating it to their personal experience of living in Catalonia.

One student (Amira, Catalan assimilation) had native-like fluency in Catalan but wished that it sounded less standard and more like her friends' characteristic variety from their village. Many also associated Catalan knowledge with higher education levels and socioeconomic status, as opposed to Spanish.

By contrast, those in 'Cat-Sp assimilation' and 'Cat-Sp-HL multilingualism' preferred languages with an instrumental value for work or travel, like Spanish or English.

Extract 5:

If you leave Catalonia who are you going to speak Catalan to? Spanish is much more useful, I can speak with the whole Latin America.

(Aisha, Cat-Sp-HL multilingualism)

Even though Catalan dominant and multilingual profiles had opposite views in their preference towards Catalan or Spanish, both of their discourses were based on the perceived marked community value of Catalan and the unmarked international value of Spanish.

*Linguistic acculturation expectations of autochthonous peers*

Autochthonous students unanimously said that local languages should be prioritized over HLs as they are necessary for everyday life. Heritage languages were regarded as an optional addition, but not as important.

Extract 6:

Joana- I think our Moroccan classmates don't know their language very well. But I mean, it's not like they need it, because we can all understand each other in Catalan.

(Focus group 1)

Extract 7:

Pia- I mean if they're here, they should prioritize Catalan and Spanish, and then if they want, Moroccan or whatever.

(Focus group 3)

When directly asked, they agreed that HL maintenance was positive, arguing that if they were to emigrate, they would want to speak theirs with their family as well. However, many instances during the discussion showed that they wished that it would remain in more private areas such as the household or 'when people who do not understand are not present'.

Extract 8:

Diana- we tell them 'Hey, in Catalan', like, in a friendly way

Joana- I stare at them like 'will you speak Catalan or what?' I don't understand (laughs)

Mireia- No but sometimes...

Joana- Sometimes depending on what they've said they tell you.

Mireia- Yeah.

(Focus group 1)

They also recalled teachers intervening to discourage the use of HLs in class.

Extract 9:

Mar- Teachers are always warning them

Albert- Basically because it looks bad

Gerard- Yeah, because you don't know what they're saying, they could say anything and you don't understand.

Mar- Or for example, when we're doing an exam I can't speak with other people, but they talk in Romanian and we don't know what they're saying, they could be cheating...

(Focus group 4)

While Catalan was seen as the default language to use, HLs were seen as a conscious choice that induced feelings of annoyance or suspicion.

### *Language and integration*

When asked to define the concept of integration, those in assimilation profiles accepted that achieving integration might entail not showing their culture and language in most situations.

Even though they reported feeling integrated and accepted by the people close to them, who were dominantly autochthonous, they were aware of the existing prejudices against their HLs.

#### Extract 10:

Obviously if I speak Catalan and Spanish they will think I am a more educated person, and the more I do it the more educated I am, but If I speak Amazigh they won't understand and they will try to exclude me from the group and lead me to a group that speaks Amazigh

(Adel, Catalan assimilation)

#### Extract 11:

Integration is difficult for newcomers. If you can't speak the language you can't make friends. Well, it depends on where you're from, if you're English maybe everyone wants to be friends

(Amira, Catalan assimilation)

Both Adel and Amira show an awareness of their HL as a devalued language compared to Catalan or English, but they comply with societal expectations to be accepted by the community.

Discrimination and acculturation hardships were much more prevalent in those with multilingual profiles. When asked about what integration meant to them, topics related to equality, non-discrimination, and the responsibility of locals in integration were immediately brought up.

Extract 12:

(Integration is) when no matter where you are from, they treat you like you are from here

(Alex, Catalan-HL multilingualism)

Extract 13:

I think integration is getting into a social or cultural group without trying to change anything but also maintaining your own culture.

(Hassan, Cat-Sp-HL multilingualism)

The fact that these students immediately mentioned lack of discrimination and their right to cultural maintenance suggests that they had felt an expectation to assimilate under the pretense of 'integration'. This pressure affected their language choices in interesting ways, as expressed by this student who talks about complying with these expectations or not depending on her mood and whether she wants to annoy the teacher.

Extract 14:

Sometimes when classmates feel uncomfortable about me speaking Romanian I switch to Catalan or I just don't speak at all. Teachers are always

telling us to speak Catalan, so we speak Catalan. Well, it depends, if we're having a bad day we speak Romanian just to mess with them (laughs)

(Andreea, Cat-HL multilingualism)

Almost all with Catalan dominant profiles said that Catalan was the most useful language for integration, particularly to fulfill the requirement of being recognized by the locals.

Extract 15:

I won't be discriminated against at work like my father was, because I speak Catalan very well and they won't know I'm a foreigner.

(Mihai, Catalan assimilation)

They recognized the necessity of knowing Spanish, both for everyday life in Catalonia and its importance at a state and international level. However, it did not have the same strong associations with the territory and the community, where Catalan was seen as the default language to use.

Extract 16:

When I speak Spanish I feel like I'm speaking to someone that doesn't speak Catalan.

(Alexandru, Cat-HL multilingualism)

By contrast, participants of immigrant origin in 'Cat-Sp Assimilation' and 'Cat-Sp-HL multilingualism' did not show the same strong differences between the roles of each local language. Language was still a key aspect of the integration process for them, as it allowed them to establish friendships with locals, attend school, etc., but they valued communication over the symbolic value of the regional language.

As for the autochthonous group, their understanding of the concept of integration was much more one-sided, a responsibility that belonged almost entirely to immigrants.

Extract 17:

Gerard- I think, if they put a little effort on their part, and came with us and spoke Catalan, we could easily hang out.

(Focus group 4)

Blending with Catalan people was perceived as 'integration', while public displays of the culture or language of origin were perceived as a lack of interest in integrating. Thus, their understanding of the term was much closer to assimilation.

Extract 18:

Jordi- Integrated means adapted to the culture

Judit- And being comfortable with... with...

Marina- With the language

Celia- I think you follow some rules, the rules that are set...

(Focus group 2)

When asked about whether their classmates of immigrant background were integrated, most agreed in the case of the ones that had been born in Spain, but not so much the ones that had arrived later. They perceived them to be separated from autochthonous people, mainly due to linguistic barriers, but also due to their identity.

Extract 19:

Pia- I think they will never feel entirely Catalan, or Lleidan, or ...



Ivan- Their children, or their children's children maybe...

Oriol- I think it depends on the culture, Moroccans have a more fixed culture.

Romanians are not as tied to religion, so they can feel more Catalan.

(Focus group 3)

Additionally, there was a strong tendency to dismiss the claims of discrimination coming from their peers of immigrant background, implying that they were exaggerating or imagining things.

#### Discussion

Our participants lived in areas where Catalan is the dominant societal language, explaining why all linguistic acculturation patterns included a high degree of Catalan (IDESCAT, 2018). Still, there were significant differences in attitudes among the present acculturation profiles. Those with an assimilation profile felt a sense of duty towards knowing the HL to use it with family members but they did not mind not using it much in their daily life since their life priorities were unrelated to the HL. By contrast, those with multilingual profiles had a passionate discourse of culture and language maintenance, often framed as a response to discrimination and assimilative pressures. This is consistent with the literature, showing that immigrants with assimilation profiles tend to experience less discrimination (Berry & Hou, 2016). Conversely, higher perceived discrimination may further increase feelings of cultural distance in minority groups (Saleem et al., 2018), potentially resulting in conflictual intergroup relations when immigrants' acculturation profiles and societal expectations do not match (Bourhis et al., 1997).

As for how these assimilation expectations are learned, there are multiple references to the socializing power of the school context, where 'correct' or desirable linguistic practices are internalized. We see instances where the use of the HLs is discouraged or forbidden. While intelligibility was always the given reason behind this, some students of immigrant origin expressed that languages of higher status would not receive as much opposition. Conversely, languages like Moroccan and Algerian Arabic, Tamazight or Romanian are viewed as an obstacle for integration (Comellas et al., 2014).

The fact that the HL is considered inappropriate when locals are present, not just by peers but also by figures of authority like teachers, may contribute to its de-legitimization in the host society (Martín et al., 2003; Maurer-Hetto, 2009). This is then internalized by children of immigrant background, resulting in situations like Andreea's, who understands that using Romanian is a way to annoy teachers. Autochthonous students also participate in the construction of these ideologies by challenging or reinforcing social norms and school policy regarding languages. Many tried to reduce the presence of these languages at school by complaining to teachers or confronting their peers themselves. This contradicts the official narrative of multilingualism established in the education policies, and substantial amount of research that highlights the benefits that multilingual profiles could have for the students' personal and educational development, allowing space for both heritage and local languages (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Retortillo & Rodriguez, 2010).

While the literature shows that bilingual speakers of regional languages tend to support HL maintenance (Garcia et al., 2017; Sáenz- Hernández et al., 2020), a closer look at what language maintenance meant to them revealed that only some spaces and

circumstances were deemed appropriate. As we have seen, HL use in shared spaces is seen as a lack of a desire to integrate into the society. This creates a complex 'good immigrant' narrative where students of immigrant origin have to navigate the contradicting pressures of their duty towards their heritage and at the same time seeming 'integrated enough' in front of locals (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Lanier Temples, 2010).

Students of immigrant origin immediately brought up the topic of language and cultural maintenance when asked to define integration. Particularly those in multilingual acculturation profiles replied with passionate defenses of their culture and language, suggesting that the term had been used to try to discourage them from expressing their cultural background or using their HL in public. Previous research has shown similar patterns where immigrants feel that the term has been so misused that it had lost its original meaning, some even advocating switching to other alternative words altogether (Verdía Varela et al., 2020).

The conversation around the meaning of integration and how it relates to language resembles many features of the anonymity vs authenticity discourse explained by Woolard (2005, 2013) as well as the one on pride vs profit (Heller & Duchêne, 2012). Students of immigrant background with 'Catalan assimilation' and 'Cat-HL multilingualism' profiles have incorporated the general discourse of opposition between Catalan and Spanish that autochthonous people tend to have (Lapresta-Rey et al., 2019), and view Catalan use as a necessary aspect to appear integrated in the eyes of the host society, to show they are part of the community. Still, the 'Catalan assimilation' group feels more accepted and integrated than the Catalan-HL multilingual group, since they

do not use the HL in public, thus avoiding conflict with peers and teachers. Woolard (2005) explains that to profit from the authenticity discourse they must not only speak fluent Catalan, but also 'appear' authentic. In the case of the Catalan-HL multilingual group, the presence of the HL may hinder being recognized as part of the autochthonous group, resulting in a choice between in-group recognition and HL maintenance. As for Spanish, it is relevant for local relations since some families are Spanish-dominant, but it is mainly valued as a valuable resource for travel and possible domestic emigration, coherently with the anonymity and profit discourse. In particular, participants of immigrant origin whose linguistic acculturation profiles were balanced between both local languages ('Cat-Sp assimilation' and 'Cat-Sp-HL multilingualism) showed a preference for this type of argument, as they wished to travel and study elsewhere, particularly abroad. The benefits of assimilation are thus expressed in terms of profit, as well. Many narrate their own experiences with discrimination but also their parents' at underpaid jobs, and view the local languages as a valuable asset for upward social mobility. The equation of integration with cultural homogeneity thus creates a unilateral responsibility for immigrants to pursue social mobility through assimilation, disregarding the social barriers that may prevent them from achieving it (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2010).

Finally, although this study focuses on language, it is relevant to note that the problematization of certain languages directly relates to the attitudes towards the groups with whom these languages are associated (Meissner & Heil, 2020). It is particularly telling that no students from Morocco presented assimilation profiles, since the benefits of assimilation or even the possibility of appearing "integrated" is not equally accessible for all communities. The existing discrimination towards Islamic

cultures and especially Moroccans undoubtedly plays a role in the attitudes towards their languages (Navas et al., 2004; Petreñas et al., 2019).

## Conclusion

This study combined multilingual linguistic acculturation and linguistic authority to analyze immigrant integration in a multilingual context, where there is a high presence of immigrant languages as well as a regional language. While the representativeness of the can be limited to the specific context and power dynamics of the languages mentioned, relevant conclusions can be drawn. The topic of HLs and integration are closely intertwined, and yet there is no general consensus on their meaning. While most people would claim to support HL maintenance, there are limits set by the host society that dictate the situations where HLs cannot be used, if one wants to be perceived as integrated. Enforcing linguistic assimilation in the public area under the name of integration not only limits the possibilities of HL transmission, it invisibilizes linguistic diversity, perpetuating the idea of a homogeneous community where those who are not the norm have to change to fit in.

While our results show how assimilative efforts are perpetuated within the school context, there is considerable potential to reframe these beliefs. Today's education must change the discourse of the homogeneous community where only two languages are spoken, acknowledging the wide variety of languages in Catalonia and the rest of Spain, particularly those that have large communities of speakers. At the same time, the idea that HLs hinder the learning of the dominant languages must be challenged within the education system itself.

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Study 4. 'They speak Arabic to make teachers angry': High-school teachers' (de)legitimization of heritage languages in Catalonia

Abstract

This study explores high-school teachers' discourse on heritage language use regarding their students of immigrant background in Catalonia, Spain, where both Catalan and Spanish are official languages. For this purpose, 10 high-school teachers from 5 schools with a high ratio of foreign students were interviewed. These were analysed through a combination of membership categorization analysis and positioning analysis in small stories. The results show that the perceived appropriateness of heritage language use depends on whether the students are integrated enough in the eyes of locals. Additionally, heritage language use in public is judged from the perspective of a Catalan listener, and is deemed disrespectful. This is particularly salient in students of Moroccan background, where language maintenance is associated with overly strict adherence to Islam. The educational implications of the delegitimization of heritage languages by figures of authority like teachers are discussed.

*Keywords:* Heritage languages, immigrant students, multilingual students, membership categorization analysis, Catalonia

## Introduction

Even though the myth of child multilingualism hindering the acquisition of the school language has long been disproved (Cummins, 1979), it is still a widely debated topic when it comes to immigration in school. Although foreign language learning is generally highly regarded by educators, this is often restricted to languages of high-status with a perceived market value (Duchêne & Heller, 2012), while the languages of immigrant communities may even be considered illegitimate ways of communication within the school (Liu & Evans, 2016).

While these linguistic hierarchies can be overtly enforced by explicitly banning certain languages, the societal beliefs that distinguish legitimate from illegitimate languages are often embedded in everyday subtler forms of discourse. Membership categorization analysis serves to examine how people use and produce social categories to position themselves and others in the social world (Sacks, 1972).

The Autonomous Community of Catalonia, in Spain, is a particularly relevant context to examine these unequal relationships among languages, as the region has two official languages, Spanish and Catalan, the latter having a history of being minoritized and forbidden from use (Pujolar, 2010). While the literature on both regional languages and languages from immigration has often been framed as a binary opposition between a dominant and a minority language, in most contexts multiple languages of different social statuses coexist. With all this in mind, this study aims to explore how Catalan teachers' discourse on students of immigrant background and their languages establishes linguistic hierarchies and contributes to the (de)legitimization of HLs in the school context.



## Immigration and the sociolinguistic context of Catalonia

Four languages, Spanish, Catalan, Aranese Occitan and Catalan Sign Language, enjoy official status in Catalonia, although with Spanish and Catalan being the most prevalent, this region is commonly referred to as bilingual. Catalan was given official status after a period of heavy repression during Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975). Linguistic normalization efforts included the establishment of Catalan as the medium of instruction of public education, and Spanish as a compulsory subject. Thus, Catalan was defined as the territory's 'own language', and Spanish as the 'state language'. The turn of the millennium prompted a change in this official narrative, as the gradual arrival of foreign immigration steadily changed the linguistic landscape of the region. Linguistic policy reframed the role of Catalan as a language for social cohesion, but this narrative coexists with the widespread view of Catalan as an in-group language in opposition with Spanish (Lapresta-Rey et al., 2019; Pujolar, 2010). Adult immigrants who do not plan to settle in Catalonia may not be motivated to learn an additional language if they can communicate in Spanish, and many locals tend to reinforce this by switching to Spanish by default when they address a stranger who they perceive as an immigrant (Pujolar, 2010). The children of immigrants who have either been born in Catalonia or arrived at an early age attend school in Catalan are therefore fluent in both Catalan and Spanish. However research shows that, in their case as well, regular use of Catalan (as opposed to Spanish and specially HLs) makes them look more integrated in the eyes of the majority group (Petreñas et al., 2019; Sáenz- Hernández et al., 2020; Sáenz-Hernández et al., 2021).

Foreign residents currently form 16.2% of the Catalan population, above the Spanish average of 11.42%. In Western Catalonia, where the study takes place, 18.21% of the

total population are foreign residents, with Romanians and Moroccans constituting the largest groups, respectively accounting for 26.82% and 22.14% of the total foreign population in the province (IDESCAT, 2020). This province also has a higher-than-average use of Catalan. The 2018 Survey on Language Uses of the Population showed that, in the region of the study, 57% of people use mostly Catalan in their daily life, above the overall average of 36.1% in Catalonia (mostly due to the effect of a lower ratio in the highly populated province of Barcelona) (IDESCAT, 2018). Even though official reports tend to show Arabic as the third most common mother tongue in Catalonia (IDESCAT, 2018), sociolinguistic studies estimate that Amazigh, a minoritized language from northern Africa, is the mother tongue of between 50% and 80% of the Moroccan diaspora in Catalonia (Barrieras, 2013; Tilmatine, 2005). The presence of Amazigh in the diaspora is often overlooked due to its stigma in the countries where it originates and the lack of awareness of the general population, which results in Amazigh speakers often saying they speak Arabic instead.

#### Language regimes and immigrant 'integration'

Language regimes can be defined as the organization and implementation of language ideologies through everyday action (Costa, 2019). They structure the status and socio-political implications of language use in a specific context (Kroskrity, 2000; Purkarthofer & De Korne, 2020). They are also fundamental to the traditional conception of the nation state as a unified community that shares cultural, ethnic, and linguistic features. Thus, when it comes to immigration, language regimes establish the default linguistic practices used to measure integration (Sabaté-Dalmau, 2018).

Particularly when immigrants are expected to assimilate into the dominant society, public expression of their language and culture may be interpreted not just as lack of integration, but as lack of willingness to do so. Therefore, it may be attributed negative moral attributes such as lack of effort or disrespect to the host society (Flubacher, 2016; Verdía Varela et al., 2020). This is especially salient in the case of racialized people, whose language practices are evaluated based on their racial positioning and expected to adapt to the expectations of the dominant group (Rosa & Flores, 2017). In the case of Muslims, apparent lack of integration may even be associated to dangerous Islamic extremism. Spanish terrorism prevention protocols (which specifically target people of North African descent) regard lack of integration (i.e. showing signs of ‘too much’ cultural and religious maintenance) as a sign of possible future terrorist activity, and even encourage citizens to report suspicious behavior to the authorities (Choudhury, 2021). The consequences of these discourses, fueled by right-wing politicians, range from Muslims feeling watched and constantly having to reiterate their rejection of terrorism, to an alarming amount of Islamophobic hate-crimes that often stay unreported (Douhaibi & Almazian, 2019).

There is a long history of scholarship problematizing the Western construction of Islam and the Middle East as the antithesis of a supposedly modern secular Western culture (Adlbi Sibai, 2016; Douhaibi & Almazian, 2019; Said, 1978). In the case of Spain, this ties in with the historical narrative of the country being founded on the defeat of Muslim rule on the territory (Corrales, 2004; Mateo Dieste, 2017). This historical period of expansion of the Christian kingdoms of the peninsula (722 – 1492) is commonly referred to as the ‘Reconquest’, even though Spain did not exist as a unified political entity before it. The category of the ‘Moor’ (el moro) as *the other* to be converted or defeated, to be

used as comparison to highlight Spain's 'Europeanness' has had a significant role in the historical construction of Spanish identity and values, including the Spanish colonization of Moroccan territories in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (López Bargados, 2018; Mateo Dieste, 2017). While other prevalent groups such as the Romanian community are also considered devalued groups (Martín Rojo, 2010), HL and cultural maintenance may be viewed differently depending on the origin of immigrant communities.

#### (De)legitimation of heritage languages at school

The term 'heritage language' (HL) is used to refer to the ancestral language of a speaker or community, which is different from the societal language (Valdés, 2017). This may refer to indigenous minoritized languages or, as is the case in this study, to the languages of immigrant communities. Despite official education policies and general public opinion emphasizing the importance of multilingualism, school language regimes tend follow cultural hierarchies shaped by colonial history and favor languages such as English, Spanish or French instead of the HLs of immigrants (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001; Lapresta-Rey et al., 2021).

Within this unequal framework educators are never neutral. Education is key in assigning value and legitimacy to certain languages, which in turn regulates which groups have legitimate access to other resources such as knowledge, friendship, or material goods. Linguistic hierarchies in education therefore act as a form of symbolic domination (Bourdieu, 1982), influencing how students are able to negotiate and express their identities (Liu & Evans, 2016). In this sense, teachers can be considered language policy 'arbiters', as they have the power to interpret and administer

institutional language policy, and thus challenge or perpetuate power relations present in society (Johnson & Johnson, 2015).

The literature shows that teachers tend to reinforce social order, either by explicitly banning or limiting HL use in school (Liu & Evans, 2016; Martín Rojo, 2010), or by designing separate spaces for heritage language and cultures, such as afterschool activities or one-time folkloric events that do not challenge the homogenizing tendencies of regular classroom practice (Tokunaga, 2018). The implicit hierarchies within school language regimes can be internalized not just by HL speakers but also by other peers that can reinforce these power relations (Sáenz-Hernández et al., 2021).

The Catalan education system aims for students to achieve a high command of the regional language (Catalan), as the medium of instruction, as well as Spanish and English through specific school subjects. Students can also choose to study an additional language such as French (Department of Education, 2016). While the use and status of these languages is legitimized by the school curriculum, the social discourse surrounding HLs influences ways treating HLs within the school. A study that surveyed Catalan high-school teachers showed that 45% agreed to the statement that HLs should not have any role in school and should stay at home (Comellas et al., 2014).

Considering the complex sociolinguistic situation of Catalan schools, we aimed to explore teachers discourse on multilingualism in students of immigrant background. We expected to find assimilative discourses that delegitimize HLs in the school and link Catalan use to immigrant integration.

## Method

To better meet the objectives, we decided on a qualitative approach and conduct in-depth interviews to high-school teachers with high-ratios of students of immigrant background. The teacher interviews analyzed in this study are part of a larger study including quantitative and qualitative data from students with and without immigrant background.

## Context

As stated above, this study was conducted in a province of comparatively high presence of immigration as well as Catalan use (as opposed to the Barcelona area where Spanish is more prevalent). These high schools were also selected due to their location in areas with particularly high ratios of foreign residents, although they differ in their demographic characteristics: two were located in the province capital and had high ratios of both Moroccan and Romanian students (among others), one was in a rural area with a high proportion of Moroccan students and the last two were in a rural area with a very high ratio of foreign students, mainly from Romania and, to a lesser extent, Ukraine.

- Schools 1 and 2 were public and located in the province capital, and had around 20% of foreign students, mostly from Morocco and Romania. School 1 was in an area largely composed by Spanish speaking families that immigrated in the 50's and 60's from other areas of the country, as well as a high presence of foreign residents in the last 20 years. The school had been classified by the government as 'high complexity' and 18% of the students had been born abroad. School 2 was in an area of higher Catalan use, since it did not have the

same history of Spanish migration, but it had a similar presence of foreign families.

- School 3 was a public school in a rural area which has seen a recent increase in foreign workers in the primary sector. 23% of the students came from Morocco and 5% from other countries, making a total of 28% foreign students.
- School 4 and 5 were from the same a rural area with a particularly high ratio of foreign residents (predominantly from Romania and Ukraine), many of them working in the secondary sector. School 4 was the only catholic semi-private school, and its ratio of foreign students was 26%. School 5 was public and 30% of its students had foreign nationalities.

The inclusion of these schools allowed us to explore how different sociolinguistic environments could play a role in school language regimes concerning HLs and immigration.

### *Participants*

The participants in this study were 10 high-school teachers that volunteered after contacting the school: 7 female and 3 male, two from each school (see table 1).

Table 1. Participants

<b>High-school code</b>	<b>Participant code</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Years at the school</b>	<b>Total years of teaching</b>	<b>Language of identification</b>
<b>1</b>	1F	Female	Catalan	9	35	Catalan

	2F	Female	Mathematics, tutor	5	12	Spanish
<b>2</b>	3M	Male	Social Sciences, History	18	22	Catalan
	4F	Female	Catalan	23	26	Catalan
<b>3</b>	5F	Female	Economics, mathematics	4	18	Catalan
	6M	Male	Mathematics, tutor	3	11	Catalan
<b>4</b>	7F	Female	Physical Education	8	8	Catalan
	8F	Female	English	1	2	Catalan
<b>5</b>	9F	Female	Mathematics	6	10	Catalan
	10M	Male	Spanish	2	5	Spanish

#### *Instrument and procedure*

The interviews were conducted in 2018, in empty classrooms at the participants' high-schools, and took between 45 and 90 minutes. They were done in Catalan or Spanish depending on the participant's preference (although all were fluent in both) and followed a semi-structured design to allow them to add relevant points and express themselves naturally. The main questions addressed the participants personal identities



and language use, their experience teaching in diverse classrooms, and their views on immigrant inclusion and multilingualism.

The excerpts included in this article have been translated into English, but the original excerpts in Catalan or Spanish can be found in the appendix.

This study follows the ethical standards set by the European Union of anonymity, confidentiality, and free informed consent.

### *Analysis*

The interviews were analyzed using a combination of Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) and Narrative Positioning through small stories.

MCA is a qualitative approach that focuses on social categories and the characteristics associated to them by what is considered 'common knowledge'. These categorizations can be achieved by explicitly mentioning a category or by alluding to them through distinctive activities or characteristics (i.e. category bound activities and attributes) (Sacks, 1972). In this study we focus on the teacher's mentions of activities related to HLs, such as maintenance and usage in and outside of school, and how these are associated to certain positive and negative categories of immigrants.

CA can be complemented with Narrative Positioning (Deppermann, 2013; Diert-Boté & Martin-Rubió, 2018; Martin-Rubió & Cots, 2016), an analytical tool initially developed by Bamberg (1997) which uses a three-level analysis. Level 1 analyzes the story, with the characters and the plot that any story requires. Level 2 refers to the positioning of the teller vis-à-vis the interlocutors as an interactional accomplishment in the moment of storytelling. Finally, level 3 refers to how the teller constructs their identity vis-à-vis societal discourse. Georgakopoulou (2013) applies this analysis to 'small stories', that is,

smaller episodes told within larger narratives, where these three levels of positioning can be found. She also adds the concept of iterativity as a systematized method of analyzing the relative stable ways in which tellers present their sense of self (level 3) across similar instances of small stories. This tool can also be used to identify levels of positioning in similar small stories across different tellers as a means to detect overarching discourse patterns surrounding the same topic (Diert-Boté & Martin-Rubió, 2018).

Following Stokoe's (2012) suggested steps for MCA and adding positioning analysis, we first went through the interviews and extracted relevant categories, produced directly by the participants, that were related to the topic HLs and multilingualism, as well as their associated attributes. Second, we found the category bound predicates and activities that participants associated with said categories. Finally, we located and analyzed instances in which participants were positioning themselves regarding those categories.

## Results

The interviews contained multiple instances in which teachers used social categories to make sense of their experiences working with students of immigrant background and to establish boundaries between appropriate and inappropriate forms of language use in their students. We found two salient category pairs associated to HL use. The first one was mentioned or heavily implied by most teachers: the preferred 'integrated immigrant', as opposed to the 'ghetto immigrant' whose lack of integration is linked to their language use. The second category pair appeared when teachers had students that

used the HL in class: the ‘rebellious HL user’ who uses the HL to challenge authority (as opposed to the ‘good HL user’ who would use it only in appropriate contexts).

*The integrated immigrant and the ghetto immigrant*

Many participants distinguished desirable and undesirable forms of HL use depending on their view on whether immigrants were ‘integrated’. The following excerpts illustrate the distinctions between acceptable and non-acceptable HL use, establishing the category of ‘integrated immigrant’ which is something to promote, as opposed to the ‘ghetto immigrant’ which is the result of a failure to integrate.

Table 2. Excerpt 1

---

<b>Interviewer</b>	<b>And at home... Do they maintain the language and all that?</b>
<b>1F</b>	I think so, with the mothers, uhm... they don't speak Romanian to each other eh
<b>Interviewer</b>	The students to each other speak...
<b>1F</b>	Catalan
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay
<b>1F</b>	The ones from my class, in Catalan.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hm.
<b>1F</b>	And with parents Romanian.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hm.
<b>1F</b>	But I've seen with the mo... Mihai with his mother, when we have meetings with parents, in Catalan.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Oh, as well?

**1F** And the... yes... yes. They're, hmm I have... these parents I have, especially the mothers, (whispers) such intelligent women...

**Interviewer** Hm, hm.

**1F** I think some of them might have...

**Interviewer** Romanian mothers you mean right?

**1F** Yes, yes, I think some of them might have university degrees...

**Interviewer** Yeah

**1F** Because, for example, the one that does the cleaning for my sister (whispers) is a music teacher

**Interviewer** Yeah, yeah, yeah, imagine.

**1F** Because they have a way of... No, no, extremely integrated, the children you wouldn't believe... Sometimes if we talk about food

**Interviewer** Hm.

**1F** I mean or a recipe from their grandparents, it's true that he talks a lot about his grandparents, they go to Romania to see them... But quickly quickly they want to return eh

**Interviewer** Hm.

**1F** Very integrated I... don't see...

---

(...)

**Interviewer** And... there's differences among origins, I mean, you see some... some orig... some origin... from some origins they're more... they speak the language at home much more...

**1F** I think maybe, but i think it's more... Arab parents, or Muslims, they're more strict... not with uhm not with studying, at home, about them speaking and being Muslims and speaking blah blah blah, not the Romanians... not as much as Romanians.

**Interviewer** Yeah they don't have issues at home because they speak Spanish

**1F** They're so adapted, they spea... they speak Catalan, they don't have issues, and at home they probably speak Romanian, and that's great, I think it's so... not great, better than great.

---

When the interviewer asks about language use at home, 1F brings up the category of 'extremely integrated' Romanian mothers, associated with attributes like 'intelligent', 'with university degrees', whose children do not want to stay long in Romania. By stressing how intelligent and integrated some immigrants are, 1F recognizes and challenges widespread assumptions that immigrants from countries such as Romania are uneducated.

This is contrasted later with Moroccan parents. It is interesting that the teacher assumes that both Moroccan and Romanian families speak their HL at home, but in the case of Moroccans, their overly strict views of language maintenance (associated to overly strict maintenance of Islam) result in non-integrated children. On the other hand, she emphatically stresses that she supports Romanian families in speaking Romanian at home, because they have 'adapted' and 'speak Catalan' (outside). This allows her to present herself not as someone who discriminates heritage languages, but as a Catalan teacher pursuing integration for everyone through Catalan knowledge (level 3).

Additionally, integration is to be promoted for the students' sake, because if they speak Catalan at home, they will be fluent and avoid "having problems". Her preoccupation about stressing that she supports HL maintenance in 'adapted' families highlights the importance of appearing integrated (not just linguistically but also culturally such as the case of religion) for HL maintenance to seem acceptable. It should be noted that the religiosity or lack thereof of Romanians is not mentioned, implying that this does not create any perceived barriers for integration.

In the following excerpt, a different teacher presents a small story of an exception case of a student who did not learn Arabic from her parents.

Table 3. Excerpt 2

<b>Interviewer</b>	<b>And Moroccan girls?</b>
<b>5F</b>	They speak Catalan with each other
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hm hm. Okay and the boys?
<b>5F</b>	The boys speak Catalan with each other but Arabic words slip out
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. And why do you think it's different?
<b>5F</b>	Hmm what I was saying, girls stay home more
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay
<b>5F</b>	And boys spend more time on the street
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hm okay. And at home they speak Arabic, I understand? Most of them
<b>5F</b>	Yes
<b>Interviewer</b>	And between siblings they speak Arabic as well? Do you know?

**5F** I don't know. I can tell you about a girl because she told me not long ago

**Interviewer** No, it's ok yeah...

**5F** A girl told me, a girl in the last year of high-school, her parents decided to talk to her in Spanish, so she would adapt, I mean, I think she came here when she was one year old, and they decided to raise her in Spanish, but her younger brothers speak Arabic with their parents. And she speaks Catalan with her friends at school, and she doesn't speak Arabic.

**Interviewer** Curious

**5F** She doesn't know a word

**Interviewer** And did she say why it they did (speak Arabic) with her younger brothers?

**5F** Well, because they were here already and with the brothers they spoke Arabic but with her her parents where very committed to integration and they did it in Spanish

**Interviewer** I see

**5F** And she says that she can't speak Arabic. And her brothers do.

---

While the teacher does not explicitly give any judgment, the parents' decision to not teach Arabic to their child is presented in positive terms, the reason given that they wanted her to 'adapt' because they were very 'committed to integration' (level 2). We also see how gendered assumptions about Moroccan families are linked with correct and incorrect forms of language use. Despite the HL being the main language at home

for most Moroccan families, this participant states that girls speak good Catalan because they stay at home, but in the case of boys, Arabic words ‘sometimes slip out’ because they ‘spend more time on the street’, presumably instead of studying. 5F teaches math and not language, but by describing code switching as a mistake that girls, who are described as more studious, do not make, she reproduces the widespread assumption that the language taught in school should be ‘uncorrupted’ by Hls.

The antithesis to integrated immigrants was described as people who ‘excluded themselves’ from the Catalan society, only had relationships with compatriots, and were not sufficiently fluent in the local language(s). The teachers were generally concerned about this situation, often referred to as ‘ghettos’.

**Table 4. Excerpts 3 through 6**

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**Excerpt 3**

**1F** And the others are more... well, I don’t want to say ghetto, but I don’t know how to say it but... the parents are different. It’s difficult to get them to come to meetings.

---

**Excerpt 4**

**2F** And most groups are pretty heterogeneous, we don’t have ghettos by colors or by countries

---

**Excerpt 5**

**4F** I think integration requires a process, requires... years. You don’t get there in a day. And it includes getting to know the language, the culture, the people... where you’re going to live. And trying to understand them.

---



Without losing yours, evidently. But also it's trying to adapt. Not closing yourself. No ghettos. Having friends from here and from there

---

**Excerpt 6**

**9F** And then we also have problems because, because (Ukrainians) gather once in a while to party and stuff, and I can understand, because they're from outside, and it's very tough and stuff, I understand, but they don't care, they don't care that they have neighbors, no, they throw parties and it's all the same eh? Until late at night and we can't do anything, not even with the police, no, nothing, nothing.

And they say that they've come to a free country, and that they keep their customs, and in this sense, it's all very much like a ghetto

---

In these excerpts from four different teachers the existence of so-called ghettos is seen as a failure to integrate on the part of the immigrant, never from the host society. It is also associated to moral attributes, such as lack of involvement in their children's schooling (excerpt 5) or disruptive parties that even the police cannot avoid (excerpt 8). The word itself has additional negative connotations, as shown by 1F's reticence to use it, as it not only refers to lack of integration, but it may imply class and racial attributes as well. In excerpts 7 and 8 we also see acknowledgment that integration is a difficult endeavor for immigrants, to soften the conclusion that it is nevertheless necessary that they strive to integrate.

Table 5. Membership categorization device 'types of immigrants'. 'Integrated' vs. 'non-integrated' immigrant categories and associated predicates. Teacher code in parenthesis.

<b>Category</b>	<b>Category Bound Predicates and Activities</b>	
	Children	Parents
<b>Integrated</b>	fluent in local languages particularly Catalan (1F, 2F, 3M, 4F, 5F, 7F, 8F, 10M)	They speak Catalan instead of HL to children (1F, 2F, 5F, 9F)
	They do better at school (5F, 6M)	intelligent / more educated (1F, 5F, 8F)
	They have Catalan friends (1F, 5F, 7F, 8F, 9F, 10M),	
	Not/less discriminated (1F, 4F, 5F, 8F)	
	Low emotional ties to country of origin (1F)	
<b>Non-integrated</b>	speaking HL in the street (5F, 6M, 7F)	Not involved in children's education (1F, 2F)
	Not fluent in local languages because of HL use at home (5F, 8F, 9F)	disruptive behavior in the neighborhood (9F)
	Muslims (1F, 5F, 4F)	
	Moroccans (3M, 6M)	
	ghettos (1F, 2F, 4F, 9F)	
	they exclude themselves (2F, 5F),	
	They exclude others (6M, 7F)	

---

their main relationships are with  
other people from their culture (2F,  
4F, 7F, 9F)

---

disruptive behavior in class (2F, 6M,  
8F, 9F)

---

Looking at the recurrent themes associated to integrated and non-integrated immigrant students, we see several mentions of whether their parents are promoting their children's integration and whether they are integrated themselves. This is also linked to social class connotations, such as spending time on the street with compatriots, and low educational levels in parents. Finally, a recurrent theme is that, since integrated immigrants speak Catalan, they socialize with Catalan people and experience less or no discrimination. It is worth noting that in the first three schools, where there is a high ratio of Moroccan students, they are repeatedly mentioned as a group that is not integrated due to cultural, educational, and religious factors. In schools 1 and 2, where Romanian students are also common, Romanians are used as the example of a good immigrant to which Moroccans are compared. Additionally, participants tend to use the term 'Moroccan' and 'Muslim' interchangeably, disregarding religious diversity within people of Moroccan origin as well as students of other nationalities that are also predominantly Muslim.

All but four teachers said that students did not use their HL during class hours. However, when these four teachers were asked about this, they immediately answered by recalling short stories of disruptive or rebellious student behavior.

Table 6. Excerpt 7

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<b>Interviewer</b>	<b>And the children, what languages do they use?</b>
<b>2F</b>	When they want to make you angry, Arabic
<b>Interviewer</b>	(laughs) To make you angry?
<b>2F</b>	(laughs) yeah, well, we've had some... yeah. But, with each other to play in Spanish, and then to learn indistinctively Spanish or Catalan. There's no problem big or small, in principle. When they don't know a word they don't know it in Catalan or Spanish or French or any language, and that's because they don't read much. It's not... it's not a barrier, not in my subject, and not in class in general either
<b>Interviewer</b>	I see, and they use their language to make you angry? Or how...?
<b>2F</b>	Well they don't do it to me
<b>Interviewer</b>	Oh, okay
<b>2F</b>	I mean, but I'm a form tutor, and then you hear about all the bad things they do. And to annoy some teachers they do. They actually say silly things, harmless, and then laugh like they're saying something naughty, just to... to offend the person in question, and to make them forbid it, to forbid speaking a language that is not taught, that is, it's come to the point that you have to make it a class rule. It's

forbidden, you can only speak Catalan, Spanish, French, English and no more. That's it.

**Interviewer** Mhm.

**2F** Any other thing and you get expelled, otherwise that was terrible

**Interviewer** Mhm.

**2F** I mean, it's a way of... what I was saying, teenager games. Lack of maturity

---

In this excerpt, 2F establishes a category we have called 'rebellious student': someone who speaks Arabic 'to make you angry'. She goes on explaining how they are not using the HL for communicative purposes, but as 'teenager games', to laugh at the teacher who doesn't speak the language. Teachers then report the incident to her, because as a tutor, she has the authority to punish students. Since this instance of HL use is qualified as rebellious behavior, she positions herself as someone with the duty to maintain order at school. This results in an explicit prohibition of the HL, which undoubtedly reinforces the teachers' and students' perception of the HL as a tool to misbehave. It is interesting how the teacher does not explicitly say that Arabic is forbidden. Instead, she refers to HLs as 'languages not taught in school' and to reinforce this point she goes through the list of the four languages that are school subjects. These allows her to distance herself from the image of someone who specifically targets Arabic or the HLs of immigrants and frame the punishment as impartial language policy legitimized by the school curriculum (level 3). Two more teachers (7F, 6M) shared stories where they adopted similar roles, stating that they 'had to be careful' to keep an eye on students to prevent HL use during school hours because otherwise people would feel 'excluded' or left out 'in a corner'. 7F

Not only included other students in the 'feeling excluded' category, but also herself as a teacher.

Table 7. Excerpt 8

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<b>Interviewer</b>	<b>Okay... And which... which language do you think they should prioritize?</b>
<b>7F</b>	Which ones? Which ones I think? Me?
<b>Interviewer</b>	Yes, you, you
<b>7F</b>	Well I understand that... when they're with the group, there's a teacher that can't understand uhm out of respect they should maybe speak something that everyone understands, it doesn't matter which one but one that everyone... everyone understands no? If they're in a group, because sometimes... for their peers no? you feel... or even us, you can feel a bit... like, excluded
<b>Interviewer</b>	Do you have this kind of situations like... ?
<b>7F</b>	Yes, sometimes there are teachers that have told them eh? I mean, I don't know, if they have abused this in class no? Because you're not... it's a bit uncomfortable no? That people are speaking a language you don't understand
<b>Interviewer</b>	Yeah
<b>7F</b>	But... but I think that as long as... when it's just two of them then if they speak their language I think it's nice isn't it? And its ok no? So they don't lose it, to maintain it

---

While she does not necessarily assume malicious intentions behind HL use in public, she does categorize it as disrespectful, because it makes non-speakers uncomfortable. On the other hand, HL maintenance among friends of the same background, to avoid losing the language, is 'nice'. By encouraging HL maintenance, as long as it is outside of school hours, teachers reinforce the domain where they have authority over students (during school hours), and present themselves as impartial towards HLs, merely promoting intergroup relations.

We see a different approach to the HL as a tool to challenge authority on the following excerpt.

Table 8. Excerpt 9

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<b>Interviewer</b>	<b>Okay, and the parents in general, what do they speak, Spanish, Catalan...?</b>
<b>8F</b>	There's some... There's a little of everything. Some people.... I've heard that in meetings with parents it's difficult, in some cases the child has to come to translate, there's a bit of everything
<b>Interviewer</b>	Uhm, that puts a bit of pressure on the child doesn't it?
<b>8F</b>	Yeah, well, pressure or (laughs) or intelligence because they can translate however they please

---

Here, 8F recalls communicative difficulties with foreign parents, which often result in the student translating between school staff and parents. When the interviewer suggests that it is a tough position for a child, the teacher immediately corrects her, saying that it can be advantageous, because the student can mistranslate the teacher's

words to avoid trouble. By doing that, 8F rejects the interviewer’s level 2 positioning of the children as ‘victims’ of a difficult situation, and instead depicts them as exercising power over their parents and teachers. Since the children in the story mistranslate to avoid punishment or reprimand, the teacher positions herself (level 3) as helpless to exert her rightful authority. Again, the HL is presented as the students’ tool for rebellious behavior and disempower teachers.

The following table summarizes instances in which teachers recalled students using HLs in school, some of which were attributed to the ‘rebellious student’ category, and others which were presented as acceptable behavior.

Table 9. Membership categorization device ‘types of HL user’. Categories ‘Rebellious HL user’ and ‘Good HL user’ and associated predicates. Teacher code in parenthesis.

Category	Category Bound Predicates and Activities	
	About the student	Teacher reaction
<b>Rebellious HL user</b>	They speak the HL to make teachers angry (2F)	Forbid HL use (2F)
	They make others feel excluded by using the HL (6M, 7F)	You have to ‘watch out’ (6M, 7F), you look at their expression to prevent ‘complications’ (6M)
	They mistranslate between parents and teachers to get out of trouble (8F)	



<b>Good user</b>	<b>HL</b>	They rarely / never use the HL in school, and speak Catalan instead (1F, 3M, 4F, 5F, 10M)	Students should prioritize local languages for their education and career (3M)
		They speak Catalan instead of the HL between friends (1F)	I try to encourage them to speak the HL (10M)
		HL use mainly happens at home (1F, 5F, 7F) or in private (7F)	
		They study the HL as an extracurricular activity (2F, 5F)	
		Parents actively promote Catalan learning in their children (1F, 9F)	

In all four instances where HL is used in school hours, the teacher positions themselves as the figure of authority responsible to correct bad behavior and make the student switch to Catalan. The four teachers are otherwise different in terms of subject, school background and years of experience (see table 1).

On the other hand, all the remaining teachers stated that their students of immigrant origin rarely used their HLs in school, if ever. Therefore, they did not show these associations with rebellious behavior. Lack of HL use in school was expressed as either neutral or positive (e.g. 5F: 'they always speak Catalan to me, so no problem'). Positive examples of HL use were mainly presented as an extra bonus to their responsibilities to learn the local languages (e.g. extracurricular activities), or domains where it did not

affect non-speakers (e.g. at home, among compatriots). Only one of the teachers (10M) wished that students used their HLs more, and in his Spanish classes he tried to ask them to translate words and compare, especially among Romance languages.

### Discussion

While the bulk of the literature on HLs in school has revolved around ensuring that immigrant children acquire the local language(s) (Strobel, 2016), this study has a different focus. When our participants express their concerns surrounding multilingual students, HL use is not associated with a lack of Catalan or Spanish proficiency, since most of their students of immigrant origin have either been born in Catalonia or arrived at a very early age. Instead, it is linked with moral attributes, such as disruptive behavior, bad parenting, and disinterest to be integrated in society.

The topic of integration as a measure of acceptable cultural and linguistic maintenance was prevalent throughout the interviews. Our participants support HL maintenance, provided it does not interfere with 'integration'. In groups or individuals that are perceived as integrated, HL maintenance is seen as either harmless or positive, but in 'non-integrated immigrants', it is associated with negative attributes, such as disruptive behavior in class or in the neighborhood, lack of interest in the local society, lack of effort, and even excessive (Islamic) religiousness.

The categories of 'Integrated immigrant' and 'Ghetto immigrant/non-integrated immigrant' go beyond describing actual immigrants (as they are also applied to their offspring, who have not migrated) and problematize elements of cultural and linguistic maintenance that are seen as incompatible with the dominant culture (Schinkel, 2013). Even though integration is associated with interethnic relationships (as opposed to

'ghettos'), this rule only applies to immigrants, since Catalans that only associate with other Catalans are not considered 'unintegrated'. Sabaté-Dalmau argues that monolingual language regimes are fundamental to the construction of the nation-state as a homogeneous unity, to which immigration is a threat (2018). In the case of Catalonia, efforts to restore the status of Catalan after the repressive dictatorship of Franco particularly relied on the establishment of Catalan as an ethnic symbol, resulting in the widespread view of Catalan as an ingroup ethnically marked language (Sabaté-Dalmau, 2018). However, when it comes to HLs, the logic behind linguistic regimentation practices that were meant to subvert Catalan repression is employed to enforce social hierarchies by delimiting which language practices are legitimate, through vigilance of language use, praise for those who comply, and punishment (Bourdieu, 1982).

This understanding of the heritage culture as incompatible with integration is particularly salient in the case of Moroccan immigrants. The HL of these students (which is almost always referred to as Arabic, even though many of them speak Amazigh), is associated to misbehaving students, students who spend more time on the street than studying at home, and overly strict Islamic practice imposed by parents. In various instances they are compared with Romanians, who also use their HL at home, but are nevertheless 'integrated'. It is interesting that Romanians are presented as the example of the 'good, integrated immigrant' only in the schools that also had a high ratio of Moroccan students. Several studies conducted in Spanish schools show that teachers are students present particularly negative associations towards Moroccan culture as well as highly assimilative attitudes towards these students (Petreñas et al., 2019; Serra et al., 2015; Serra i Salamé, 2001). The fixation on the integration of Muslims reflects

wider societal discourses that target them as a potentially dangerous group that must be under surveillance to prevent future terrorist activity (Choudhury, 2021).

Some authors have pointed out that Islam has become a 'de facto race', in which racial prejudices are associated to religion (Khan & Gallego-Balsà, 2021). It is notable that participants refer to Moroccans indistinctly as such or as Muslims, disregarding other nationalities that are also predominantly Muslim. Their HL is almost always referred to as Arabic, with barely any mention of Amazigh dialects. This may be due to ignorance in some cases, but it may also be considered irrelevant to integration. HL maintenance in those perceived as Muslim is strongly associated with strict adherence to Islam mandated by parents, showing how language use is perceived as racially embodied, and it is inseparable from racial attributes (Khan & Gallego-Balsà, 2021; Rosa & Flores, 2017). Some teachers go beyond HL use within the school and problematize cultural maintenance at home as well. Moroccans parents' 'imposition' of Islam and HL use is depicted as a barrier towards their children's correct integration, mimicking the colonialist discourse of the white saviour that has to civilize backwards cultures for their own sake (Adlbi Sibai, 2016). Other religions, such as Orthodox Christianity (which is common in Romania but not in Spain), are never mentioned as a hindrance for integration, showing the implicit Eurocentric hierarchies behind it. Additionally, the racializing stereotypes assigned to Moroccans differ by gender. Teachers describe Moroccan girls as studious and well behaved (and therefore more integrated), and boys as less studious and prone to undesired code-switching. This aligns with typical characterizations of Muslim girls as subdued to their parents as opposed to boys (Adlbi Sibai, 2016).

Other than as a hindrance for integration, HL use is condemned when it happens at school or in front of non-speakers (i.e., people of no immigrant background such as classmates and teachers), because it makes them feel excluded or uncomfortable. The category 'rebellious student' allows teachers to position themselves as figures of authority to control HL use on the basis of keeping order and good intergroup relations. Flores and Rosa (2017) explain how appropriateness-based language education tends to favor social, racial, and linguistic hierarchies. Drawing from Inoue's (2003) analysis of the 'male listening subject', around whom the sociolinguistic category of 'women's language' is constructed in Japanese, Flores and Rosa argue that the linguistic practices of racialized people are considered inappropriate and are expected to adapt to the standards of the 'white listening subject'. Here the appropriateness of HL use is judged based on how the 'Catalan listening subject' feels, and whether they seem integrated according to their standards, instead of prioritizing the well-being and inclusion of students of diverse backgrounds (Khan & Gallego-Balsà, 2021).

Johnson and Johnson (2015) explain that teachers have an enormous influence on how institutional language policy is applied in schools. By banning or limiting the use of HLs, teachers reinforce the existing linguistic hierarchies present in general society and perpetuate the message that the languages associated with the cultures of their students are not as legitimate and worth learning (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001). At the same time, it perpetuates a discourse of social cohesion based on homogeneity, which blames those who are categorized as 'the other' for failing to conform and therefore impeding that so-called integration and cohesion. Peers who are not HL speakers may even reinforce these patterns by complaining to teachers when they hear HL being spoken (Sáenz-Hernández et al., 2021), which may cause HL speakers to feel alienated

from their environment and even affect their possibilities of pursuing higher education (Lapresta-Rey et al., 2021).

### Conclusions

This study explored the categories and associated attributes used by teachers to (de)legitimize the languages of students of immigrant background, and how these racially ascribed characteristics affect HL maintenance. It combined membership categorization and positioning analysis, two analytical tools that are extremely useful to uncover unconscious social categories but have not been widely used to analyze discourse towards HLs.

Although the representativeness of the results can be limited to the context of the research, the particular characteristics of this understudied region (high ratio of immigration and high ratio of regional language use), make it particularly suitable to explore relationships among languages that go beyond a majority-minority binary.

Our results show that the school context has the power to reinforce power relations, but there is also potential to work to dismantle them. Today's educators need to be prepared for the multilingual and multicultural reality of present-day schools, instead of an imagined homogeneous classroom, and challenge the dominant societal discourses that hurt their students.

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## Global discussion

The four studies that form this thesis build on each other in various ways. They show how linguistic norms are co-created among students and teachers in the school context. The results show that teachers and students without immigrant background tend to reproduce existing hierarchies and how students of immigrant background navigate this environment in different ways. The topic of integration is central to this conversation, as it includes expectations of how immigrants should behave in private and in public, societal imaginaries of what being Catalan means, and which groups are deemed more or less compatible with Catalan society. In this section we discuss how the results of these four studies complement each other to gain a comprehensive grasp of the different patterns in linguistic acculturation expectations and profiles, how they relate to the expectations of peers and teachers, and how these vary among ethnic groups.

### Linguistic acculturation profiles of students of immigrant background

Concerning linguistic acculturation profiles, all four studies showed a clear distinction in linguistic acculturation profiles between the public and private spheres. This distinction was made by students of immigrant background when explaining their linguistic acculturation patterns as well as by peers and teachers when expressing their expectations towards immigrants. In the case of students of immigrant background, most of them had a high degree of HL use at home but showed distinct linguistic acculturation profiles at school. While Catalan was reported to be used in all acculturation profiles, whether or not it was combined with HL use was a source of friction with peers and teachers. This is consistent with the Relative Acculturation Extended Model (Navas et al., 2004), which postulates that people tend to prioritize the heritage culture in the more private or intimate areas of life, while the opposite is done



in more public areas such as school or work. In this dissertation we have aimed to further explore this distinction between the cultural manifestations that are acceptable in public (the culture and language of the dominant group) and the ones that are expected to be kept private (the heritage culture and language), and how this divide reflects systemic hierarchies that undermine immigrants cultural and linguistic background (Khan & Gallego-Balsà, 2021; Rosa & Flores, 2017).

Students of immigrant background reported feeling pressured to assimilate to Catalan-only linguistic norms at school, in the name of integration. They recalled situations where they had been reprimanded for speaking their HL in front of others. While some had adopted a linguistic acculturation profile of assimilation to Catalan conscious that it was a way to avoid discrimination, others advocated for a more inclusive view of what it means to be integrated as an immigrant. This aligns with the fact that students in multilingual acculturation profiles showed significantly worse attitudes towards Catalan than the other groups who did not use the HL in school. This, however did not happen with attitudes towards Spanish. Woolard and Frekko (2005, 2013) explain this phenomenon using the construct of legitimacy through authenticity and anonymity. While Spanish is valued because of their state-wide as well as international present, which confers it a sense of political unmarkedness, Catalan is associated to a marked community to which some of the students might not feel like they belong (Sabaté-Dalmau, 2018).

#### Linguistic acculturation expectations of students without immigrant background

There was a clear private-public distinction in linguistic acculturation expectations among those without immigrant background as well. In the case of students, we see

notable differences between our second paper, where they were asked in general about whether they supported that their immigrant peers maintain their HL, and the third paper, where their opinions on HL maintenance were analyzed more in depth in focus groups. The fact that very different results were obtained in these two instances is key. While students without immigrant background generally consider that HL maintenance is positive, they have more restrictive views on the appropriate places where it should be used, the school not being one of those appropriate places. As reasoning behind this separation, students without immigrant background and teachers reinforced the importance that immigrants be integrated, which was defined in terms of assimilation to Catalan in the public sphere. When they used the HL in public, even in private conversations with their HL speaking friends, they were deemed disruptive, disrespectful to non-speakers, and unintegrated.

This may reinforce the perception of Catalan as an ingroup language to which someone who also speaks Arabic, Amazigh or Romanian cannot belong, affecting in turn attitudes towards Catalan in students of immigrant background that maintain their HL in public. It is notable that in paper 2 we see that students without immigrant background who identify equally with Catalan and Spanish have more inclusive linguistic acculturation expectations towards immigrants than those who identify strongly with just one language. This is explained using the construct of social identity complexity, which refers to the perceived degree of compatibility or between different identities or social groups (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). These authors postulate that individuals who are able to reconcile seemingly opposing identities (such as Catalan and Spanish, which tend to be socially constructed in opposition (Lapresta-Rey et al., 2019)) can understand better how members of a group could have diverse identities and characteristics (Brewer &

Pierce, 2005; Huff et al., 2017; Saleem et al., 2018). As a result, they have an easier time accepting that a Catalan speaker can also be a speaker of languages like Romanian, Chinese or Amazigh as well.

#### Teachers' discourse and influence on students

Our fourth paper, that focused on teachers' perceptions of HL use in students, shed light on the dynamics that we had already seen in the students' experiences analyzed in the third paper. Just like the students reported, many teachers corroborated that they paid attention to make sure that students of immigrant background did not use their HLs at school, so as to prevent others (or even themselves) from feeling "uncomfortable". Thus, the desirable linguistic behavior of immigrant students is not based on what is supposed to be good for them, but what Flores and Rosa call the 'white listening subject' (2017). Even when the benefits of immigrants are explicitly mentioned, the benefits of maintaining the heritage languages are never brought up by teachers and are treated as an optional bonus language to the official dominant ones. Gartner and Dovidio warn that racism often 'operates unconsciously in subtle and indirect ways' and is performed by individuals who 'regard themselves as nonprejudiced but, at the same time, harbor negative feelings and beliefs about members of minority groups' (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2007). Grosfoguel adds that it is multi-formed, marked not only by color, but also 'ethnicity, language, culture and/or religion' (Grosfoguel, 2016, 10).

It is particularly telling that teachers related HL use with instances of student misconduct or direct challenges to authority. Several authors point out how racism in current Spain may appear in the form of 'colorblind discourse' (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Corona & Block, 2020; Khan & Gallego-Balsà, 2021). Teachers do not acknowledge that their rejection

towards HLs is specifically directed to immigrants and their children, and instead appeal to general values that appear to be directed at anybody, such as 'good manners' or 'good behavior'. It directly ties with the testimony from a Romanian student in study 3, who said that when teachers and students reprimanded her for speaking Romanian with a friend she would switch to Catalan. But then she corrected herself adding that, if she was in a bad mood, she would continue to speak Romanian "to piss them off". This implies that she has internalized the message that her home language is inappropriate or even offensive to locals. Bourdieu explains how a system of reinforcement of undesirable forms linguistic behavior and sanctions towards undesirable ones establish these linguistic hierarchies that are internalized and reproduced by those who participate of these exchanges (Bourdieu, 1991).

The stress on the appropriateness of HL use depending on whether students are considered integrated enough, directly relates to the imagined society to which the dominant group expects them to "integrate into". Even though integration is repeatedly defined as "the opposite of ghettos" (that is, inter-ethnic mixing and relationships), this is considered the immigrants' responsibility. Locals are not considered "unintegrated" if they only mix with their ethnic group, nor they are expected to integrate in general. Thus, "integration" demands, and the assimilative efforts they entail, actually serve to invisibilize the immigrant 'other' by relegating diversity to private spaces, and to protect the status quo which is comfortable for the dominant group.

It is not surprising that students with multilingual profiles in study 3 reacted defensively when asked to define integration and stressed their right to keep their heritage language and culture. Other studies have also pointed out the growing distrust held by immigrant

communities regarding anything related to the word (Verdía Varela et al., 2020). However, the root of the problem cannot be fixed by changing the word (such as referring to the same policies as inclusion instead of integration), only by changing the assimilative undertones behind them.

#### Ethnic differences

In addition to these general patterns, we found important differences among ethnic groups, both in tendencies for linguistic acculturation profiles and in the linguistic acculturation expectations placed on them. In study 1 we see that there are significant differences in the ethnic distribution of the linguistic profile groups, as well as a significant interaction effect between ethnic group and linguistic acculturation profile on language attitudes. In study 2 we see that students without immigrant background respond similarly to the questionnaire on linguistic acculturation expectations regarding Romanians and Moroccans. However, we see important differences in the perception of whether these expectations are met. Both students without immigrant background and teachers (studies 3 and 4) not only see Moroccans as less integrated, but they also consider that their integration is extremely difficult due to perceived cultural incompatibilities.

We have argued that the insistence on students to appear integrated for their linguistic practices to be considered legitimate directly ties with the conception of Catalan as an in-group language. In study 3 we can see how students of immigrant background reproduce these ideas, as those with Catalan assimilation profiles state that speaking only Catalan is a way to avoid discrimination and be accepted into Catalan-speaking groups. On the other hand, those in multilingual profiles defend themselves by

professing feelings of belonging to the ethnic group. Acculturation research shows that when the dominant society favors assimilation, minorities will tend to present either assimilation or separation profiles instead of integration, since simultaneous maintenance of both cultures will be seen as incompatible (Saleem et al., 2018; Storm et al., 2017; Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012). However, reaching assimilation expectations might be much easier for groups of higher status or that are culturally closer to the dominant group, as we see in Mihai's example in study 3, who claims to be able to avoid discrimination because, 'since his Catalan accent is good', people are unaware of his Romanian background. On the other hand, racialized groups may never 'look local' enough to the dominant groups and thus may not profit from assimilation in the same way. As such, ethnic differences in linguistic acculturation and language attitudes suggest that ethnicity plays a role on the possibility of identifying with the Catalan-speaking group.

When participants without immigrant background were interviewed, Moroccans or Muslims were repeatedly singled out as 'difficult to assimilate' due to cultural and religious incompatibilities. In schools where both Moroccan and Romanian students were common, Romanians were offered as the example of a 'good immigrant' who correctly assimilates to society, but it is notable that this positive discourse about Romanian immigrants only appeared when in comparison with their Moroccan counterparts. In study 3, in a school where Romanians are much more prevalent than other nationalities, one of the Romanian students reports teachers and students asking her to not speak Romanian in class. Similarly, her classmates without immigrant origin complain about classmates speaking Romanian. Thus, these comparisons between Moroccan and Romanian immigrants are probably more telling of the dominant

society's prejudices towards Moroccan and Muslim immigrants than about Romanian immigrants in particular. This has to be analyzed taking into account the general Western discourse that has established the Middle East as the antithesis of a supposedly modern secular Western culture (Adlbi Sibai, 2016; Douhaibi & Almazian, 2019; Said, 1978), as well as the particular historical relationship of Spain with Morocco. The national narrative of the foundation of the country is strongly based on defeat of Muslim rule on the territory (Corrales, 2004; Mateo Dieste, 2017) during the expansion of the Christian kingdoms of the peninsula (722 – 1492). This commonly referred to, and studied in schools, as the 'Reconquest', even though Spain did not exist as a unified political entity at the time.

The fact that HL use in children of Moroccan origin was associated to parents being overly strict about the transmission of Islam also shows that language is inseparable from racial attributes (Khan & Gallego-Balsà, 2021; Rosa & Flores, 2017). The teachers' use of Muslim and Moroccan interchangeably confirms Khan and Gallego-Balsà's (2021) analysis of Islam as a 'de facto race' in which religion is given racial attributes. In this sense, HL use becomes a sign of not just lack of integration, but adherence to a particularly undesirable culture.

## Conclusions

This dissertation explored the complexity of linguistic acculturation of high school students of immigrant background, as they navigate the process of constructing their identities in an often-unwelcoming environment to which they are paradoxically expected to assimilate. Despite the long tradition of scholarship proving that HL maintenance does not hinder acquisition of the dominant language (Cummins, 1979), this study shows that HLs in Lleidan schools are still viewed as inevitable baggage or even a hurdle to be overcome for integration.

While most studies in acculturation theory have a binary design encompassing only one minority and one majority language, this study increases its complexity, since two languages have to be taken into account in the dominant society. This provides novel outlooks to linguistic acculturation research, as we have incorporated identity complexity in the locals' identification towards Catalan, Spanish or both and how this affects their acculturation expectations regarding immigrants' heritage languages. In the case of the students of immigrant background this also creates different assimilation and integration orientations that may prioritize the symbolic value of group membership through Catalan use or the more 'cosmopolitan' discourse of preference for Spanish. At the same time, despite the apparently universal discourse on immigrant integration shared by teachers and students without foreign background, not all heritage languages are treated in the same ways, since racial attributes are inseparable from their associated languages.

Similar multilingual acculturation studies have been conducted in the region of Quebec, considering both French and English as languages of the dominant society (Montreuil &



Bourhis, 2004), and the Basque Autonomous Region in Spain where Basque is official along with Spanish (Garcia et al., 2017; Larrañaga et al., 2016; Larrañaga, García, Berasategi, & Azumendi, 2020; Montaruli, Bourhis, Azurmendi, et al., 2011). However not much research has been done in Catalonia that addresses multilingual linguistic acculturation patterns that include the HLs of immigrants, instead centering around just Spanish and Catalan. This difference is vital, because overfocusing on Catalan while disregarding, or even worse, treating the HLs of immigrants as a hurdle to overcome, is arguable one of the main mistakes that our participants make in the name of integration. This dissertation shows that enforcing Catalan assimilation not only perpetuates harmful linguistic hierarchies that undermine non-European languages, it also proves to be ineffective to ensure Catalan transmission in students that wish to keep their HL active, as well as racialized students for whom 'passing' as a normative Catalan teenager is unattainable. As we have seen, the results suggest that these efforts may be counterproductive and fuel resentment towards the language; as opposed to Spanish, which is perceived as more ethnically neutral. Regional language maintenance efforts such as that of Catalan need to distance themselves from essentialist conceptions of the ethnically homogeneous idea of the nation and instead acknowledge the ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity of their territories.

Although the representability of this study is limited to the small province of Lleida, it aims to add to the existing research on the immigrant student experience in Catalonia and leaves some considerations for future research and educational policy. First, it highlights how racial stereotypes and prejudices not only may cause psychological harm in students of immigrant background, but also alienate them from teachers and peers as a result of discrimination. Thus, lack of compliance with society's linguistic

acculturation expectations may reduce the students' access to educational opportunities, knowledge, and social groups. In turn, teachers' and peers' complaints of HL use in school grounds serve to reinforce rules that delegitimize the linguistic and cultural background of students of immigrant background and protect an unequal status quo.

Another limitation of this study is that it relied on interviews to understand school dynamics. While these provided many relevant insights, future studies could complement these results with ethnographic research at the schools. Additionally, it would be extremely valuable to add the parents' input on these issues, as well as other age groups of students. Participatory action research involving students of both backgrounds could also help add new insights as well as directly engage the students to transform their environment towards a more inclusive one.

As for the educational implications of this research, the data shows that teachers have a crucial role in the students experience of school, and regardless of wider state policies, they have an enormous individual effect on challenging or maintaining existing inequalities. It is thus vital that teachers are trained to work in culturally diverse classrooms, and that they are informed about their students' languages and cultures in order to prevent them from falling into racist biases that harm their students. While it is not feasible to expect teachers to be well educated on every possible language and culture, this could be overcome by incorporating some curricular flexibility that allowed teachers to adapt to their current classrooms, involving students in the learning process. Teachers should be expected to be aware of their foreign students' linguistic backgrounds (as opposed to generic terms like 'African languages'), and to be able to

detect racism within their classrooms, let alone not perpetuate it themselves. We hope that this dissertation can highlight harmful patterns that often go unnoticed and can serve to inform such teacher training programs.

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