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Attitudes toward Bilingualism among Youths in Barcelona **Hope N. Doyle**

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ATTITUDES TOWARD BILINGUALISM AMONG YOUTHS IN BARCELONA

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*Tan sólo con el catalán no podríamos ir a ninguna parte,
pero sin el catalán no seríamos catalanes.
(Catalan informant)*

INTRODUCTION

Catalan language spread in Barcelona is a fact that has been illustrated in municipal census data for Catalonia for over a decade. 89.7 percent of the 340 public high school students from Barcelona-capital surveyed in my 1990-91 fieldwork claimed to write Catalan either fairly well or very well. The enormous influx of people from other parts of Spain which, between the post-war period and the mid 1970's, had changed the demographic composition of Barcelona, was (and is) considered by most scholars of Catalan sociolinguistics to be the primary complicating factor in the Catalan normalization campaign.

Taking Catalan language spread as a point of departure then, the purpose of this study has been to document and analyze attitudes toward the concept of bilingualism among teens in Barcelona. Teens are among the "movers and shakers" of language; they are experiencing a critical moment of confluence of two factors: they are cementing their individual, social, and ethnic identities, and the peer group begins to wield a greater influence in their lives. Today's youths' attitudes toward bilingualism may indicate their future attitudes and future linguistic behavior: choice of language, in the case at hand. Teens are among the first generation to experience compulsory study of Catalan throughout their school careers, since the normalization program in schools was formally implemented in 1983. Now that these subjects are proficient in Catalan, do they use the language when Spanish is nearly always an alternative? What are their attitudes with regard to bilingualism? Do these attitudes reflect circumstances of "stable" Catalan-Spanish bilingualism (with a roughly symmetrical power relationship), or the possibility of such circumstances? (I employ the term 'stable' with some hesitation, cognizant of the nature of language and identity: ever in flux.) With regard to language usage, I have found that subjects of immigrant heritage employ Catalan most often in instrumental exchanges, with socially distant interlocutors. Also,

social class and parents' education was generally positively correlated to usage of Catalan (Doyle 1993). With these findings regarding language usage in mind, I then focused on attitudes toward bilingualism *in toto*.

Though the literature is quite thorough with respect to language proficiency in Barcelona, and to some extent, language usage, language attitudes are just beginning to be explored. The few studies that have focused on Barcelona youth in this regard have primarily explored attitudes toward the speakers of Catalan and of Spanish (Ros et al. 1987; Woolard 1985, 1989, 1992), with the notable exception of the work of Emili Boix Fuster (1993), in which, in addition to exploring attitudes toward speakers who choose to accommodate to the other language (Catalan to Spanish, and the opposite, via a matched-guise test) he explores teens' attitudes toward code-switching itself. Boix's work is valuable particularly because the matched-guise portion of his survey was administered to a significant number of subjects (154), I believe by far the largest sample of youths to respond to such a test. He finds that attitudes toward code-switching to either Catalan or Spanish are neither positive nor negative, but that switching to Spanish is no longer the absolute norm. (Boix 203) The work of Bastardas (1986) also analyzes attitudes toward language and ethnicity, though among youths in a non-metropolitan region of Catalonia.

METHODOLOGY

The aim of the 1983 Law of Linguistic Normalization was not only to increase knowledge of Catalan within the population, but to propagate its use in the extra-familial, social domains, thereby achieving normalization of the tongue. In order to explore the results of the normalization program or campaign, I sought the population whose proficiency results were highest, and explored their language behavior and attitudes, and the factors affecting them. To this end, fieldwork which would indicate the successes an/or failures of the linguistic revitalization process was necessary. These were the objectives in the preparation of the survey.

I selected public high schools (despite the large number of private 'instituts') as the venue to administer the survey, to get a sense of the effects of the most powerful instrument of the normalization campaign, the public educational system, the language use of which is regulated. The public school system furthermore represents a broad array of social groups within the city. The questionnaire format was chosen primarily because it allows one to gather a larger sample than possible

by interview or observation; it is relatively easy to distribute and collect; and allows greater access to analysis across informants. (Romaine 269).

In order to attain information on subjects from three parentage categories ("immigrant" parents or both born outside of Catalonia, "mixed" parentage, and parents born in Catalonia), schools were chosen to represent the neighborhoods of both the greatest "native" Catalan as well as "immigrant" concentrations.

Attitudes about bilingualism in Barcelona were explored in my survey by means of three essential questions. The first asked the respondents to say whether bilingualism was a positive or negative feature for Barcelona and, if possible, to explain their answer. The second asked the subjects whether they believed it would be convenient for everyone in the city to speak both languages and why they felt this way. The third question asked if the youths felt that the government (Generalitat) should do more to actively promote Catalan. In general, the responses to all three of these questions were overwhelmingly affirmative; thus at the foundation of the foregoing qualitative analysis is this fundamental point: attitudes among teens toward bilingualism in Barcelona are firmly positive. Bastardas Boada (1986), Woolard (1989), Casamiglia, et al (1981), Ros (1984) among others, have found that attitudes toward Catalan and its speakers are generally positive. Boix (1993) found that many of his informants were indifferent to an individual's choice of language (Catalan or Spanish), wishing, he concludes, only to avoid conflict. Boix highlights some dissonance between his subjects stated attitudes and their behavior.

THE SURVEY

The commentary by one of the subjects of the study, which provides the epigraph of the present article, ("With just Catalan, we wouldn't be able to get anywhere, but without it, we wouldn't be Catalan.") is an example of the extent to which both Catalan and Spanish are necessary for many subjects with regard to identity and communication. While Spanish is necessary for communication with other parts of Spain and the world, Catalan, though not fulfilling this communicative need, fulfills an equally important need, namely, ethnic identification. The analysis of attitudes toward particular languages and their speakers (Catalan and Spanish in the present case) is useful in discerning the extent of cultural and linguistic loyalties and nationalist sentiments. It may be differentiated from the study of attitudes toward bilingualism in that the former explores the degree of

integration of the languages in the individual, often assuming that more of one means less of the other, while the latter poses a more holistic question. It asks what the underlying assumptions are about the possibilities of harmonious co-existence between the two languages. Thus, here we ask whether the subjects believe it is possible for Catalan and Spanish to co-exist in a positive and equally beneficial manner, or, whether the contact of the two implies for the respondents an inevitable linguistic imbalance in the individual and a struggle for dominance of one language over the other. If so, loyalties to individual languages and conflicts with respect to them offer essential information. A holistic approach to the analysis of the bilingual individual is in order, so as to view bilingualism in an integrated way, since it is well known that the bilingual individual is not a composite of two monolinguals inhabiting one body, but rather, an individual uniquely different from a monolingual. According to this perspective, harmonious co-existence of both languages is at least a possibility.

This view of bilingualism may be contrasted with the widely held (Bastardas Boada, 1985; Badia i Margarit, 1981) idea that competition is inherent between languages in contact because, as Lieberman points out, "the optimal conditions for their native speakers are normally incompatible" (1981: 9). Esteva i Fabregat (1984) affirms that the history of bilingualism is essentially the history of the "confrontation between two linguistically differentiated peoples" wherein the speakers of one language are politically subordinate to those of the other. He highlights the existence in such circumstances of a "state structure in which different nationalities have languages which are different from that of the state." In fact, Esteva i Fabregat further states that bilingualism appears primarily as a function of the state, rather than as "an expression of the intrinsic or specific needs of individuals" (1984: 44-45). He explains that to the extent that "the two languages represent a 'them' and 'us' situation," the speakers of both will necessarily experience conflict, due to "the vicissitudes inherent in the differentiation of status which [. . .] refer to the contradictions and the dialectic attached to the fact that the state is a nation composed of nations." (1984: 56-57).

Though there are still clear signs of conflict with respect to bilingualism in Barcelona, the responses seen as a whole reflect circumstances for these youths in which the two languages in Barcelona no longer entirely represent a "them and us situation," or that many of the respondents are at once "them and us." They express symbolic identification with both languages. Their identification with Catalan has apparently been aided by the normalization project. Yet, at the same time, the project has served to heighten sentiments and

illuminate historical circumstances in which these two identities conflict.

The following analysis explores the reasons for the subjects' positive, integrative attitudes, both expressed and suggested. It also considers the dissenting opinions of those who feel that bilingualism is a negative attribute for Barcelona, a group which comprises more than 20% of children of Catalan-born parents, and 13.4% of the total sample. This opinion largely rested on the idea that in a bilingual setting, one language (Spanish) will inevitably dominate and stifle the other (Catalan). In this regard, another facet of the configuration of bilingualism in Barcelona which must be highlighted is the fact that use of Spanish still prevails (as reported in the language usage section of my study, and in the work of Boix and others).

The variety of responses with respect to the definition of bilingualism suggested by the subjects, as well as their conception of an alternative to it, show that there is little consensus in this respect. Repercussions of this disagreement are seen in the issues of official Catalan language promotion, and the perceived linguistic responsibilities of the citizens of Catalonia. Table 1 shows the responses to the question of the value of bilingualism, and indicates that bilingualism is viewed positively by a majority of each of the three parentage sub samples. The group that most overwhelmingly supports bilingualism is comprised of those of immigrant parentage, since more than 9 out of 10 respondents of this sub sample feel that bilingualism is positive. This is contrasted to the decidedly lower percentage of respondents of Catalan parentage who felt that the co-existence of both languages was positive (78.8%).

More than one in five of the subjects of Catalan parentage viewed bilingualism as a negative factor, preferring instead Catalan monolingualism. This same response among those of 'mixed parentage' accounted for nearly one in seven, and only one in twelve respondents of immigrant parents.

Several of the responses shown in Table 2 illustrate the subjects' underlying assumption that it is possible for the Catalan and Spanish languages to co-exist harmoniously, equally benefiting the individual. This perception of the possibility of harmony is expressed in the most frequent response for each of the sub samples, namely, that bilingualism represents a broader cultural configuration than monolingualism (37.4%) and shows that the population is multicultural, open, tolerant, cultivated and educated. This response essentially supports language and culture for their own sake, though the high social status of Catalan is also a component. It also views both languages as being advantageous to the individual, and perhaps the

individual who speaks both is greater than the sum of two monolingual Catalan and Spanish speakers. The fact that Catalan is highly valued socially allows for a sense of cultivation in its acquisition.

Bilingualism represents broader culture than monolingualism to nearly 40% of the immigrant parentage sub sample. This same response was less frequent among children of mixed parentage (35.4%) and slightly less still among children of Catalan-born parents. (34.7%). The differences in percentages to this response are likely related to the fact that Catalan represents an additive feature to children of immigrants, while children of Catalan-born parents are more likely to feel that the Spanish component of bilingualism threatens the survival of the Catalan language.

Many respondents expressed pride in knowing both languages (though they may admit to giving preference to Spanish in actual usage) and feeling a part of the cultures of both the state and the internal nation. The developing European Community also plays a role in this attitude, as the subjects see themselves surrounded by increasingly larger cultural concentric circles. Such a sense is clearly an urban phenomenon, in which the subjects in this study are more accustomed to cultural diversity than their provincial cousins. One respondent noted in this respect:

[El bilingüismo es] positivo porque ayuda a ser abierto, a respetar cualquier tendencia, lo contrario conduce al radicalismo. (End notes, trans. 2)

Other respondents noted that bilingualism was enriching:

Positivo porque todas las culturas aportan conocimientos y enriquecen. (3)
Positivo, le da prestigio y cultura, el que se conozcan ambas lenguas puede demostrar esa cultura, y la convivencia [demuestra] que España es un país culto. (4)

The feeling of multicultural openness was no doubt also fostered by the air of expectancy and pride in the city during my 1990-91 stay, as it was furiously preparing itself to be the host of the 1992 Olympic Games. Among the many tee-shirts and posters throughout the city, one declared: *Barcelona, més que mai!* (Barcelona, more than ever!)

The subject who indicated two important aspects of bilingualism by saying that with just the Catalan language, one wouldn't be able to get anywhere, but without it, one wouldn't be Catalan, cleverly highlighted the circumstances surrounding teen attitudes toward bilingualism. For the sake of communication with other citizens of the Spanish state, and with the millions of Spanish speakers who live

elsewhere, Spanish is essential. But the Catalan language is a fundamental ingredient of Catalan identity (like the Spanish language and identity), and one, it must be mentioned, that is acquirable. Many respondents pointed out these practical features of both languages.

Nearly one in three subjects regarded bilingualism positively for pragmatic reasons: facilitating communication, allowing for greater communication with visitors from other parts of Spain, as well as with those who are identified as Catalan and who, for reasons related to language accommodation, should be spoken to in Catalan. This response represented a smaller percentage of the 'mixed' parentage sub sample than that of the other two sub samples.

The following response points out the function of bilingualism with respect to the immigrant groups, viewing the Spanish language as the additive feature:

Es positivo ya que facilita más la comunicación, porque hay muchas personas que no son nacidas aquí y viven en barrios en los cuales el catalán no se habla y si no hubiera bilinguismo, no se enterarían. (5)

Another subject pointed out that bilingualism has a communicative function, viewing Catalan as the additive feature:

Es positivo porque siempre hay más posibilidades de relacionarse con más gente (solo en Catalunya) y de comunicarse con ella y además hoy en día en Catalunya se pide mucho el que sepas hablar las dos lenguas, aunque fuera de ella no sirve. Negativo porque hay personas catalanas que insisten en hablar en catalán aunque la otra persona no sepa hablarla. (6)

With regard to the communicational function of bilingualism, one subject indicated the perception that the communicative abilities of native Catalans are greater than those of Spanish mother-tongue speakers. The subject implied that while Catalan mother-tongue speakers are able to seamlessly switch from one language to the other, Spanish mother-tongue speakers are not as able to switch appropriately:

El bilinguismo en Barcelona es muy curioso, ya que los catalano-parlantes tienen más facilidad para dominar bien las dos lenguas y se desenvuelven mejor en ambas que los castellano-parlantes que les cuesta más aprender la otra lengua y se desenvuelven, por lo general, poco en la otra lengua (seguramente por miedo a hablarlo mal, o ser corregidos rigurosamente [...]). (7)

This response addresses a lack of communicative competence on the part of Spanish mother-tongue speakers despite their several years of study of Catalan. Often these subjects expressed a will to

accommodate to Catalan speakers, but feared not expressing themselves as well as they would like. It illustrates a difficult juncture for bilingualism in Barcelona, since nearly all youths who have received their schooling in Barcelona public schools, regardless of parentage, know how to speak and write Catalan, while the generation of Catalans before them were generally illiterate in Catalan. Despite their high proficiency levels, many subjects lack the communicative abilities to make bilingualism "run smoothly." As the respondents as a group affirm, communication is one of the primary benefits of bilingualism, yet several also point to the problematic nature of communicating competently. This problem is not perceived with respect to the Spanish language, in which all subjects are perfectly competent. One respondent, discussing her current proficiency in Catalan, said that it felt good to express herself in a relaxed manner and howsoever she wanted (suggesting this was previously not the case). Continued increase in competence with respect to all of the subtleties of interaction in Catalan would apparently alleviate communicative tensions, and bolster the use of Catalan.

One in six subjects of the immigrant parentage sub sample views bilingualism as a positive feature for Barcelona because it allows the population to accommodate to Spanish monolinguals, whether resident or visiting. Only one in 15 subjects of mixed parentage gave this response, and one in 14 of those of Catalan-born parentage. Some who expressed this sentiment also mentioned the fact that many foreign visitors may have learned Spanish, but they will certainly not have learned Catalan in their home country. They see value in maintaining Spanish because of its status as an international language and as a way of communicating with the other citizens of Spain; they seemed to revel in the fact that everyone—Andalusians, Basques, Castilians, etc.—could communicate with one another, highlighting the appeal of the over-arching Spanish culture.

Nearly one in five subjects of "mixed" parentage believes that bilingualism is the only way of assuring the survival of the Catalan language. Perhaps mixed loyalties disallow a desire for a monolingual Catalan city in order to achieve this. This notion accounted for an insignificant percentage of the immigrant parentage sub sample (2.8%) and only 8.6% of the Catalan-born parents group. Others who express concern about Catalan extinction say that bilingualism is negative because Spanish tends to dominate, thereby threatening the very life of the Catalan language. Bilingualism as the only possible framework for survival of Catalan is seen as such by primarily those with mixed parentage.

Es un factor positivo aunque quiero decir que todo el mundo conoce el catalán y esto supone que la lengua catalana vivirá más años. En cierto modo es negativo porque hay mucha gente que habla el castellano en lugar del catalán pero actualmente mucha gente aprende el catalán y lo habla (al menos mis amigos castellanos). (8)

Other responses to the question of the value of bilingualism in Barcelona pointed to instrumental reasons. That is, familiarity with both languages makes it easier to find work, get ahead, etc. Others said that bilingualism simply demonstrated flexibility on the part of the people of Barcelona.

Table 3 indicates the reasons why the subjects think that bilingualism in Barcelona is a negative factor. As has been mentioned, this response comprised 13.4% of the entire sample, but 21.1% of those of Catalan-born parentage. 41 subjects in total responded in this way. Of these, only four expressed the feeling that Barcelona should be monolingual Spanish. The overwhelming majority of the negative responses (more than 90%) felt that Barcelona should be monolingual Catalan because they say that bilingualism will always tend to favor Spanish, and Catalan will become extinct.

[Es] negativo porque provoca el exterminio progresivo del catalán. (9)

Another respondent, pointing to an asymmetrical power configuration regarding the languages and favoring Spanish, expressed the feeling that because Spanish dominates the population, there is no "true" bilingualism.

Pienso que este bilinguismo es falso, es decir, no hay un bilinguismo que acepte las dos lenguas por igual, sino que hay un gran dominio del castellano, a esto no se le puede llamar bilinguismo. Siempre va bien saber lenguas, no obstante. (10)

Others voiced this same concern even when they stated that bilingualism was positive, but added that it should be a temporary state of affairs, until everyone can learn Catalan. Here they view the immigrants at fault, although several generations of Catalans themselves remain illiterate in Catalan.

Preferiría sólo catalán pero como no es posible, de momento, que hagan lo posible para que los inmigrantes aprendan el catalán. (11)
El bilinguismo no es que sea positivo, es necesario por la gran cantidad de inmigrantes. (12)

This perception contradicts much of the historical understanding of the development of bilingualism in Barcelona displayed by the

subjects in general. That is, many point to Franco's role in repressing the language, disallowing its formal acquisition by Catalans themselves, not to mention immigrants, while some express the perception that the immigrants' lack of cultivation in Catalan is the result of their own unwillingness to integrate. Another respondent highlighted the immigrants' refusal to learn Catalán:

Es positivo para los extranjeros, negativo: me gustaría que sólo se hablase el catalán. Es un resultado de la inmigración y el no querer aceptar el catalán por parte de los inmigrantes. (13)

Many respondents also favored bilingualism for giving speakers of both languages a greater expressive range than that commanded by monolinguals. However, one respondent expressed an underlying feeling that the presence of the two languages represents a conflict of interests, that an equilibrium between the two is impossible, though she would wish that the situation were otherwise:

Da mayor viveza y expresividad a la sociedad de esta ciudad pero es negativo en el punto que no se puede mantener un equilibrio justo entre ambas lenguas, y si se da más importancia a una, la otra se resiente. (14)

Several other respondents felt that bilingualism was positive but expressed reservations about the possibility of an equilibrium between the two languages, favoring Catalan dominance if there is to be a language that dominates:

No me parece ni positivo ni negativo pero está bien porque hay gente que no entiende alguna de las dos lenguas y tienen derecho a leer o hablar con la que más le guste. No será negativo si el catalán tiene la misma importancia que el castellano, o mejor, que el catalán sea mayoritario. (15)

The following subject expressed his awareness that social and political dominance were at play as well.

[Es] positivo porque el conocimiento de otra lengua, teniendo la misma base, favorece la oportunidad de nuevos horizontes y otras fronteras; negativo en cuanto que siempre hay una que pretende dominar a la otra, afectando incluso ámbitos político-sociales. (16)

It is interesting to note that, in their suggesting an asymmetrical power configuration, Spanish vis à vis Catalan, a word such as 'diglossia' is part of the lexical repertoire of Barcelona teens, and is used to refer only to the dominance of Spanish; there is heightened awareness of issues of bilingualism in the city:

[Es] positivo, porque permite conocer y dominar en un mismo nivel dos lenguas pero la diglosia es negativa. (17)

Attitudes about bilingualism in Barcelona were also explored by asking the subjects whether they felt that it would be convenient that everyone in the city be able to speak both languages. The responses to this question are illustrated in table 4.

Dual competence for the entire population was considered convenient by a larger percentage of subjects of Catalan-born parents (92.8%) than that of those of the other two sub samples. (Consider the subject who discussed the perception that Catalans are more competent in both languages in light of why they feel that all citizens being proficient in both is convenient.) This response comprised 84.7% of the immigrant parentage sub sample and a higher percentage of 'mixed' parentage (91%).

Note that nearly one in six subjects of immigrant parentage consider dual competence inconvenient, while only one in 14 of those of Catalan-born parents responded this way.

Table 5 shows the reasons why subjects believe that it would be convenient that all residents of Barcelona speak both languages. 36.8% of the sample felt that it would be convenient for matters of communication. Some who responded this way went further to say that bilingualism facilitates understanding between cultures in addition to serving as a means of communication. This response represented 43.8% of the immigrant parentage sample, a considerably lower percentage of 'mixed' parentage (34.2%), and an even lower percentage still of Catalan-born parents (29.2%).

One quarter of the entire sample gave another pragmatic response (the second most frequent for all sub samples) in expressing the notion that everyone in Barcelona should speak both languages because it is necessary and many added, it is the responsibility of those who live there. This response was the one most frequently invoked by children of Catalan-born parents (30.4%), and comprised a significantly higher percentage of this group than that of the immigrant parentage sub sample (20.8%).

The necessity of bilingualism was also expressed by 28.5% of the "mixed" sub sample. Some of these respondents also expressed the perception that the Spanish immigrants to Barcelona have had very little willingness to integrate into Catalan society, evidenced by their extremely limited usage of the language.

Nearly 20% of the entire sample discussed the benefit of bilingualism for its own sake, regardless of the languages at hand, with respect to this question. This response represented a smaller

percentage of the immigrant parentage sample (16.9%), and was highest in the "mixed" group (22.8%) These respondents see acquiring a second language (or third, or fourth, in many cases) as an end in itself, acquiring greater culture at the same time.

Three final responses to the question of the convenience of the entire population being able to speak both languages represented small percentages (roughly 6% each) of the total sample: fear of extinction of Catalan; the unifying role of bilingualism; the instrumental value of bilingualism.

One in eight subjects of Catalan parentage expressed the fear that Catalan will lose its unique functions and therefore become extinct if it is not spoken by all. This response represented only one in 14 subjects of "mixed" or immigrant parentage.

The unifying role of bilingualism represented approximately 6% of the sub sample, which felt that speaking both languages would help in the formation of a bicultural (or multicultural) identity. This percentage was slightly higher among those of Catalan-born parents. They expressed optimism in the power of shared languages to unify the population.

Table 6 indicates the reasons why subjects considered that it would not be convenient for the entire population of Barcelona to speak Catalan. Approximately one in ten of the entire sample (33 respondents) expressed this idea. Half of these expressed the feeling that people in Barcelona should be able to speak the language they know and like best, whichever it is. This response reflects the attitude that bilingualism (understood as everyone being able to speak both languages) is too complicated, that it would be better to allow everyone to speak the language they prefer. Roughly one in five of the sub sample which found dual competence inconvenient felt that some (particularly the elderly) would suffer the undue burden of having to learn the other language (Catalan).

A few respondents expressed the attitude that everyone should speak only Catalan in Barcelona, while a few others made the same case for Spanish, 15.2% and 12.1% respectively. This negative view of bilingualism, seeing the other language as a threat, represented the least frequent responses of each of the sub samples.

Attitudes about bilingualism in Barcelona among youths were also explored in a question regarding the official promotion of the Catalan language. The issue of the promotion of one of the languages is included here because many of the responses construed bilingualism as a good in and of itself, and supported the notion of the acquisition of language and culture for their own sake. The subjects were asked if they felt that the government of Autonomous Catalonia should

continue to actively promote the Catalan language, and asked them to explain their responses. Table 7 indicates the frequency of their responses.

Continued promotion of the Catalan language is most frequently supported by those of Catalan parentage, since all but four of that sub sample express the desire for continued promotion of the language. One in eight respondents of immigrant parentage felt that Catalan should no longer be promoted, while one in 11 of "mixed" parentage, and just one in 24 of Catalan-born parents expressed this attitude.

Table 8 shows subjects' reasons for supporting the continued promotion of the Catalan language. It is important to stress that opposition to the continued promotion of the Catalan language does not necessarily signify a negative attitude toward the language, nor a negative attitude toward bilingualism. Many subjects simply feel that the language is strong enough to stand alone, without official support. This feeling also reflects a concern (apparently world-wide) for prioritizing government spending and re-evaluating the components of the public domain that receive support.

Among those who felt that the government should continue to promote the Catalan language ($N=306$), nearly a third (29.8%) claimed that Catalan should be promoted because of Catalonia's status as an autonomy, a nation. This response perceives the Catalan language as a symbol of Catalonia's autonomy; for some it symbolizes independence from Spain. Just as Catalonia is a nation within a nation, it is also increasingly perceived as a state within a state. Esteva i Fabregat, in discussing the state's role in the language policy planning of internal nations (Catalonia within Spain), claims that "the language of the internal nationality is an identity factor which states always attempt to eliminate" (1984: 51). The subjects in the present sample relate instead the language of the internal nationality to the internal state which often attempts to eliminate the identity factor with the greater state.

The preamble to the 1983 Law of Linguistic Normalization states: [T]he Catalan language is the fundamental element of the formation of Catalonia [. . .] and symbol of a cultural unity with deep historical roots. In addition, it has been a testimony to the fidelity of the Catalan people toward their land [. . .]. (Translation mine).

Many of the symbols that have been brought to light in the linguistic normalization campaign have juxtaposed national loyalties: those to Spain and those to Catalonia. 41.9% of the children of Catalan-born parents invoked the government's right to promote the language which symbolizes it, thus giving vent to a nationalist sentiment. This response represented approximately 25% of each of the other parentage

sub samples. Note the following sample responses, the first of which states simply that it is the national language of Catalonia:

Sí, porque es la lengua nacional de Catalunya. (18)

Another expresses the notion that Catalan is older (thus, more legitimate) than Spanish:

Sí, porque es la llengua de Catalunya i es més antiga que el castella. (19)

The following points out that the language is what characterizes the nation.

Sí, porque es la lengua de nuestro país y el símbolo que nos caracteriza. (20)

Another subject simply states that the language should be promoted because only Catalan should be spoken in Catalonia.

Sí, creo que como estamos en Cataluña, la lengua es el catalán. (21)

Another frequent response with respect to the promotion of the Catalan language in Barcelona was to insure the continuity of the language, to avoid its extinction. This response represents 22.2% of those who feel the language should be actively promoted. It comprised 23% of each the "mixed" and Catalan-born parents sub samples, and represented a smaller percentage of the immigrant parentage sub sample. The promotion of the Catalan language in this way is seen as a method of normalizing the status of Catalan, hence the assumption that normalization has not yet been achieved. Since the status of the language is still deemed abnormal and in need of institutional support, normalization has not been reached according to these subjects. The following subject expressed the fear of extinction of the language and the need for active promotion of the language in order to avert the demise of the Catalan nation:

Sí, porque tenemos que conservar el catalán para no desaparecer como pueblo o nación. (22)

Another similar response was:

Sí, porque así, si se sigue promocionando, la gente podrá hablar catalán y así [la lengua] no se extinguirá. (23)

Another respondent voices the notion that without continued

promotion of the language, the population runs the risk of stagnating and forgetting about the cultural patrimony of the language:

Sí, porque corremos el riesgo de estancarnos y acomodarnos en nuestra lengua que nos podría llevar a no considerarla como algo propio. (24)

One in four subjects of "mixed" parentage invoked the sense that the Catalan language represents the region, while only one in ten subjects of Catalan-born parents responded this way. This response represents roughly one in five subjects of immigrant parentage. Reference to the region differs from the first answer which invokes autonomy in that "nationalist" sentiment is not stressed:

Es la lengua de la región donde vivo, y la gente siempre se ha entendido así. (25)

Sí, porque es la lengua propia de una región y no debería desaparecer. (26)

Sí, porque es necesario que la lengua propia de una provincia no se pierda, ya que ese es un rasgo de identidad. (27)

Other responses with respect to the continued promotion of Catalan supported the language for its own sake, simply because it is a language, existing alongside other languages. This answer was given by a considerably greater percentage of respondents of immigrant parentage (13.2%) than that of the Catalan-born parents sub sample (8.6%). 11.6 percent of those of "mixed" parentage gave this response. The following are some sample responses of this nature:

Sí, para mí, todas las lenguas son importantes. (28)

Sí, porque es una lengua como otra. (29)

Sí, porque favorece el bilingüismo. (30)

Sí, es importante el conocimiento de las lenguas, cuantas más se sepan mejor; sin importar cuáles o de donde. (31)

One in ten subjects of immigrant parentage felt that promoting Catalan broadens the cultural horizons for the residents of Barcelona. This response expresses the view that learning a language, any language, is a culturally enriching exercise. Only one in 20 respondents of "mixed" parentage expressed this notion, and roughly one in 12 subjects of Catalan parentage. The promotion of Catalan is perceived as positive and should continue to the extent that it is a language, and as such is worthy of promotion. This response (8.5% of total) suggests that cultural knowledge disseminated in language promotional campaigns helps to define or broaden cultural identity. Respondents claimed to feel a little more connected to the culture as a result of the promotional campaigns.

The instrumental value of promoting the Catalan language was the least frequent response, representing only 1.8% of the entire sample.

Those who expressed opinions against promoting Catalan were primarily of immigrant or mixed parentage. This type of response claimed that Catalan has been sufficiently promoted already (implying normalization has been reached).

Other respondents desired an end to the promotion of the Catalan language, not because they are against bilingualism, but because they suggest that the promotional campaign to date has not been well managed:

No, porque lo están imponiendo de una forma que molesta. No han sabido promocionarlo adecuadamente. Debe ser voluntario y sin prejuicios. (32)

One student said, "ahora tenemos el catalán hasta en la sopa" (we're up to our neck in Catalan). He expresses the notion that the promotional campaigns have served to repel non-catalans with "overkill."

Some respondents express the view that normalization has already been reached and there is no longer a need to promote the language:

No, porque tal como está hoy en día (bastante extendido - 60% de la población catalana sabe catalán, creo yo) está bien. (33)

No, porque actualmente los jóvenes hablamos ambas lenguas. (34)

Another type of negative response simply stated that the language should not receive special promotion because their country is Spain:

No porque estamos en España. (35)

or that everyone will just continue to use Spanish anyway:

No porque la gente seguirá entendiéndose mejor en castellano. (36)

One subject said that a language may only prosper if it survives on its own.

No, opino que una lengua sólo puede perdurar si por si solo sobrevive, si la promocionan obliga a la gente a usar ese idioma. (37)

CONCLUSIONS

The Catalan language normalization campaign has successfully worked to heighten identity with Catalan culture and language, and attitudes toward both are clearly positive. Such sentiment would seem to bolster the use of the language, at least in the extra-familial domain for Spanish native speakers and to support bilingualism generally. If, however, the goal of normalization is perceived as a monolingual Catalonia, then, of course, positive attitudes towards bilingualism would not be beneficial.

Subjects seem to feel that they pertain to both cultures, and that both languages are necessary for their identity. Catalan is highly valued, by Catalans and non-Catalans alike; the language and culture have become, to borrow Ricoeur's (1992: 121) terminology, an 'acquired identification.' They recognize themselves in Catalonia's history, its heroes, its illustrious artists and writers, thanks to the normalization campaign, which has fomented the resurgence of national holidays, etc. The bicultural attitude seems only to be altered when loyalties are juxtaposed, such that a positive attitude toward one means a negative attitude toward the other. This juxtaposition of loyalties often inadvertently emerges as a result of the Catalanization campaign, when these holidays and celebrations highlight precisely the conflicts that the small nation has had with the larger state, with which subjects also identify. Furthermore, Barcelona's youth also find identity in bilingualism itself, in speaking both languages, and they appear to like and admire this identity, which they see as a symbol of openness and tolerance in a world of ethnic struggle on every continent.

Catalan language spread and symmetrical bilingualism in Barcelona will depend on personal contact, individual by individual. I expect that as youths continue to mix culturally, feeling at ease in both languages, they will choose mates of either culture, and many will ultimately raise their children as Catalan native speakers.

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APPENDIX A: TRANSLATION OF RESPONSES

1. [*El bilingüismo es*] positivo ya que tan solo con el catalán no podríamos ir a ninguna parte, pero sin el catalán no seríamos "catalanes." (from title, complete citation). [Bilingualism is] positive, since, with just Catalan, we wouldn't be able get anywhere, but, without Catalan, we wouldn't be Catalans.
2. [Bilingualism is] positive because it helps one to be open, to respect any tendency; the contrary leads to radicalism.

3. Positive because all cultures provide knowledge and enrich.
4. Positive, it gives prestige and culture, the fact that two languages are known can demonstrate that culture, and the coexistence [of cultures demonstrates] that Spain is a cultured country.
5. It's positive because it makes communication easier, since there are a lot of people that were not born here and they live in neighborhoods in which Catalan isn't spoken, and if there weren't bilingualism, they wouldn't know what was going on.
6. Positive because there are always more possibilities to relate with more people, and also, nowadays in Catalonia, its very often expected that you know both languages, even though outside [of Catalonia] its useless. Negative because there are Catalan people who insist on speaking Catalan even though the other person doesn't know how to speak it.
7. Bilingualism in Barcelona is probably a historical and economic imposition which has required knowledge of both languages and this assimilation went well. Bilingualism in Barcelona is very strange since the Catalan speakers find it easier to use both languages, and get along better in both than Castilian speakers, who find it more difficult to learn the other language and who, generally, use the other language infrequently (probably for fear of speaking it poorly, or being rigorously corrected, which makes one feel ridiculous).
8. Its a positive factor, although I'd like to say that everyone knows Catalan, and that means that the language will survive for more years. In a certain way, its negative because there are many people that speak Castilian instead of Catalan but nowadays many people learn Catalan and speak it (at least my Castilian friends).
9. [Its] negative because it provokes the progressive extermination of Catalan.
10. I think that this bilingualism is false, I mean, there is no bilingualism that accepts both languages equally, but rather, Castilian clearly dominates, that [circumstance] cannot be called bilingualism. However, its always good to know two languages.
11. I would prefer just Catalan but since that's not possible now, they should do everything possible so that the immigrants learn Catalan.
12. Bilingualism is not exactly positive, it's necessary because of the great quantity of immigrants.
13. Its positive for the foreigners; negative: I would like for only

Catalan to be spoken. It's a result of immigration and the unwillingness to accept Catalan on the part of the immigrants.

14. It gives more vitality and expressivity to the society of this city, but it's negative in that you can't maintain a fair equilibrium between the two languages; if you give more importance to the one, the other feels it.

15. To me it's neither positive nor negative, but it's OK because there are people who don't understand one of the two languages and they have the right to read or speak the one they prefer. It won't be negative if Catalan has the same [amount of] importance as Castilian, or better, that Catalan be the preferred one.

16. [It's] positive because knowledge of another language, having the same base, favors new horizons and possibilities; negative in that one language always tries to dominate the other, affecting even socio-political spheres.

17. [It's] positive, because it allows one to know and use two languages at the same level, but diglossia is negative.

18. Yes, because it's the national language of Catalonia.

19. Yes, because it's the language of Catalonia and it's older than Castilian.

20. Yes, because it's the language of our country and the symbol that represents us.

21. Yes, I think that since we're in Catalonia, the language is Catalan.

22. Yes, because we have to conserve Catalan so that we don't disappear as a people or a nation.

23. Yes, because this way, if it continues to be promoted, people will be able to speak Catalan and [the language] will not become extinct.

24. Yes, because we run the risk of stagnating and accommodating ourselves in our language, which could lead to no longer considering it as something that's ours.

25. It's the language of the region where I live, and the people have always communicated that way.

26. Yes, because its the unique language of a region and it shouldn't disappear.

27. Yes, because its necessary that the proper language of a province is not lost, since it is a feature of identity.

28. Yes, for me, all languages are important.
29. Yes, because it's a language like any other.
30. Yes, because it favors bilingualism.
31. Yes, knowledge of languages is important, the more you know, the better; regardless of which or from where.
32. No, because they're imposing it in a bothersome way. They haven't promoted it adequately. It should be for those who are interested and should be non-prejudicial.
33. No, because the way it is today (sufficiently extensive - 60% of the population knows Catalan, I think), that's good enough.
34. No, because currently we young people speak both languages.
35. No, because we're in Spain.
36. No, because people will continue to communicate better in Castilian.
37. No, I think that a language can thrive only if it survives on its own; if they promote it, it requires people to use the language.

APPENDIX B: TABLES

TABLE I

Is bilingualism in Barcelona a positive or negative feature? % (N)

	Immigrant parents	Mixed	Catalan-born parents	Total
Positive	91.9 (137)	84.9 (62)	78.8 (62)	86.6 (266)
Negative	8.1 (12)	15.0 (11)	21.1 (18)	13.4 (41)
Total	N=149	N=73	N=85	N=307

TABLE 2

 Why do you feel that bilingualism in Barcelona is positive? % (N)

	Immigrant parents	Mixed	Catalan-born parents	Total
Bilingualism is positive				
Demonstrates broader culture than monolingualism	39.4 (56)	35.4 (22)	34.7 (24)	37.4 (102)
Sake of communication	33.8 (48)	30.6 (19)	31.8 (22)	32.6 (89)
Accommodate Castilian monolinguals	14.8 (21)	6.4 (4)	7.2 (5)	11.0 (30)
For the survival of Catalan	2.8 (4)	19.3 (12)	8.6 (6)	8.1 (22)
Instrumental reasons	4.2 (6)	4.8 (3)	8.6 (6)	5.5 (15)
Demonstrate flexibility	4.9 (7)	3.2 (2)	8.6 (6)	5.5 (15)
Total	N=142	N=62	N=69	N=273

TABLE 3

 Why do you feel that bilingualism in Barcelona is negative? % (N)

Bilingualism is negative

Extinction of Catalan language (Catalan only)	90.2 (37)
Only Castilian	9.7 (4)
Total	N=41

TABLE 4

Do you believe it would be convenient that everyone in Barcelonaspeak both languages? % (N)

	Immigrant parents	Mixed	Catalan- born parents	Total
Yes	84.7 (138)	91.0 (71)	92.8 (91)	88.5 (300)
No	15.3 (25)	8.9 (7)	7.1 (7)	11.5 (39)
Total	N=163	N=78	N=98	N=339

TABLE 5

Why would it be convenient for the whole population of Catalonia to speak both languages?

Reasons it would be convenient	Immigrant parents	Mixed	Catalan- born parents	Total
Greater communication than with just one language	43.8 (57)	34.2 (24)	29.2 (24)	36.8 (105)
Necessity	20.8 (27)	28.5 (20)	30.4 (25)	25.3 (72)
Bilingualism for its own sake	16.9 (22)	22.8 (16)	21.9 (18)	19.6 (56)
Fear of extinction of Catalan	6.9 (9)	7.1 (5)	12.1 (10)	8.4 (24)
Unifying role of bilingualism	6.2 (8)	5.7 (4)	7.3 (6)	6.3 (18)
Instrumental value	5.4 (7)	1.4 (1)	2.4 (2)	3.5 (10)
Total	N=133	N=70	N=82	N=285

TABLE 6

Why do you feel that it would not be convenient for the entire population to speak both languages?

Inconvenient because	% (N)
It's easier to speak just one, either one.	51.5 (17)
Having to speak both causes an undue burden for some.	21.2 (7)
The whole population should speak only Catalan.	15.2 (5)
The whole population should speak only Castilian	2.1 (4)
Total	100 (33)

TABLE 7

Do you feel that the Government of Autonomous Catalonia should continue to actively promote the Catalan language?

	Immigrant parents	Mixed	Catalan- born parents	% (N=336)
Yes	88.3 (143)	91.0 (71)	95.8 (92)	91.1 (306)
No	11.7 (19)	8.9 (7)	4.1 (4)	8.9 (30)
Total	N=162	N=78	N=96	100 (336)

TABLE 8

Why promote Catalan language?

	Immigrant parents	Mixed	Catalan-born parents	Total % (N)
Why promote more?				
Autonomy	25.2 (40)	24.6 (19)	41.9 (39)	29.8 (98)
Insure continuity of Catalan	20.8 (33)	23.3 (18)	23.6 (22)	22.2 (73)
It's the language of the region	18.9 (30)	24.6 (19)	10.7 (10)	17.9 (59)
Language for its own sake	13.2 (21)	11.6 (9)	8.6 (8)	11.6 (38)
Greater culture	10.1 (16)	5.1 (4)	8.6 (8)	8.5 (28)
Instrumental value of language	1.3 (2)	1.2 (1)	3.2 (3)	1.8 (6)
Total positive responses	89.3 (142)	91.0 (72)	96.8 (90)	91.8 (322)
All "no" responses	10.7 (17)	9.0 (7)	3.2 (3)	8.2 (27)
Total	N=159	N=77	N=93	100 (329)