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## **Nou Estat d'Europa: globalisation, language and identity in Catalonia: a contemporary perspective**

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**UNIVERSITY of LIMERICK**

**O L L S C O I L L U I M N I G H**

*Nou Estat d'Europa*

**Globalisation, language and identity in Catalonia: a contemporary  
perspective.**

by

Steven Byrne

Thesis presented to the University of Limerick for the award of the Degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy

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## **Abstract**

The processes associated with globalisation have seen Catalonia become an ethnolinguistically diverse region. Additionally, a vibrant civic and political movement for an independent Catalonia has brought a renewed urgency to questions about what it means, personally and politically, to speak or not to speak Catalan or Spanish in 21<sup>st</sup> century Catalonia. The current study seeks to address a gap in the literature by investigating the attitudes of members of independence organisations toward the Catalan and Spanish languages against the backdrop of the Catalan independence movement. This research examines the respondents' language attitudes from a language orientations perspective, using Ruiz's (1984, 2010) framework of *language-as-a-problem* and *language-as-a-resource* to unpack the complexities of the situation in present-day Catalonia. This research was conducted with members of independence organisations operating in the city of Girona and involved qualitative research methods, specifically focus groups and narrative interviews. This study indicates that a fuller understanding of the complex situation in Catalonia may be facilitated through qualitative methodologies, which have the potential to explore attitudes in-depth. The analysis of the data reveals a diversity of attitudes toward both Catalan and Spanish, with both languages being mobilised in diverse combinations for a wide range of purposes. The comments of the respondents indicate that, against the backdrop of the independence process in the region, bilingualism and multilingualism have become highly valued in the territory.

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Thank you all.

## **Declaration**

I, Steven Byrne, declare that this doctoral thesis is entirely my own work and that all sources that have been used have been referenced. Any mistakes or oversights within the work are entirely my fault and will be corrected.

Signed:

Date:

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## Key to Abbreviations

<b>IDESCAT</b>	<i>Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya</i> (Statistical Institute of Catalonia)
<b>MGT</b>	Matched-Guise test
<b>LNL</b>	<i>Llei de Normalització Lingüística</i> (Language normalisation law)
<b>LPL</b>	<i>Llei de Política Lingüística</i> (Language policy law)
<b>CiU</b>	<i>Convergència i Unió</i> (Convergence and Union)
<b>CEO</b>	<i>Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió</i> (Generalitat's Centre for Opinion Studies)
<b>PP</b>	<i>Partido Popular</i> (People's Party)
<b>ANC</b>	<i>Assemblea Nacional Catalana</i> (Catalan National Assembly)
<b>CUP</b>	<i>Candidatura d'Unitat Popular</i> (Popular Unity Candidacy)
<b>ERC</b>	<i>Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya</i> (Republican Left of Catalonia)
<b>JxSí</b>	<i>Junts pel Sí</i> (Together for Yes)
<b>PDeCAT</b>	<i>Partit Demòcrata Europeu Català</i> (Catalan European Democratic Party)
<b>VGT</b>	Verbal-Guise test
<b>ADAC</b>	<i>Ateneu d'Acció Cultural</i> (Athenaeum for Cultural Action)
<b>TV3</b>	<i>Televisió de Catalunya</i> (Television of Catalonia)
<b>PSOE</b>	<i>Partido Socialista Obrero Español</i> (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party)

# **Chapter One: Introduction**

What am I? I'm Catalan. This is the thing. My passport is Spanish, my identification card says 'Born in Spain', but consciously you see that it's not exactly like that. (NISÚ R7)

## **1.1 Introduction**

This introductory chapter outlines the background of this study. It discusses the research questions and provides a brief overview of the current social, political and linguistic spaces in present-day Catalonia. Following this, a description of the location of this study, namely the city of Girona, is presented before concluding with an overview of the scope of each of the individual chapters. To gain insights into the sociolinguistic situation in 21<sup>st</sup> century Catalonia, this study draws on approaches and theories from the sociolinguistics of globalisation (Coupland 2003; Dörnyei *et al.* 2006; Blommaert 2010; Marshall 2012; Urla 2012b; Canagarajah 2013; Moriarty 2015; Heller and McElhinny 2017), Ruiz's (1984, 2010) 'orientations' toward languages framework and language attitude theory.

Globalisation processes have permeated virtually all areas of contemporary social life. For Robertson (1992), the concept of globalisation refers to the "compression of the world [and] the increasing acceleration in both concrete global interdependence and consciousness of the global whole in the twentieth century" (Robertson 1992, p. 8). Bastardas-Boada (2012) adds that "(...) the macro-phenomenon of 'globalisation [and transnational migration are] bringing new elements into play and, in all probability, setting in motion or favouring new processes that might have a great impact on multilingualism" (Bastardas-Boada 2012, p. 14). Research highlights the fact that the phenomenon of globalisation has had an impact on language ideologies, attitudes, practices and regimes. With globalisation, individuals' existing understanding of what constitutes 'normal' sociolinguistic practice has changed. For example, scholars have noted that in a globalised world traditional language practices and language events associated with different communities have become dislocated from fixed positions of time and space where language is no longer defined purely in terms of temporal and spatial location (Coupland 2003; Blommaert 2010; Duchêne and Heller 2012; Moriarty 2015; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015). Linked to this, paths and spaces for identity formation are being taken in new directions, questioning the traditional homogeneous and static notions of identity.

In addition, associated with globalisation, there has been an increase in the perceived value of minority languages (Moriarty 2009a, 2015; Vertovec 2009; Blommaert 2010, 2013; Pennycook 2010; Pietikäinen 2010; Moriarty and Pietikäinen 2011; Duchêne and Heller 2012; Heller and McElhinny 2017; Rieder 2018).

The wide-ranging forces of globalisation have had an impact in Catalonia and the region, like the rest of Spain, has:

(...) participated in the trends of economic and cultural globalization, rapid growth in transnational migration, and the increasing hegemony of the market-based political and social philosophy of neoliberalism that have affected the national identity and language situations around the world.

(Woolard 2016, p. 303)

The sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia is of great interest because it has features that make it different from that of other societies, with the coexistence of what Soler-Carbonell (2013) calls a ‘medium-sized’ language, Catalan, and a much larger language, Spanish (Vila 2013; Ubalde *et al.* 2017). In the region both languages are official and have similar vitality. However, throughout Catalonia, the concepts of ‘majority’ and ‘minority’ language are blurred, varying spatially in terms of group status, power and size, depending on the context in question (Ros *et al.* 1994; Rico and Jennings 2012; Astor 2016; Woolard 2016; Ubalde *et al.* 2017). Adding to this, Woolard and Frekko (2013) posit that, “The politics surrounding identity in Catalonia traditionally have been based in a monolingual Romantic ideal that pits Catalan and Castilian against each other as two mutually exclusive languages and corresponding identities” (Woolard and Frekko 2013, p. 129). With globalisation, the traditional dichotomy between Catalan and Spanish has been disrupted by the latest wave of international migration, a factor that has resulted in the transformation of social structures in the region (Comajoan-Colomé 2004; Lapresta-Rey *et al.* 2010; Oller and Vila 2010; Oller *et al.* 2011; Poggeschi 2015; Cortès-Colomé *et al.* 2016; Conversi and Jeram 2017; Ianos *et al.* 2017a, b). As such, due to its multilingual context, Catalonia represents an auspicious place for sociolinguistic research with language and identity in the region facing problems and possibilities in a globalised world. In addition, the linguistic situation in Catalonia is a microcosm of power issues which exist not just within the Spanish state, but also in many other situations where an imbalance of power is

manifest through language conflict and tension (see e.g., Coupland *et al.* 2005; Elordui and Zabala 2005; Ferrer 2010; O'Rourke 2011; Jaffe 2013; Lasagabaster 2017).

The recent Catalan political conflict provides an opportunity to study the constructions of and attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish (Castelló and Capdevila 2015; Micó and Carbonell 2017). In the post-Franco era, the question of self-government and support for independence has become an ever increasingly salient issue in the region. Indeed, as political change is one of the most significant features of the social context that enables the creation of new sociolinguistic meanings (Woolard and Gahng 1990; Woolard 1998, 2016; Cole and Williams 2004), the changing political context in Catalonia merits an exploration of the relationship between language, identity and political autonomy. Woolard (2016) adds that a vibrant civic and political movement for an independent Catalonia has brought a renewed urgency to questions about what it means, personally and politically, to speak or not to speak Catalan and to claim Catalan identity.

Adding to this, in recent years 'Catalanism' in Catalonia has intensified on an unprecedented scale with a dialectical escalation between those political actors supporting independence and those who do not, resulting in a scenario of polarisation and a deep crisis of political legitimation, where language remains a point of contention for many (Muñoz and Tormos 2015; Clua-Fainé 2017; Gagnon and Sanjaume-Calvet 2017; Hawkey 2018) (see section 3.4). These tensions culminated in the controversial self-determination referendum that took place on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 2017 (Martí 2013; Guibernau 2014a, b; Carbonell 2019). With the stratospheric rise of independentism in Catalonia (Dowling 2018; Hawkey 2018), this thesis examines how a multifaceted socio-political and socio-cultural situation is reflected in what speakers think about languages, how they perceive them and how understanding this can reveal the highly complex configuration of language and identity politics.

In addition, debates about language have been prominent in movements for the political autonomy of small nations since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Paterson *et al.* 2014), and the appropriateness of secessionism in a globalised world has intensified in recent years (Guibernau 2006; Sabanadze 2010; May 2012; Williams 2018). Therefore, it is necessary to consider the extent to which globalisation and transnational integration have altered the image of states in Western Europe, a process that seems to have fuelled rather than obstructed aspirations to alter political borders (Kraus and Vergés-Gifra 2017; Vergés-Gifra 2017).

To unravel the intricacies of the situation described above, this project was ambitious in its theoretical and conceptual framework. Ruiz's (1984, 2010) 'orientations' toward languages, *language-as-a-problem* and *language-as-a-resource*, served as a productive tool to analyse the complexity and fluidity of language practices and attitudes in the region. An assessment of how Catalan and Spanish were constructed, *as-a-problem* and/or *as-a-resource*, by the research participants was accessed through assessing their language attitudes. González-Riaño *et al.* (2013) add that studying individuals' language attitudes allows for an examination of the relationship between language and society. The impact of globalisation on minority languages, Ruiz's (1984, 2010) language orientations and language attitude theory are discussed in more depth in chapter two.

Catalonia serves as an excellent site for the exploration of the coexistence of a lesser-used and a majority language in a post-industrial globalised society (Marshall 2006; Pujolar 2007a, b, 2009; Newman *et al.* 2008; Bastardas-Boada 2012; Conversi 2013; Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2015; Woolard 2016; Dowling 2018). The data collection for this project was conducted at a unique time in Catalonia's history, namely the months leading up to the Catalan 2017 independence referendum (March-July 2017). As such, the originality of this research and its significant potential to contribute to knowledge lies in the contextually unique opportunity to explore how a sense of Catalan identity was represented through language against the backdrop of the Catalan independence referendum (October 2017). Adding to this, Ubalde *et al.* (2017) state that the importance of public debates on the co-officiality of languages in cases of political uncertainty, such as the sovereignty process in Catalonia, means that the study of language attitudes is of considerable importance.

### **1.1.1 Aims and Objectives**

Since languages are inevitably intertwined with political positions, arguments about languages are political in nature. Therefore, language attitudes cannot be detached from the social and political context in which language is used (Dorian 1993). For Labov (1984), one of the primary objectives of sociolinguistics is to provide a, "(...) record of [covert and] overt attitudes towards languages" (Labov 1984, p. 33). Hawkey (2018) also notes that the exploration of language attitudes is central to understanding the sociolinguistic reality of a community.

The majority of research in this field has been conducted in Barcelona and its surrounding area or in the La Franja region (Catalan speaking territories of Aragon bordering Catalonia) (see

section 2.4). Little research has focused outside of these geographical areas of Catalonia (see e.g., Woolard 1989, 2011; Boix-Fuster 1993; Pujolar 2001; Bretxa *et al.* 2008; Corona *et al.* 2013; Gal 2013; Soler-Carbonell 2013; Woolard 2016; Hawkey 2018). Considering this, the overarching aim of this study was to make a contribution to knowledge by filling the lacuna in the research, through exploring the ways in which Catalan and Spanish are currently being practised and the symbolic and functional role the languages played in articulating a sense of modern-day Catalan identity. In an attempt to understand the local dimension, this research focused on the Catalan city of Girona. The justifications for situated the current study in Girona are outlined in detail in section 1.2.2.

This study aimed to investigate the fluid, temporal negotiation of identities, institutions and communities by analysing linguistic attitudes in a globalised environment, so as to shed light on the reproduction and transformation of persons, institutions and society at large (Maybin and Tusting 2011). Specifically, the first aim of this research was to explore complex social dynamics in Catalonia as the push for independence unfolded in a diverse sociolinguistic and socio-political environment (Corona *et al.* 2013; Newman *et al.* 2013; Pujolar and González 2013; Soler-Carbonell 2013; Urla 2013; Woolard 2016). The purpose of this sociolinguistic investigation was to study the attitudes of members of independence organisations in Girona toward two autochthonous languages, namely Catalan and Spanish (see section 4.7.1 for an overview of the groups who participated). Secondly, this research aimed to explore the relationship between the respondents' language attitudes and their views on the Catalan independence movement.

This study focused on independence organisations because the existing literature on language attitudes in Catalonia tends to focus on immigrants and adolescents in the education system (see section 2.4), much less is known about the views and the language attitudes of individuals engaged in civic activities and independence organisations in Catalonia and in particular in the city of Girona. However, an understanding of the language attitudes of this group is crucial as it can present a unique insight into a complex situation in Catalonia from a local context. Adding to this, independence organisations were the focus of this investigation because, in general, civic organisations are more than just vehicles for representing their members' interests. Rather they are bodies with the power to shape the way people think (including the values, beliefs, attitudes and the identity people embrace). In short, civic organisations, or independence organisations, not only reflect the political, ideological or cultural philosophy

organisations' participants embrace but they can also reflect wider societal views on what a community or society might or should become in the future (Ceresa 2017) (see section 5.6). Through exploring the respondents' language attitudes, the overarching aim of this research was to examine how, in Ruiz's (1984, 2010) terminology, how language was constructed *as-a-problem* and/or *as-a-resource*. As such, the issues under investigation in this study were located at the interface of language attitude studies, language orientations, sociolinguistics and socio-political movements.

### **1.1.2 Research Questions**

Catalonia's sociolinguistic situation means that attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish are undoubtedly complex. Some of the most recent scholarly work illustrate changing attitudes toward languages in the region (see e.g., Pujolar and González 2013; Soler-Carbonell 2013; Woolard 2016; Dowling 2018; Ianos *et al.* 2018; Puigdevall *et al.* 2018). To meet the research aims and objectives stated above, two research questions were addressed in this investigation. These were:

- What can an examination of the language attitudes (toward Catalan and Spanish) of members of independence organisations contribute to our understanding of sociolinguistic changes in minority language ideologies in a globalised world?
- What can an examination of the language attitudes (toward Catalan and Spanish) of members of independence organisations contribute to our understanding of sociolinguistic change in the calls for independence in 21<sup>st</sup> century Catalonia?

Considering the above, this study proposes that language attitudes can serve as an analytical tool to slice through complex issues and look for possible answers. The issues, aims and objectives were addressed to contribute both empirically and theoretically to the study of minority languages in globalised societies. In doing so, this project aimed to fill the gap in the unexplored dimension of language attitude research and views on Catalan independence, with a specific focus on the city of Girona. Next, a brief description of Girona's cultural, social and political history is offered. Here information regarding the demographics of Girona is provided. This is followed by an overview of the thesis structure.

## **1.2 Catalonia: An Overview**

**Figure 1.1:** Catalonia (in red).



Catalonia (*Catalunya*) (Figure 1.1) is an official bilingual territory (autonomous community) in the Northeast of Spain. It is a region where a republic has been unilaterally declared under different formulae on five occasions (1641, 1873, 1931, 1934 and 2017) but those attempts have always been ephemeral (Mut-Bosque 2018). Currently, the region is divided into four administrative provinces: Barcelona, Girona, Lleida and Tarragona. With a population of 7.5 million, Catalonia makes up a substantial proportion of the Spanish population (16% of 46.6 million) (Tortella 2017). The majority of the population of Catalonia is located in and around the Catalan capital, Barcelona (AMB 2018). Catalonia is one of the most affluent regions in Spain, producing a GDP representing 18-20% of the Spanish total (Gray 2015). The territory has its own legislative and executive power over several important competencies including education, language policies, health care, culture and social services (Martínez-Herrera 2002).

### **1.2.1 Linguistic Setting**

Catalan is a Western Romance language which evolved on both sides of the Eastern Pyrenees between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries (Ferrando-Francés and Nicolás-Amorós 2011; Ledgeway and Maiden 2016). Due to its linguistic and cultural heritage, Catalonia forms part of a larger entity known as the Catalan Countries (*Els Països Catalans*). The Catalan Countries mainly corresponds to the areas where Catalan is an autochthonous language variety (Hawkey 2018;

Sabaté-Dalmau 2018). Over time and with successive waves of inward migration to the territory, Catalonia has become a multilingual region, where around 300 languages are present (Branchadell 2011; Climent-Ferrando 2012; Zapata-Barrero 2013).

The autonomous community of Catalonia has two official languages, Catalan and Spanish. To these a third official language, Aranese, is added in the Northwestern district Aran Valley. (Sabaté-Dalmau 2018). Catalan is also a co-official language of the Spanish autonomous communities of the Balearic Islands and Valencia (where the language is known as Valencian). It is the official language of Andorra and it is also spoken in the La Franja region (part of Aragon), the Southeast of France (Roussillon), a small area of the Autonomous Community of Murcia known as El Carxe and in Alghero, a town in Northwest Sardinia. All these areas share a complex relationship with the language, with varying degrees of ‘pan-Catalan’ sentiment claimed by different groups at different times (Hawkey 2018). However, Catalan is not recognised as an official language by the European Union.

Catalan did not derive from Spanish but rather it has its own development history, closely linked to that of Provençal (a variety of Occitan spoken in southern France). It also has a distinct literary standard and the earliest surviving texts in Catalan date to the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Woolard 2016; Hawkey 2018). Although as a Romance language, Catalan is a close relative of French, Spanish, Portuguese etc. As such, the adaptability of Catalan represents one of its strengths compared with the situation of other minority languages, for example, Basque in relation to Spanish or Welsh in comparison to English. From this perspective, because of their geographical proximity and historical connections both Catalan and Spanish share some clear similarities.

For example, there are numerous cases of identical forms of Catalan and Spanish vocabulary: pagar (to pay), enviar (to send), etc. Or there are also cases where words in both languages stem from the same root (Catalan/Spanish): ceba/cebolla (onion), comptar/contar (to count), plàtan/plátano (banana), etc. Catalan and Spanish also share the two verbs, ‘ser’ and ‘estar’, which both express different aspects of the English verb ‘to be’, although their use and range differ in the respective languages (Poch-Gasau and Yates 2012; Cuza and Guijarro-Fuentes 2018). Nevertheless, both languages are also different in nature, with Catalan showing a strong inclination to eliminate the final syllable of many Latin words, resulting a consonantal effect. In addition, the vowel system in Catalan is more complex than that of Spanish, as Catalan has, for example, three more monophthong vowel sounds than Spanish (Feldhausen 2010; Cuza and

Guijarro-Fuentes 2018). Feldhausen (2010) adds that the Catalan lexicon has more words in common Occitan (and French) than with Spanish with almost 70% corresponding with Occitan and only 20% with Spanish. However, the combined effects of limited territorial extension, official repression, and the ‘policies of dialectalisation’ pursued during the Franco dictatorship (see chapter three) have created a widespread expression that Catalan is a dialect of Spanish.

Nonetheless, there is a wealth of macro data available regarding the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia, the majority of which consistently suggests a positive diachronic trajectory for Catalan (Atkinson 2018). With more than 10 million speakers by geographic area, Catalan is one of the most widely used regional languages in the European Union and more than 6 million Catalan speakers reside in the autonomous community of Catalonia (Clots-Figueras and Masella 2013; Ledgeway and Maiden 2016; Puigdevall *et al.* 2018). The case of Catalan is often cited as one of the most successful cases of language revitalisation models to follow for reversing language shift in Europe (Fishman 1991; Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015; Soler-Carbonell *et al.* 2016). According to recent data, 94% of the population of Catalonia over 15 years of age can understand Catalan, 80% state that they are able to speak the language and 60.4% can write it. The highest proficiency (over 80%) in all these areas can be found among the younger population, 15-29 years of age, a demographic who have received their full education in Catalan. However, the successive non-Catalan speaking immigratory waves in the last century have reduced the number of Catalan native speakers from more than 95% of the population at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to 36.3% in 2013 (IDESCAT 2015; Vila 2016; Vila *et al.* 2018). Nevertheless, as Spanish and Catalan are both derivatives of Latin, it is relatively easy for speakers of either to learn the other language for comprehension at least.

Although Catalan is said to be a regional minority language because it is spoken in an area that belongs to a state where the majority language is different, and the population that speaks it is bilingual, its situation is very different to the other languages defined as regional or minority, especially within Europe. Non-Catalan speakers include large numbers of people that migrated to the expansive urban centres from less developed Spanish regions before the mid-1970s, as well as many foreign migrants in recent decades (see section 2.2.1). Reflecting this, there are almost 3 million ‘new speakers’ of Catalan today. This represents 58% of the population who can speak Catalan, 27% of whom declare that Catalan is their usual language (IDESCAT 2015; Puigdevall *et al.* 2018).

## **1.2.2 Girona: Setting the Context**

The following section offers a brief description of Girona (Figure 1.2), a city that has been labelled ‘the heartland of Catalan nationalism’ (Lepič 2017). This section aims to contextualise the area of study. Girona is situated 99 km Northeast of Barcelona and 60 km south of the French border. Girona is the capital of the *comarca* (county) of *Gironès* and the larger Girona Province (Nuss-Girona *et al.* 2016).

**Figure 1.2:** Location of Girona.



The city of Girona has a population of 100,266 inhabitants. Immigration flows over the last fifteen years have increased the numbers living in the city and the total number of foreign immigrants now stands at 18,286, or approximately 18% of the population (IDESCAT 2017, 2018). The majority (58%) of immigration has come from developing countries in Africa, South America and Asia (Nuss-Girona *et al.* 2016). In terms of language knowledge and use in Girona, 89,279 (90.16%) of the population of the city claim to understand Catalan and 74,991 (75.73%) claim to speak Catalan. 4,067 (4.1%) residents of the city claim not to understand the language (IDESCAT 2017). In relation to the self-determination referendum held on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 2017, 30,686 votes were cast in the city. From this number, 28,965 (94.39%) individuals voted ‘yes’ and 1,106 (3.62%) individuals voted ‘no’ for an independent Catalonia (Generalitat de Catalunya 2017a).

The choice of Girona for this investigation was far from arbitrary. The city made for a privileged case for a qualitative study of language attitudes, political views and the enactment of linguistic and social identity for several reasons. First, Girona was selected primarily because

of the historical and socio-political implications of language contact in the region. Situated in the North-East of Catalonia, Girona is the administrative and economic capital of the larger Girona Province. The city occupies a central position in the province and is situated at the intersection of a busy linear infrastructure corridor (highways, national routes, trains, high-speed trains and electric power lines), connecting Barcelona in the south to France in the north. These features have favoured the growth of the city in both demographic and economic terms (Nuss-Girona *et al.* 2016). Girona is a multi-lingual community in which two languages are used regularly: Catalan and Spanish. However, unlike the Barcelona metropolitan area, in Girona, the dominant language of everyday communication tends to be Catalan (IDESCAT 2017). Additionally, migration is an important present-day dimension of Girona. Until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century Girona experienced relatively low levels of migration and, as mentioned above, about 18% of the city is now of foreign origin (Peña-Bello 2008; IDESCAT 2017, 2018). The majority (58%) of immigration has come from developing countries in Africa, South America and Asia (IDESCAT 2017; Rodríguez-García *et al.* 2018). New socio-political, cultural, and linguistic issues have emerged as a consequence of immigration to the city. Like other cities in Catalonia, since 2012 the residents of Girona have frequently taken to the streets to demonstrate and voice their support for Catalonia's independence from Spain (Levrat *et al.* 2017) (see section 3.3). In addition, Girona and its surrounding areas has traditionally constituted the nationalist core, this is in comparison to fluctuating nationalist support elsewhere in Catalonia where in-migration from other regions of Spain has resulted in weaker affinities to Catalan nationalism (Lepič 2017; Maza *et al.* 2019).

Second, Girona is a setting in which little academic attention has been granted in this field of research. As such, Marshall (2005) has called for more sociolinguistic studies to be conducted in the city. Girona has also witnessed several high-profile incidents relating to language and political activism which have prompted major discussion in the region and throughout Spain (see e.g., Cramer 2014; 2015; Badcock 2015; Hedgecoe 2016). For example, in September 2007, two supporters of Catalan independence set fire to a life-size photograph of the King and Queen of Spain during a visit by King Juan Carlos I to Girona. After taking their case to the European court the Spanish state was forced to reimburse the fines imposed and pay for the legal costs of the two defendants (Minder 2018). In another high-profile incident, following the referendum in 2017 it was the ex-mayor of Girona and then President of the *Generalitat de Catalunya* (Government of Catalonia) Charles Puigdemont who declared independence from

Spain (see section 3.4). Additionally, Girona became the first provincial capital to join the “Association of Municipalities for Independence” in 2011 (Kammerer 2014).

Third, Girona provided a unique opportunity to investigate the language attitudes of members of independence organisations within what Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain (2009) call a ‘local context’, due to the high number of these organisations and movements operating in the city. Relating to this point, Quiroga (2014) adds that it is at the local level where the nation crystallises for individuals via national channels. Quiroga (2014) goes on to argue that a focus on the local permits for an investigation of particular political, ethnic and socio-economic features of a community that often determine the national conceptualisation of languages and society. Wagner (2018) adds that, among independentists in Catalonia, there is a strong feeling of togetherness in self-created local contexts, reaching from cultural and sports associations to explicitly political groupings. Thus, focusing on members of independence organisations in a local setting in Girona allowed the researcher to, “(...) bridge historical, political and social perspectives to show how national identities are produced and reproduced through everyday experiences” (Brubaker *et al.* 2008, p. 687).

## **1.3 Thesis Overview**

This thesis is organised into seven chapters. These chapters are summarised below.

### **1.3.1 Chapter Two-Literature Review**

Chapter two introduces the theoretical and conceptual approach adopted in this thesis. This chapter discusses the processes and effects of globalisation in Catalonia today. Ruiz’s (1984, 2010) language orientations framework, *language-as-a-problem* and *language-as-a-resource*, is introduced in this chapter. Here, the theories and models adopted in the field of social psychology to study the concept and structure of language attitude is examined. The final section of this chapter critically explores the most salient research that has been conducted in Catalonia.

### **1.3.2 Chapter Three-Sociolinguistic Setting**

Chapter three presents the sociolinguistic and contextual setting of contemporary Catalonia. While a brief summary of the status of Catalan and Spanish and the political situation in

Catalonia is presented in this introductory chapter, a detailed examination of the current sociolinguistic and socio-political situation is presented here. This chapter mainly focuses on the rekindled strife for an independent Catalonia. However, in order to provide an adequate overview, it first touches upon the origin of Catalonia as a territory and Catalan nationalism. Through an exploration of its history and the current situation in the region, this chapter describes the development of the Catalan independence movement in present-day Catalonia, a process prompted by continued tensions with the Spanish government.

### **1.3.3 Chapter Four-Methodology**

Chapter four provides a description of the methodology employed in this study and the rationale for each of the research methods is outlined. This chapter offers a critical reflection on the use of focus groups and narrative interviews in addition to the method of data analysis. This chapter explores the participant selection process and recruitment procedures of the study. The data collection procedure and the development of the research instruments is also discussed. A brief discussion of the dependability and credibility of the research instruments is then conducted before ethical considerations and dilemmas faced during the research process are explored. Finally, the limitations of the methods employed are examined.

### **1.3.4 Chapter Five-Analysis**

Chapters five, six and seven address the research questions empirically and analytically. The data analysis presented in chapter five details the findings of the focus groups and narrative interviews and in doing so seeks to address the research questions. The major themes to emerge from the thematic data analysis of the focus groups and narrative interviews is presented. Attitudes toward the Catalan language are explored first before the discussion moves onto the respondents' views on the Spanish language. This is followed by a discussion relating to language choice. Finally, the interface between the respondents' language attitudes and how they perceived the Catalan independence movement is explored.

### **1.3.5 Chapter Six-Discussion**

Guided by the interpretation that is presented in chapter five, this chapter provides a discussion of the data as it relates to the research questions and the previous literature. This chapter

explores the findings of this research in relation to the participants' attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish. In the final section of this chapter, the relationship between the respondents' language attitudes and their views on Catalan independence is examined.

### **1.3.6 Chapter Seven-Conclusion**

Chapter seven completes and concludes this thesis, synthesising the research findings. Final comments and conclusions form the basis of this chapter. Here, the original objectives of the study and the research questions are revisited and the findings from chapters five and six are used to provide appropriate answers and draw conclusions. This chapter concludes with a consideration of the limitations of this study and potential areas for further research are indicated.

## **Chapter Two: Literature Review**

Language attitudes play a fundamental role from the moment they transcend the cognitive, affective and behavioural process they involve. They act like ‘windows’ that reflect deeper social processes, such as feelings towards groups or speakers and group affiliations.

(Ubalde *et al.* 2017, p. 93)

### **2.1 Introduction**

The introductory chapter served to establish the topic of this investigation, discuss the aims and objectives and establish the research questions. This chapter explores the theoretical and conceptual approach adopted in this thesis, introducing the literature on the processes of globalisation and its impact on the patterns of minority language practices and identity formation.

To explore and unravel how languages in Catalonia were conceptualised, this chapter introduces the theoretical lens of language orientations, which highlights the paradigms of *language-as-a-resource* and *language-as-a-problem* (Ruiz 1984, 2010). Following this, the literature on language attitudes is discussed. The theories and models adopted in the field of social psychology to study the concept and structure of language attitudes are explored. The final section of this chapter explores the most salient research from the Catalan context. Through exploring the previous literature, this chapter aims to highlight the gap in the current body of research.

### **2.2 Globalisation and Languages: Catalonia Today**

The forces of globalisation have brought about new conditions for the production of language practices, presenting new challenges to current ways of thinking about languages (Blommaert 2010; Heller 2010a, b; Marshall 2012; Urla 2012b; Canagarajah 2013; Moriarty 2015; Nogué and Wilbrand 2018; Rieder 2018). Globalisation has also been cited as a factor in the resurgence and intensification of minority nationalist movements and social movements across Europe (Melucci 1994; Guibernau 1999; May 2012; Williams 2018). For example, Kraus and Vergés-Gifra (2017) note that:

The recent rise of a new secessionism in Western Europe suggests that the dynamic of globalization and transnational integration fuels rather than obstructs aspirations to alter political borders drawn in pre-democratic times. In view of such trends, it seems not too exaggerated to predict that secession will continue to be one of the major political themes of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

(Kraus and Vergés-Gifra 2017, p. 21)

The following section discusses the impact of globalisation in social, cultural and linguistic spaces in Catalonia today. Following this, the case for selecting Ruiz's (1984, 2010) orientations toward languages as the principal theoretical framework employed in this research is presented.

### **2.2.1 Globalisation**

Globalisation is, without doubt, one of the most significant characteristics of modern society but defining the term is not an easy task (Appadurai 1996; Guibernau 2001; Block and Cameron 2002; Sifakis and Sougari 2003; Steger 2017). Adding to the definition offered previously (see section 1.1), Giddens (1990) describes globalisation as the, "(...) intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (Giddens 1990, p. 64). Similarly, Amorós-Negre (2017) states that the 21<sup>st</sup> century has seen the creation of an, "(...) increasingly globalised world, dominated by the dynamics of multinational markets, business, finance and interstate alliances" (Amorós-Negre 2017, p. 71), all of which have resulted in a redefinition of time and space (Guibernau 2004).

Far from eroding minority nationalism, globalisation may encourage it, but in diverse forms (Mlinar 1992; Keating 2001; May 2012; Williams 2018). Sabanadze (2010) adds that globalisation continues to be involved in the revival and reinvigoration of increasingly viable historic nationalist movements of stateless nations in Europe. For example, in Catalonia, the renewed interest in independence has been related to globalisation (Guibernau 2004). Castells (2010b) writes that:

Nations excluded from the process of generating their own state-Catalonia, Scotland, Quebec [...] are at this moment feeling lost in globalization, which is

glimpsed both as a loss of autonomy in terms of the power of the state and as invasion of foreigners of a culture which resists assimilation.

(Castells 2010b, p. 96)

Castells (2001, 2004, 2010a, b) also argues that defensive reactions to globalisation have emerged, that translate into increased feelings of national consciousness and the desire to defend a given culture and history. Castells (2008, 2010a, b) adds that when the world has become too large to be controlled, social actors aim to take a degree of power back and make the world smaller, anchoring themselves in places and expressing proactive expressions of collective identity that call the nation-state into question. Accordingly, globalisation has increased the tensions between local and global norms (Duchêne and Heller 2012; Nogué and Wilbrand 2018). Within this framework, both public institutions and everyday life are becoming de-traditionalised and interdependence (economic, political or cultural) is now a hallmark of globalisation (Coupland 2003; Mar-Molinero 2006).

The intensification of the process of globalisation has also seen the re-emergence of cosmopolitanism or the ‘global cosmopolitan society’ (Hannerz 1996; Giddens 2000; Vertovec and Cohen 2002; Beck 2004; Guibernau 2014a). Here the notion of cosmopolitanism encapsulates an integrative view of the social, “(...) that [transcends] national borders, asserts the commonality of the human experience and defends a universal, ethical and moral programme” (Codó 2014, p. 154), and an, “(...) aesthetic stance of openness toward divergent cultural experiences” (Hannerz 1990, p. 239). Extending this conceptualisation to Catalan nationalism, there has been, “(...) an emerging discourse of cosmopolitan nationalism [categorised] as rooted cosmopolitanism” (Woolard 2016, p. 13), where language is no longer a matter of local rootedness or authenticity. This was evident in the current investigation where informants maintained that over the last number of years there had been a shift in Catalonia with the independence movement moving away from the Catalan languages as one of its fundamental components (see section for 5.5.1 more).

Globalisation has also had an impact on the phenomenon of international migration which accounts for major changes in the cultural and linguistic composition of both areas from which people move, and those to which they move (Heller 1999a, b; Renzaho 2016; Lasagabaster 2017; Triandafyllidou 2018). Catalonia has seen a rapid increase in immigration since the turn of the century and this has seen the creation of new fluid ecolinguistic contexts (Oller and Vila

2010; Oller *et al.* 2011; Garzón 2012; Alarcón and Garzón 2013; Woolard and Frekko 2013; Rodríguez-García *et al.* 2018; Carbonell 2019). Like England, Spain's experience with migration has been defined and shaped in part by colonial ties (Hooghe *et al.* 2008). For example, migration from Latin America to Spain went from being almost inexistent in the early 1990s to being one of the most significant incoming demographic movements at the beginning of the 2000s (Corona and Kelsall 2016). Many scholars have suggested that the presence of new migrants, often unaware of local socio-political issues, is restructuring existing norms of practice across a range of domains in Catalonia today (Marshall 2006, 2012; Garzón 2012; May 2012; Block 2016; Woolard 2016; Rodríguez-García *et al.* 2018). Pujolar (2010) adds that:

As has happened in many other areas of the world, international migration flows in Catalonia have radically changed the social landscape and thereby questioned the cultural and linguistic assumptions on which national identity was constructed.

(Pujolar 2010, p. 240)

In a region where approximately 13.6% of the population is classified as 'foreign-born' (Alarcón and Garzón 2013; Block 2016; Rodríguez-García *et al.* 2018), these new sources of diversity may pose challenges (or opportunities) for complex sociolinguistic communities (see section 1.2.2 for immigration figures in Girona). Bastardas-Boada (2012) sees this demographic change as a serious challenge, stating that:

Immigration can have a potentially detrimental effect from the standpoint of language and identity, especially in societies that are not very large demographically and speak languages that are not widespread.

(Bastardas-Boada 2012, p. 98)

In contrast, Woolard and Frekko (2013) and Soler-Carbonell *et al.* (2016) point out that these heightened mobility flows, which are an element of globalisation, have seemingly enabled Catalan to outgrow its 'native speaker' niche and to be adopted by speakers of different linguistic, ethnic and social backgrounds. These issues are discussed in more depth in the following section.

## **2.2.2 Globalisation and Languages**

Globalisation is bound up with transformations of language, identity, the use of languages and the attitudes of speakers toward languages in many different ways (see e.g., Giddens 1990; Bauman 1997; Coupland 2003, 2010a; Sifakis and Souga 2003; Heller 2003; Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003; Dörnyei *et al.* 2006; Blommaert 2010; Amorós-Negre 2017). Reflecting this, there is a growing interest in the relationship between language and globalisation (see e.g., Grillo 1989; Heller 1994a; Gee *et al.* 1996; Fairclough 2006; Mar-Molinero 2006; Pennycook 2007a, 2010; Duchêne and Heller 2012; Heller and McElhinny 2017). There is also a growing interest on globalisation and minority languages (see e.g., Blommaert 1996; Jaffe 1999; Watts 1999; Makoni and Pennycook 2005; Heller 2006; Pujolar *et al.* 2011; Woolard 2016).

As a result of globalisation, “(...) geographical and social mobility, economic and political transformations, and the omnipresence of technology in all areas of life” (Ruiz de Zarobe and Ruiz de Zarobe 2015, p. 395), there is now multilingualism in more places for more reasons than ever before. Given this, multilingualism is fast becoming one of the core issues for defining/describing communities. In particular, ethnolinguistic minorities provide a revealing window into the processes of globalisation and potential competition between languages (Heller 2003). For example, Urla (2012b) notes that with globalisation, “(...) attachments to minority languages have not vanished nor have movements advocating for their protection; indeed, in some respects they enjoy more legitimacy than ever before” (Urla 2012b, pp. 73-74).

The intensification of local and regional relationships brought upon by globalisation have opened spaces for local organisations, and this is precisely where ethnolinguistic minorities can best hope to exercise some control (Duchêne and Heller 2012; Amorós-Negre 2017; Heller and McElhinny 2017). Williams and Morris (2000) point out that this global-local interaction may work in favour of groups in situations of language minoritisation and open, “(...) up space for diversity, including the reorientation of minority language groups within normative space” (Williams and Morris 2000, p. 127). The resurgence of ethnic, linguistic, religious and other cultural claims issued by minorities can be at least partially attributed to globalisation and cosmopolitanism (Hamel 2006). In this regard, in addition to increased interconnectivity on all levels, globalisation has stimulated the upsurge of minorities believed to have been successfully integrated into existing nation-states during the era of late-capitalism, a period where language

is shown to play an increasingly important role in society (Bastardas-Boada 2012; Duchêne and Heller 2012). In line with this, Heller (2000) maintains that globalisation can potentially result in the ‘uniformisation of communicative practice’ but importantly also ‘hybridity as a hall-mark’. Indeed, Wright (2004) poses the question of whether concerns attached to the hierarchical arrangements of minority and majority languages in nation-states are as relevant in an increasingly globalised world. Adding to this Amorós-Negre (2017) states that:

(...) different communities are relocating their identity in the global village. [And] now more than ever, [identity] cannot be conceived as a fixed, monolithic dimension, but rather as a dynamic, hybrid, multiple one that is continuously being reconstructed and adapted, faithfully reflected in language practices.

(Amorós-Negre 2017, p. 71)

Consequently, what Robertson (1995, 2012) calls the new ‘glocalised’ language order, where the issue of attachments to specific languages are more ‘open’ and linguistic communities are less ‘bound’ by territorial and unmovable cultural attachments (Roudometof 2005; Blommaert 2010). In this sense, daily life has increasingly become reconstituted in terms of the dialectical interplay of the local and the global and individuals are increasingly forced to negotiate lifestyle choices among a diversity of (linguistic) options (Giddens 1991). As such, Bastardas-Boada (2012) argues that the ‘glocal age’ requires paying greater attention to the multiple language resources that different speakers use in the transnational era. The interrelation of the global and the local is important in the study of minority languages because a glocalisation approach enables new forms of localisation that can potentially result in the reconstruction and reproduction of local identities and novel usages for minority languages (Roudometof 2005; Moriarty 2015). The change in the way language is viewed and the importance attached to individual repertoires of language actions have led to a growing sense that language(s) can act *as-a-resource* or *as-a-problem* in society (Ruiz 1984, 2010) (see section 2.3.1).

The literature demonstrates that a fear has arisen of linguistic-cultural homogenisation, as globalisation has undoubtedly led to the hegemony of a handful of languages, one of which is Spanish. Consequently, the new globalised language order requires paying greater attention to the multiple language resources that different speakers use in a transnational era (Amorós-Negre 2017). Considering this, Castells (2004) notes the increased symbolic importance of language, stating that:

(...) in a world submitted to cultural homogenisation by the ideology of modernization and the power of global media, language, as a direct expression of culture, becomes the trench of cultural resistance, the last bastion of self-control, the refuge of identifiable meaning.

(Castells 2004, p. 56)

New demands on language use and new value frameworks around multilingualism have been formed against the backdrop of globalisation (see e.g., Duchêne and Heller 2007; Duchêne and Heller 2012; Moriarty 2015; Heller and McElhinny 2017). Referring to the situation in Catalonia, Pujolar *et al.* (2011) note that:

The implications of all these global transformations for language and identity discourses and practices are also very important. Until a few decades ago, we could study Catalan language dynamics and the grievances of Catalan culture as a clearly internal matter, affected at most by the public policies of Spain. Nowadays, however, this is impossible without taking into account complex links with other globalisation processes.

(Pujolar *et al.* 2011, p. 81)

Heller (2003, 2008, 2010a, b) critiques the role of language in the globalised world further, stating that the processes of globalisation are bound up with transformations of language and identity in many different ways, maintaining that globalisation has seen the value language transmuted into a resource or commodifiable skill. However, the new discourses of language and identity in Catalonia do not entirely match those found elsewhere in the world. Woolard (2016) offers an insight, stating that Catalan has not seen the traditional forms of commodification of language but rather the value of Catalan now hinges, “(...) less and less on the value of language as an index of authenticity and more on its value for articulating an open public sphere and a cosmopolitan community” (Woolard 2016, p. 13).

A cosmopolitan disposition entails newer, more fluid orientations of language and multilingualism. With language being made up of a set of resources where varied language practices are valued (García and Wei 2014; Moriarty 2015). In addition, cosmopolitanism questions how much fixity about borders, identity categories and languages still exist (Coupland 2003; Sifakis and Sougari 2003; Blommaert 2010; Codó 2014; Moriarty 2015;

Pennycook and Otsuji 2015; Amorós-Negre 2017; Steger 2017; Rodríguez-García *et al.* 2018). Newman (2011) adds that “Linguistic Cosmopolitans support multilingualism as a marker of acceptance of the ethnolinguistically heterogeneous society that they value. For people holding this ideology [or attitude], the in-group/outgroup dynamic breaks down” (Newman 2011, p. 41). Mirroring the ‘de-traditionalising’ properties of globalisation (see section 2.2.1), cosmopolitan orientations to language and identity are found ‘on the ground’ in Catalonia; orientations that look beyond parochial own-group communities, ones which favour bridging linguistic boundaries, bilingualism, diversity and hybridity (Newman *et al.* 2008; Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009; Newman 2011; Woolard and Frekko 2013; Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015; Torbisco-Casals 2017; Gamper-Sachse 2018; Rodríguez-García *et al.* 2018).

To sum up, changing social conditions linked to globalisation, have enabled the emergence of new or non-traditional linguistic and cultural sites for representing and performing Catalan identity (see section 6.5). This research argues that individual constructions of, and attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish, are in many cases transitional, taking place within the new structures of 21<sup>st</sup> century Catalonia. A conceptualisation and critique of the role of language in the globalised world is particularly useful in understanding the complexity of the situation in multilingual Catalonia, a situation that has become more complicated with the independence movement in the region (Branchadell 2011; Woolard 2016; Dowling 2018). The next section introduces and discusses Ruiz’s (1984, 2010) language orientations framework. This approach was employed to better frame this study of languages in modern Catalonia.

## **2.3 Theoretical Framework**

Having discussed key macro-structural issues in the preceding sections, the focus now changes to the theoretical and conceptual approach adopted in this thesis. In this section Ruiz's (1984, 2010) orientations toward languages are introduced, namely *language-as-a-resource* and *language-as-a-problem*. Ruiz's (1984, 2010) framework provides a typology for understanding language attitudes in any given society (see e.g., Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe 2009). Considering this, a discussion pertaining to language attitudes is also presented below.

### **2.3.1 Ruiz's Orientations**

The relationship between individuals' social and political positions and their views on language are complex and multifaceted and these relationships are always embedded in and mediated by larger socio-political, historical and economic processes (Jaffe 2013; Woolard 2016). To unravel the complexities of respondents' constructions of languages and the independence process in Catalonia it was beneficial to situate them in Ruiz's (1984, 2010) orientations toward languages framework. An adaptation of the framework developed by Ruiz acted as a lens to assist in understanding the language attitudes present in the territory.

Ruiz's (1984, 2010) 'orientations' toward languages, "(...) refers to a complex of dispositions toward language and its role, and toward languages and their role in society" (Ruiz 1984, p. 16) and these orientations, "(...) inevitably reflect attitudes toward the speakers of certain languages" (Moreno 2012, p. 199). These dispositions, "(...) may be largely unconscious and pre-rational because they are the most fundamental level of arguments about language" (Ruiz 1984, p. 16). An understanding of Ruiz's framework can be used to discover:

(...) the ways we talk about language and language issues, they determine the basic questions we ask. [Additionally] orientations are related to language attitudes in that they constitute the framework in which attitudes are formed: they help to delimit the range of acceptable attitudes towards language, and to make certain attitudes legitimate. In short, orientations determine what is thinkable about language in society.

(Ruiz 1984, p. 16)

In his framework, Ruiz (1984, 2010) proposed three overarching orientations or perspectives about linguistic diversity in society: *language-as-a-problem*, *language-as-a-right* and *language-as-a-resource*. Of particular salience to this research are the paradigms of *language-as-a-problem* and *language-as-a-resource* (Ruiz 1984, 2010).

Ruiz's *language-as-a-right* orientation was omitted from this study for a number of reasons. Firstly, as discussed below (section 2.3.1.1), when discussing the *language-as-a-right* orientation it is problematic identifying exactly what constitutes a right. In addition, when discussing the *language-as-a-right* orientation, Ruiz (2010) positioned the *language-as-resource* orientation as a prerequisite, stating that "unless one sees a language as a good thing in itself, it is impossible to affirm anyone's right to it" (Ruiz 2010, p. 165). García (2009) adds that *language-as-resource* goes beyond the *language-as-a-right* orientation with the promotion of multilingualism in society. Secondly, since 1979 Catalonia has successfully re-established and entrenched its minority cultural and language rights. As such, today citizens of Catalonia have the right to use Catalan on all (public and private) occasions, while virtually all written and oral work in the *Generalitat* and local authorities is now undertaken in Catalan (Crameri 2008; Guibernau 2004; May 2012; Woolard 2016) (see section 3.3). May (2012) argues that with the institutionalisation of the language variety within civil society the language variety comes to be accepted, or 'taken for granted' in a wide range of social, cultural and linguistic domains or contexts, both formal and informal. Reflecting this 'taken for granted' assumption, much of the informants' discourse in the current study went beyond the *language-as-a-right* paradigm and the Catalan language in 21<sup>st</sup> century Catalonia seemed to have become largely naturalised and taken for granted by the research participants. As such, this study has adopted the two orientations, *language-as-a-resource* and *language-as-a-problem*, as the dual analytical lens when examining the respondents' language attitudes.

While at face value the resource and problem orientations appear to be competing frameworks, they are not necessarily incompatible. Ruiz (1984) maintains that different circumstances require different approaches to languages:

(...) one should realize that these are competing but not incompatible approaches [...] while one orientation may be more desirable than another in any particular context, it is probably best to have a repertoire of orientations from which to draw.

(Ruiz 1984, pp. 17-18)

As such, the *language-as-a-resource* and *language-as-a-problem* orientations are not sequential or isolated but rather emerge and converge within a range of socio-political contexts (Zúñiga 2016). In addition, a dynamic use of *language-as-a-problem* and *language-as-a-resource* can illuminate the complexity and multiplicity of discourses within and across diverse globalised contexts, revealing a more nuanced and contextualised perspective of individuals' views of languages (Cummins *et al.* 2006; Baker 2011; Bale 2016; de Jong *et al.* 2016; Bilić-Meštrić and Šimičić 2017). The orientations, *language-as-a-resource* and *languages-as-a-problem* are discussed in more detail below.

### **2.3.1.1 Language-as-a-Resource**

Ruiz (1984) questioned if a *language-as-a-problem* or *language-as-a-rights* orientation were a sufficient way to address the language needs of a given society. As such, the *language-as-a-resource* orientation was devised as a way of addressing the criticisms between the conceptualisation of *language-as-a-problem* and *language-as-a-right* (Ricento 2005; de Jong *et al.* 2016). For example, the *language-as-a-problem* orientation has been critiqued for failing to acknowledge bilingual community's assets and minority languages are constructed solely *as-a-problem* in a society (Ruiz 1984; Bale 2016). In addition, the *language-as-a-right* orientation has also faced criticism with Ruiz (1984) arguing that it is difficult to compile an exhaustive list of what constitutes language rights. Considering this, Ruiz (1984) points out that the orientation, *language-as-a-resource*, serves as a better orientation for several reasons:

A closer look at the idea of *language-as-resource* could reveal some promise for alleviating some of the conflicts emerging out of the other two orientations: it can have a direct impact on enhancing the language status of subordinate languages; it can help to ease tensions between majority and minority communities.

(Ruiz 1984, pp. 25-26)

The conservation of existing linguistic resources and the benefits of a language are the focus of the *language-as-a-resource* orientation (de Jong *et al.* 2016). With the recent growing emphasis on minority rights and language endangerment, the *language-as-a-resource* orientation has gained much importance (Baker 2011; de Jong *et al.* 2016). Under the *language-as-a-resource* view, multilingualism is not constructed as a problem but rather an enrichment of the socio-cultural life of a community and acquiring more than one language

becomes something to be envied and sought after rather than a necessary evil (Ruiz 1984, 2010; Baker 2011). Heller (2007a) adds that:

(...) language [increasingly acts] as a set of resources which circulate in unequal ways in social networks and discursive spaces and whose meaning and value are socially constructed within the constraints of social organisational processes, under specific historical conditions.

(Heller 2007a, p. 2)

Fundamentally, the *language-as-a-resource* orientation values multilingualism and cultural diversity (Ruiz 1984, 2010; Hornberger 1990a, 2002). Bale (2016) adds that when viewing *language-as-a-resource* it is possible to frame a language as a:

(...) resource for identity formation and group cohesion for those who speak and share a given language. In the context of multilingual societies, the resource orientation can also work to reframe societal multilingualism and/or individual plurilingualism as an asset to cultivate, not a deficit to redress.

(Bale 2016, p. 232)

In his conceptualisation of *language-as-a-resource*, Ruiz (1984) states that languages are, “(...) a resource to be managed, developed and conserved” (Ruiz 1984, p. 28), or a valuable asset and stock that can be drawn on, which makes multilingualism and bilingualism assets in any community (Bamgbose 2000). When discussing this orientation, Hopewell and Butvilofsky (2016) stress that, “the concept of conservation evokes the importance of defending, protecting, sustaining, and managing an asset, seemingly in an effort to preserve heterogeneity, or in this case linguistic diversity (...)” (Hopewell and Butvilofsky 2016, p. 324). Additionally, this perspective argues that languages should not be pitted against each other in an either minority language or majority language conflict; rather, the ability for speakers to develop advanced bilingualism in both a national language and another language should be considered desirable (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000; Hult 2014).

This orientation aims to reframe subordinate or minority languages from being perceived as deficits (or problems) to being viewed as social assets for individuals and groups that can prove useful in contributing to greater social cohesion and cooperation across different communities (Ruiz 1984, 2010; de Jong *et al.* 2016). The *language-as-a-resource* orientation can, “(...) have

a direct impact on enhancing the language status of subordinate languages [and] help ease tensions between majority and minority communities” (Ruiz 1984, p. 25). The ‘resource’ orientation credits language with both, “(...) intrinsic value in relation to cultural reproduction [...] identity construction, building self-esteem, and intellectual engagement” (Hult and Hornberger 2016, p. 39). Adding to this, Cummins *et al.* (2006) state that *language-as-a-resource* is inclusive, insofar as linguistic diversity is good for integration purposes in multilingual and multicultural domains. Ramsey (2012) also states that the *language-as-a-resource* orientation constructs language, and particularly bilingualism, as a tool for learning and developing strong ethnic identity and cultural pride. *Language-as-a-resource* calls for the preservation of heritage languages and promotes tolerance and co-operation between groups. In addition, the resource orientation maintains that language can act as the central element and expression of identity (Ruiz 1984, 2010; Baker 2011). Commenting on the *language-as-a-resource* orientation, Auer and Wei (2009) add that, “far from being a problem, multilingualism is part of the solution for our future. Social stability, economic development, tolerance and cooperation between groups are possible only when multilingualism is respected” (Auer and Wei 2009, p. 12).

While generally viewed positively, the *language-as-a-resource* orientation is not entirely unproblematic (Ruiz 1984, 2010; de Jong *et al.* 2016). Petrovic (2005) notes that the rise of globalisation has seen the arguments for *language-as-a-resource* shift from a focus on ethnic connections and identities to a focus on commerce and bears similarities to the commodification of language (Heller 2003, 2011; Duchêne and Heller 2012) (see section 2.2.2). Such an approach does not acknowledge nor valorise the diverse linguistic repertoires of many people. The *language-as-a-resource* orientation has also raised questions as to the danger of positioning some languages as having more political (or economic) importance than others (Petrovic 2005; Ricento 2005). Ruiz (2010) reacted to the criticism that the *language-as-a-resource* metaphor was restrictively conceived as an economic asset, stating that the notion of ‘resource’ is much more than just economic. Instead, Ruiz (2010) insisted that the *language-as-a-resource* orientation saw the ‘intrinsic value of multilingualism’ rather than a narrower reference to economic value.

### **2.3.1.2 Language-as-a-Problem**

Ruiz (1984, 2010) suggests that the conceptualisation of *language-as-a-problem* has become an influential discourse and is one that stems from a monolingual ideal and assimilationist mind-set (Hornberger 1990a, b; Evans and Hornberger 2005). *Language-as-a-problem* constructs multilingualism as an obstacle to the progress and efficiency of a community and assumes that, “(...) minority-language speakers have a handicap to overcome and that they need to be assimilated to the majority language in order to cope with the problem” (Jeon 2003, p. 133). In the *language-as-a-problem* orientation minority languages are viewed as problems that are, “(...) standing in the way of the incorporation of members of linguistic minorities into the mainstream” (Hornberger 1990b, p. 24). When discussing this orientation, Ruiz (1984) states that:

Whether the orientation is represented by malicious attitudes resolving to eradicate, invalidate, quarantine or inoculate, or comparatively benign ones concerned with remediation and “improvement”, the central activity remains that of problem-solving.

(Ruiz 1984, p. 21)

The *language-as-a-problem* orientation problematises minority languages and bilingualism/multilingualism is not recognised as a community resource but rather as a threat to the status of the dominant majority language (Faltis and Smith 2016). The view of *language-as-a-problem* is rooted in the assumption that multilingualism at state level is problematic as it provokes confusion and presents a potential threat to nation states (Bilić-Meštrić and Šimičić 2017). In this view, linguistic diversity is a threat and harmful to national unity which is best achieved with a single, common language (Ruiz 1984, 2010; Akinnaso 1994; Macías 2016). Furthermore, language and language diversity are linked with social problems under this orientation, and multilingualism ultimately leads to a lack of social cohesiveness (Baker 2011). With everyone speaking their own language, political and social consensus is impossible (Ruiz 1984, 2010).

Baker (2011) posits that a part of the *language-as-a-problem* orientation is that language minorities and linguistic diversity have the potential to result in less integration, more antagonism and additional conflict in society. In addition, language orientations can be related

(overlap, reflect, connected to) other social issues (Ruiz 1984, 2010; Macías 2016). For example, Ruiz (1984) states that:

(...) since language problems are never merely language problems, but have a direct impact on all spheres of social life [...] this particular orientation toward language [...] may be representative of a more general [negative] outlook on cultural and social diversity.

(Ruiz 1984, p. 21)

Ruiz (1984, 2010) concluded that the *language-as-a-problem* orientation and what it constitutes underestimates the worth of multilingualism and that valuing minority language groups could only lead to greater national cohesion and collaboration.

Although Ruiz's orientations have been used to describe macrolevel language planning issues (Ruiz 1984, 2010), they also appear in research studies dealing with individual communities, schools and organisations (Kamhi-Stein 2003; Planas and Civil 2013). As such, Ruiz's (1984, 2010) language orientations framework was employed in this research as it permitted for an exploration of the values about language and language diversity and relationships between groups, expressed as attitudes (Macías 2016). Therefore, it was believed that this framework was suitable for the analysis of individual informants' language attitudes against the backdrop of the independence movement in Catalonia.

To summarise, Ruiz's (1984, 2010) orientations recognise that language is not simply a means of communication but is also associated with local and wider society, as well as a powerful symbol of heritage and identity (Baker 2011). Employing Ruiz's (1984, 2010) conceptualisation of contrasting and competing language orientations as an analytical tool is particularly useful in understanding the complex situation in modern Catalonia (see chapter three). As already stated (see section 1.1.1), this investigation sought to explore the language attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish of members of independence organisations in Girona. This was in a context of political uncertainty and increasing linguistic and cultural heterogeneity in Catalonia. In such a context, this research examined the complexity of the respondents' language attitudes, focusing on the ways in which attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish were perceived in terms of the language orientations: *language-as-a-resource* and *language-as-a-problem*. Ruiz's (1984, 2010) conceptualisation of language orientations employed in this study draws on the understanding that orientations are not fixed, but rather

they are characterised by changing complex social dynamics relating to the processes of globalisation (Pujolar *et al.* 2011; Moriarty 2015; Woolard 2016; Amorós-Negre 2017; Heller and McElhinny 2017). The following section presents and discusses the theories and models adopted in the field of social psychology to the study of language attitudes.

### **2.3.2 Language Attitudes: A Social Psychological Definition**

This section examines the concept of language attitude from a socio-psychological perspective, providing the definition of the concept that was employed in the current investigation. Following this, the convergence between the concepts attitude and ideology is discussed, before the literature relating to the study of language attitudes in Catalonia is introduced.

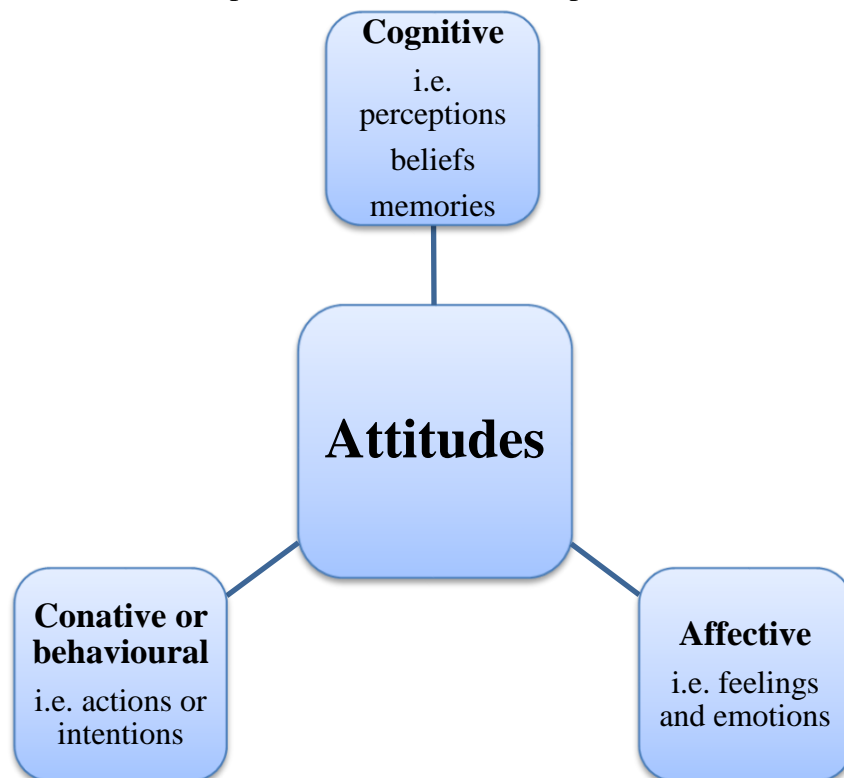
The examination of language attitudes is especially relevant in multilingual settings, where different languages co-exist and people have to negotiate, “(...) who speaks what language to whom and when (...)” (Fishman 1965, p. 67). Language attitudes have been analysed from different disciplinary perspectives such as social psychology, sociology, anthropology, communication studies and linguistics (Speelman *et al.* 2013). However, it is the contributions of social psychologists that are of particular importance in the study of language attitudes (Knops and van Hout 1988; Edwards 1985; Wölck 2005; Hawkey 2018). This is perhaps not surprising given that the term attitude itself is what Edwards (1994) labels “the cornerstone of traditional social psychology” (Edwards (1994, p. 97).

Scholars have argued that to appreciate in any depth the complex social reality in which identity, language attitudes and language behaviour interact, theoretical perspectives from the field of social psychology should be applied (Baker 1992; Edwards 1999; McKenzie 2010; Garrett 2010). As such, in the present study, a socio-psychological approach was adopted as it acknowledges that attitudes are not fixed but are instead constantly fluctuating and shifting according to their social environment. In addition, this approach provides a framework for examining complex political debates related to toward languages (Loh *et al.* 2018; McCarthy 2018). Thus, a socio-psychological approach to the study of language attitudes was adopted in this study to explore how languages were constructed *as-a-resource* and/or *as-a-problem* for the research participants against the backdrop of the Catalan independence movement.

Garrett (2010) argues that defining the concept of language attitude is not simple. One of the main issues relating to the definition of (language) attitude is linked to the approach held by

theorists and researchers which can be polarised into two views: the one-component versus the three-component model. While there is not universal agreement on the actual number of these components nor the relationship between them, social psychologists often operate with the three component-model (Oskamp 1991; Baker 1992; Eagly and Chaiken 1993). The tripartite division of an attitude, as was advanced by Rosenberg and Hovland (1960), persists to this day. This multiple component model generally differentiates between the cognitive, affective and conative components of an attitude (see Figure 2.1).

**Figure 2.1:** The subcomponents of an attitude (adapted from Baker 1992, p. 13).



The cognitive component of an attitude comprises a wide range of beliefs or perceptions about the social world. Cognitive responses reflect the perceptions of, and thoughts about, the attitude object (Ajzen 2005). The affective element of an attitude refers to one's feelings toward an object. This component of an attitude relates to the evaluation of and emotional response to the object in question. In short order, the affective aspect of an attitude is a barometer of favourability or unfavourability toward an attitude object (Garrett 2010). The third component, the conative or behavioural element of an attitude refers to an individual's predisposition to act in certain ways. The conative encompasses behavioural inclinations, intentions, commitments and future actions with respect to the attitudinal object in question (Ajzen 2005; McKenzie 2010).

The tri-componential understanding of what an attitude constitutes has been adopted by most work in the field of language attitude research (see e.g., Bentahila 1983; Baker 1992; Pulcini 1997; Mejías *et al.* 2003; Speelman *et al.* 2013; Darmody and Daly 2015; Santello 2015). However, an attitude may not always necessarily constitute all three components and some people may display preferences for either cognitively, behaviourally or affectively driven attitudes (Bohner and Wänke 2002; Huskinson and Haddock 2004; Vogel and Wänke 2016; Hawkey 2018). As such, not all three components may be represented in any given attitude. Nevertheless, a definition based on the tri-componential approach was adopted in this study.

Despite the difficulties in defining the concept of attitude (see e.g., Santello 2015), Agheyisi and Fishman (1970) provide a useful guide to the commonalities found throughout the literature. They state that language attitudes are:

(...) learned from previous experience, and that they are not momentary but relatively ‘enduring’ [and] attitudes bear some positive relation to action or behavior, either as being ‘predisposition to be behavior’ or as being a special aspect of behavior itself.

(Agheyisi and Fishman 1970, p. 139)

Adding to this, Moreno-Fernández (2017) provides a broad definition of language attitudes, stating that language attitude is a manifestation of the social attitude of individuals, distinguished by focus and specific reference to both language and its use in society. Garrett (2010) understands attitudes as, “(...) an evaluative orientation to a social object of some sort, whether it is a language, or a new government policy, etc.” (Garrett 2010, p. 20). The object in question in Garrett’s (2010) definition is language. Consequently, studies of language attitudes are often extended to individuals’ stances not just on languages, but also on the values attached to the languages (resource or problem) or their relationship to the community using the language (Fasold 1984; Dailey-O’Cain and Liebscher 2011; González-Riaño *et al.* 2013).

Following Baker (1992), this investigation understands language attitudes as an ‘umbrella’ term which can be classified as: i) attitude to a specific minority or majority language; ii) attitude to language variation, dialect and speech style; iii) attitude to language lessons or to learning a new language (Baker 1992; Baker and Prys Jones 1998). This conceptualisation allows for a broadening of the definition of language attitude, thereby constructing language attitude as a superordinate category that encompasses all language related attitudes. This

definition is useful for investigating language attitudes in Catalonia. This is because feelings and reflections about the role of Catalan and Spanish are expressed in relation to current and past events and also in relation to people and institutions.

Adopting Baker's (1992) definition allows the researcher to explore how language attitudes were formed through experience, what they are now and how they impact on respondents' everyday lives. As such, an investigation of participants language attitudes can act as a powerful lens to examine how language is framed *as-a-resource* and/or *as-a-problem* (Ruiz 1984, 2010), as language attitudes connect language with politics, economics and culture. A varied array of methodological approaches are required to match the inherent complexity of language attitudes (Garrett *et al.* 2003; Hawkey 2018). In this study, focus groups and narrative interviews were used to explore the language attitudes of the research participants (see chapter four). The findings of this research with regard to the theoretical framework are discussed in chapters five and six. Having discussed the concept of language attitude, the next section addresses the debate related to the terms attitude and ideology.

### **2.3.2.1 Attitudes and Ideologies**

A problem with the definition of attitude is that it often overlaps with other concepts in social psychology and is used interchangeably with other terms, such as, 'belief', 'opinion', 'value', 'habit', 'trait' and 'motive'. While these terms are often used as a synonym for 'attitude', they can have subtly or grossly different meanings (Baker 1992; Garrett *et al.* 2003; Garrett 2010; McKenzie 2010; Hawkey 2018). However, it is perhaps the convergence between the concepts of attitude and ideology where there is most debate (Baker 1992; Woolard and Schieffelin 1994; Liang 2015).

Spolsky (2004) states that there is a distinct difference between language ideologies and language attitudes. The contrast is partly about different traditions of research, theory and expression, particularly between sociology and social psychology (Baker 1992). Generally, an ideology comprises of, "(...) a system of widely shared ideas, patterned beliefs, guiding norms and values, and lofty ideals accepted as "fact" or "truth" by significant groups in society" (Steger 2008, p. 6). Ideologies about language are largely unconscious, tacit, taken-for-granted and 'naturalised' assumptions about language statuses, forms, users, and uses that, by virtue of their 'common sense' component, contribute to linguistic inequality (Tollefson 2006). Blommaert (2005) adds that an:

(...) ideology cannot be attributed to one particular actor, not located in one particular site [but rather] it penetrates the whole fabric of societies or communities and results in normalised, naturalised patterns of thought and behaviour.

(Blommaert 2005, p. 159)

Another dimension in the relationship between language ideology and language attitude is the juxtaposition and connection between the group and the individual (Liang 2015). This dimension is perhaps best captured by Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) who state that, “(...) the intrapersonal attitude can be recast as a socially-derived intellectualized or behavioural ideology” (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994, p. 62). In this regard, ideologies are often viewed as a type of global or macro attitude that function at an individualistic and group level (McGuire 1985; Garrett 2010). This contrasts with attitudes, which, “(...) tend to be related to specific objects” (Baker 1992, p. 15) and are held by individuals. Dyers and Abongdia (2010) also stress that language ideologies are held by groups and are shaped by socio-historical events, whereas attitudes are mostly held by individuals and tend to be located in individual experience.

Despite the differences discussed above, attitudes and ideologies share similarities in the sense that they both connect social structures to linguistic practices, but it is argued that language ideologies precede language attitudes. This is insofar as language attitudes are shaped by language ideologies in a society or community (Gal and Woolard 2001; Dyers and Abongdia 2010). From this perspective, language ideologies precede and form language attitudes, as they represent broad, socio-cultural schemas that shape the development of the intrapersonal attitude toward particular language varieties and their speakers (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994; Irvine and Gal 2000; Edwards 2009; Gafaranga 2010). In this regard, “(...) ideology plays a role in the construction of language attitudes” (Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain 2009, p. 201). As such, ideology is a higher order construct and more abstract in nature than attitudes. Adding to this, language attitudes are rooted in different underlying language ideologies, cultural goals and social goals (Hornberger 1991; Maio *et al.* 2006). Consequently, the link between language attitudes and language ideologies is essential in the current investigation as it establishes the nature of the interaction between macro-representation of language ideologies and respondents individually held language attitudes and perceptions (Woolard 2016).

Given that language attitudes are deeply tied to language ideologies (Trenchs and Newman 2009; Lapresta-Rey *et al.* 2017), the current study adopts the position proposed by Austin and

Sallabank (2014), who suggest that it is perhaps prudent to conceptualise the dynamic relationship between attitude and ideology, as points along a continuum rather than dichotomous or rigidly separated concepts. Adding to this conceptualisation, Billig (1984) defines ideology as “(...) patterns or gestalts of attitudes” (Billig 1984, p. 446). In addition, attitudes can be understood as expressed ideologies, where the assumption is that ideologies are ‘thick’ attitudes. In other words, ideologies are comprised of several strands of individual attitudes (Banaji and Heiphetz 2010). In this sense, Sallabank (2013) argues that it is sensible to treat attitudes, “(...) as overt manifestations of implicit ideologies” (Sallabank 2013, p. 64). Given this, the current study acknowledges that many of the respondents’ comments relating to both the Catalan and Spanish languages were located along an attitude-ideological continuum, from the intrapersonal attitude to the aforementioned, socially-derived intellectualised or behavioural ideology (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994).

Adding to this, Garrett *et al.* (2003) argues that attitudes are our “(...) map of the social world” (Garrett *et al.* 2003, p. 3), and an exploration of language attitudes can potentially provide a glimpse into the contours of one’s being in a social context and of the social context itself (Saito 2014). Given this, language attitude research is preoccupied with the intersection between the ‘individual’ and the ‘social’ (Wetherell and Potter 1992; Hawkey 2018). Its close connection to individual construct systems, its value as an indicator of viewpoints in communities and its centrality in social psychological theory is why attitude was chosen as a lens to explore the linguistic, social and political situation in Catalonia.

This study adopts the position taken by Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain (2009), who point out that language attitudes are created and transmitted through talk, but they retain power through larger cultural ideologies that are perpetuated through individual instances of talk. Through its qualitative approach, the language attitudes of the research participants were investigated in order to indicate how and to what extent they viewed Catalan and Spanish *as-a-resource* and/or *as-a-problem* (Ruiz 1984, 2010). In the next section, language attitudes studies (and related terms) that have been conducted in Catalonia are examined.

## **2.4 Previous Research: The Catalan Context**

The research from the Catalan context has been conducted across a range of socio-political and sociolinguistic settings, differing in both focus and circumstances. This section discusses the most significant studies that have examined the language situation in the territory. This review does not claim to be exhaustive, but it does provide an insight into the most salient research regarding how identity is constructed and the role that language plays in this process in modern Catalonia. Through conducting this review of the literature this section aims to highlight the gap in the current body of research that this investigation aims to fill.

Apart from a language attitude survey by Badia-Margarit (1969), showing positive evaluations of Catalan in Barcelona, there were few empirical investigations into the situation in Catalonia until the 1970s. However, since the late 1970s, Catalonia has been the focus of systematic linguistic research (González-Riaño *et al.* 2013). Since then, a wealth of studies across a range of social contexts have been conducted in relation to language and identity, education, second language learning, language policies and integration (see e.g., Bastardas-Boada 1985, 1986; Tusón 1985a; Woolard 1989, 2016; Erill-Pinyot *et al.* 1992; Vila 1996; Pujolar 2001; Frekko 2009a; Corona *et al.* 2013; Pujolar and González 2013; Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015; Hawkey 2018). This section begins with a review of some of the seminal studies conducted during the period when the linguistic normalisation policies (see below) were being implemented in Catalonia (see section 2.4.1). This is followed by a review of the most salient research conducted in the region since the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (see section 2.4.2).

### **2.4.1 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Polarisation**

Catalonia's linguistic immersion policies have been particularly successful in re-establishing Catalan in the public sphere and making it the main institutional language and the principal medium of instruction in schools. This has led to a high number of sociolinguistic studies in the school setting. At this point, it is impossible not to mention Woolard's (1984, 1989) and Woolard and Gahng's (1990) research. For convenience, Woolard (1984, 1989) will be referred to as the 1980 study and Woolard and Gahng (1990) as the 1987 study. Woolard was one of the first researchers to implement the matched-guise test (MGT) (see section 4.2 for more), to investigate attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish speakers in Barcelona.

Both Woolard and Woolard and Gahng's work was carried out around the time of the implementation of the *Llei de Normalització Lingüística a Catalunya* (LNL: Law of Linguistic Normalisation) in Catalonia in the early 1980s. These policies aimed to ensure that Catalan became the language used in primary education, administration and the media in Catalonia. Consequently, the overall aim of linguistic normalisation was to promote linguistic integration and engender an inclusive Catalan national identity in the region (Newman *et al.* 2008; Franco-Guillén and Zapata-Barrero 2014; Woolard 2016). As such, Woolard and Woolard and Gahng's studies were conducted at a period when the process of language normalisation was in an embryonic state (Lapresta-Rey *et al.* 2018). Both studies were conducted at a time when the children of the migrants from other parts of Spain who had been settling in Catalonia since the 1960s entered the educational system. In the 1980 investigation, participants had to assess four women's voices reading a text on mathematics in Catalan and Spanish. The speaker was then assessed on a range of traits (e.g., amusing, sense of humour, likeable etc.). The results indicated an ethnolinguistic divide between Spanish-speaking and native Catalan-speaking adolescents and reluctance on behalf of the former group to speak Catalan, which was seen as a language of prestige (Woolard 1989).

Woolard and Gahng's (1990) later work explored how the social evaluation of Catalan and Spanish speakers changed following the effects of seven years of Catalan language planning efforts in the territory. However, the two studies were not identical in all dimensions. For example, the 1987 study sample consisted of 276 students from five secondary schools but only one of these schools was the same as the 1980 sample. Nonetheless, other schools were selected for similarity in terms of location, socio-economic class and linguistic origin of the student body. The 1987 study found that an increase in the high-status value of Catalan. In the solidarity dimension, the ethnolinguistic groups in Catalonia still demonstrated a preference for their own languages. This preference seemed to have grown stronger among Catalan speakers. Furthermore, Woolard and Gahng found that there was a greater use of the Catalan language among the Spanish participants and the proclivity to penalise them for speaking Catalan had decreased since Woolard's earlier experiment. Moreover, the authors found that while there was still a preference for participants to use their own language, in 1987 there had been:

(...) a loosening of the bond between the Catalan language and native Catalan ethnolinguistic identity. It no longer matters so much to Catalans *who* speaks Catalan, but rather simply that it is spoken.

With the establishment of the linguistic normalisation policies in Catalonia new relationships between Catalan and Spanish in the public sphere also began to form (Arnau and Vila 2013). For example, Woolard (1989) noted that during her fieldwork, that people were popularly categorised as ‘Catalans’ and ‘Castellans’ according to their native language and spoken to accordingly. However, as discussed below (see section 2.4.2), the conversational norms that ruled language choice in Catalonia have changed since the 1980s.

Boix-Fuster (1993) employed experimental and ethnographic techniques to study linguistic behaviour among 16 to 20 year old native speakers of both Catalan and Spanish in 1980s Barcelona. Boix-Fuster found that Spanish background convergers (individuals who used Spanish as their habitual language) showed ambivalence toward Catalan identity and demonstrated poor levels of motivation to adopt Catalan as their primary language. Interestingly, Boix-Fuster also found that attitudes were consistently positive toward the speaker of their own language groups regardless of the language being spoken. Furthermore, this investigation found that Spanish non-convergers did not show significantly more negative attitudes toward Catalan than that of convergers. Conversely, Catalan background non-convergers were considerably more negative toward Spanish identity than the convergers. Pujolar (1997b, 2001) also detected this ‘multivoicedness’ during his ethnographic study among young men and women living in Barcelona. Pujolar sought to explore why so many young people in Barcelona refused to use Catalan, and why some developed anti-Catalan feelings. The scope of Pujolar’s work soon extended to examining the role that gender divisions played in organising youth identities and peer practice. Pujolar (1997b, 2001) found that young people in Barcelona used code-switching for ironic or parodial purposes. For instance, speakers switched from Spanish to Catalan to depict the other as weak or effeminate. Significantly, Pujolar (2001) found that code-switching was used as a discursive strategy to indicate group membership. Spanish, the main code was used by the participants as the ‘we-code’, whereas Catalan, which was used in fewer situations, appeared as the ‘they-code’ even when the speakers were native speakers of Catalan. Interestingly, in Pujolar’s work, the research participants were also the first generation of students who had experienced substantial amounts of required schooling in Catalan.

As the transnational immigrant population to Catalonia and indeed the rest of Spain began to increase (see section 2.2.1), researchers started directing their attention toward this new interest

group. This is perhaps unsurprising given that the great influx of immigrants arriving in Catalonia has triggered deep transformations in the social, economic and political structure of the region, generating multilingual and multicultural discourses that promote inter-group relations to a much greater extent (Lapresta-Rey *et al.* 2010). In addition, while the long-term repercussions of in-migration to Catalonia are still under debate, there is widespread consensus that is fracturing existing norms of practice (and associated identities), across domains in Catalonia (see section 6.4.1).

For example, Doyle (1996) explored the language attitudes and behaviours of children of both native Catalans and immigrants. Doyle sought to investigate the results of the linguistic normalisation policies and their impact on the language attitudes of the research participants. The study was conducted in what Doyle labels, “(...) the most powerful instrument of the normalisation campaign, the public educational system” (Doyle 1996, p. 30). Doyle found that Spanish was primarily the mother tongue and language of sentiments and emotions for subjects of immigrant parents. In relation to respondents of ‘mixed’ parentage, the results found that Spanish was considered a symbol of the state, in both negative and positive fashion. Furthermore, Spanish was considered a useful communicative tool for those respondents of Catalan parentage. The next section continues to review the literature but with the focus switching to more recent research from the Catalan context.

### **2.4.2 21<sup>st</sup> Century: ‘Singular and Plural’**

Woolard (2016) argues that since the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century there continues to be a reformulation of the relationship between language and national identity in Catalonia. In this sense, this shift consists of a move from exclusion (i.e. one or the other relationship) to simultaneity and inclusion (i.e. both/and relationship). As such, the following section consists of an overview of the role of Catalan and Spanish in 21<sup>st</sup> century Catalonia, paying special attention to the current sociolinguistic situation in the region and how the evolution of linguistic practices, ideologies and attitudes due to globalisation may reflect a new era for language and national identity.

Woolard (2009) returned to the same school in Barcelona from the 1987 study to conduct further research. In her updated study, Woolard chose to employ the MGT, interviews (26 were conducted) and ethnographic observation to elicit the language practices and attitudes of 2<sup>nd</sup> level school children. Woolard concluded that the high status of the Catalan language compared

to Spanish had been further accentuated since her previous investigation. However, Woolard also suggests that language choice represented a matter of style and did not serve to construe social status and relations. This point was reinforced by Woolard and Frekko (2013), who note that in recent years the discussion about the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia has moved beyond the ethnolinguistic polarisation between Catalan and Spanish. However, this trend was less evident in the current study, where the shift from an ethnolinguistic identity to an anti-essentialist approach to the language was not clearly evident (see section 6.2).

Woolard (2013) re-interviewed four informants from her 1987 study. In her updated research, Woolard detected an evolution in the stance toward Catalan among the working-class Spanish immigrant background students she first interviewed in 1987. Most of the informants had abandoned the ideology of ‘authenticity’ that made them reject Catalan in the past. Woolard (2013) discovered that the interviewees mobilised an ideological complex of ‘anonymity’ that casts a language as owned by no-one-in-particular and is thus available to all with the will to take it up (Gal and Woolard 2001; Woolard 2008, 2016) (see section 6.2.1 for more). Frekko (2009a) adds that this ideological shift is closely tied to the decreasing linguistic authority and even recognisability of the Catalan ‘native speaker’. However, Woolard (2013), found that one of the interviewees maintained an ideology of authenticity based on a traditional ethnonationalistic discourse. The appearance of the two stances, the ‘old’ and the ‘new’, is consistent with traces of traditional discourses and ambiguities found in the new rhetoric about the ‘anonymity’ of Catalan in modern Catalonia (see e.g., Lapresta-Rey *et al.* 2010; Atkinson 2018; Iveson 2018). Nevertheless, perhaps reflecting a cosmopolitanism stance in late-modern, globalised societies (see section 2.2.2), most informants in Woolard’s (2013) study did not take a social or politicised stance toward language choice but rather a non-traditionalist and personalistic one.

Soler-Carbonell (2013) adds that in the era of globalisation, ideologies (or attitudes) about minority languages may shift from identity-based values toward more pragmatic and instrumental ones. In his work, Soler-Carbonell argues that there continues to be an opening up of the Catalan language and a movement away from what are considered its ‘authentic’ features, a shift that has benefited social cohesion in Catalonia, what is normally and in a positive way referred to as *convivencia lingüística* (linguistic coexistence). Similarly, in her work in the context of adult education, Frekko (2013) found that social class rather than

nativeness is a more decisive factor in shaping speakers' linguistic legitimacy in modern Catalonia.

As mentioned above, research suggests that Catalan is gradually becoming a public or de-ethnicised language and, as a consequence, the roles of Catalan and Spanish speakers have become more fluid (see e.g., Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015; Newman *et al.* 2008; Pujolar and González 2013; Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015; Woolard 2008, 2016). For example, Pujolar and González (2013) examined the change of linguistic repertoire that occurs because of important changes in an individual's life, which they called a '*muda*', a term that can roughly be translated as life-shifts (Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015) or linguistic makeovers (Urta 2013). Pujolar and Puigdevall (2015) offer a definition of the concept of '*muda*' stating that it is, "(...) a Catalan term referring to (often reversible) variations in social performance" (Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015, p. 167). The concept of linguistic '*mudas*' has been used to explain the process followed by new speakers who engage in the active use of historically minoritised languages such as Galician (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013), Catalan (Pujolar and González 2013; Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015), Basque (Ortega *et al.* 2016) or Irish (Walsh and O'Rourke 2014). In the case of Catalonia, this approach argues that native Spanish speakers adopt Catalan after important life changes such as beginning primary, secondary, or university education, entering the labour market or creating a family (Pujolar and González 2013; Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015; Ianos *et al.* 2018; Puigdevall *et al.* 2018). Vila *et al.* (2018) also conclude that the important transition from primary to secondary education is a favourable social moment, or juncture, for linguistic life changes (from Spanish to Catalan), albeit with a small but still significant percentage of their informants.

In their work, Corona *et al.* (2013) found the integration of 'global' practices in 'local' spaces due to increased transnational migration in Catalonia (Blommaert 2010; Creese and Blackledge 2010; Hornberger and Link 2012) (see section 2.2.2). In this respect, Corona *et al.* (2013) observed that Latin teenagers living in Barcelona use a Latino-Spanish repertoire, which mixes features from different parts of South America and from Barcelona's language varieties, including Catalan. In addition, the informants recognised the value of multilingualism to access the Catalan labour market (Woolard 2003; Garzón 2012; Corona *et al.* 2013; Corona 2016; Lapresta-Rey *et al.* 2017). Similarly, Trenchs-Parera *et al.* (2014) found that Chinese young people had favourable attitudes towards both Catalan and Spanish, acknowledging pragmatically that the two languages were necessary for their academic, professional, and

social success. There are also reports of a highly favourable view of the regional language and even a symbolic identification with Catalan among Moroccan (Alarcón and Garzón 2013) and Arab and Pakistani adults (Estors Sastre 2014). Mollà (2006) also argues that Catalan works as a social marker which is identified with progress and prestige by new speakers. More recently, Boix-Fuster and Paradís (2015), in their study on ethnolinguistically mixed families in Catalonia, conclude that most catalanized new speakers “display a deep symbolic identification with the Catalan language” (2015, p. 182). Nonetheless, Fukuda (2016) observed that Japanese people living in Catalonia viewed Catalan as irrelevant as long as Spanish was one of the official languages. However, this particular group consisted of mainly temporary residents who plan to return to Japan or move to another country. In this respect, research indicates that Catalan tends to be the language for long term residents in Catalonia (see e.g., Aguilera 2001; Beltrán Antolín and Sáiz López 2001; Ros 2006; Soto 2011). In this regard, multilingualism acts *as-a-resource*, which was a theme that was prominent in this study (see section 6.3.1).

In another study of interest, Atkinson (2018) explored the roles of Catalan and Spanish and their respective roles in a hypothetically independent Catalonia. The data, an on-line discussion thread and an interview with a Catalan language activist, revealed a striking complexity of language ideological positions on the authority and anonymity of Catalan and Spanish. Atkinson argues that in modern Catalonia neither Catalan nor Spanish is currently able to act as an authentic or an anonymous language. Similar findings were found in the current data (see chapter six). Reflecting Atkinson’s (2018) conclusions, in her work in *El Masnou*, a large coastal town situated 15 km North of Barcelona, Iveson (2018) found the existence of some strong attitudes of nativism, authenticity and the need to protect the Catalan language and culture from outside interference, all of which seemed to stem from decades of repression. Echoing some of those who contributed to this study (see section 5.2.1), Iveson also found a discourse of continued repression and provocation from the Spanish central government in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century where language played a central role in the nationalistic tensions between Spain and Catalonia. These findings coincide with Lapresta-Rey *et al.* (2010), who also note that attitudes of autochthonous speakers remain, to some degree, anchored in their identity. In their research, Ianos *et al.* (2017b; 2018) also found a predominance of parochial ideologies, thus, contradicting previous studies indicating the proliferation of cosmopolitan ideologies among young people in the region (Newman *et al.* 2008; Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009; Trenchs-Parera *et al.* 2013; Woolard 2013, 2016). From this perspective, what Ianos *et al.* (2017a, b; 2018) identifies as the ‘de-traditionalisation’ of Catalan, located in its nucleus in

Barcelona, may be less prominent in areas like Girona and further afield. This contrasts with the aims of the Catalan government in the 21<sup>st</sup> century to erase the apparent linguistic and cultural divisions of two distinct groups, namely the Spanish and Catalan speaking communities throughout Catalonia (Woolard 2016).

Gore (2002) explored the language attitudes of newly arrived immigrants in Catalonia toward Catalan and the role that the language played in their adaption to life in Catalonia. Gore (2002) concluded that both sets of immigrants saw the Catalan language as a central and important symbol for Catalonia as a nation. In this sense, they saw Catalan as a fundamental component of social and cultural integration into Catalan society and also as a vital tool for social mobility within the labour market. This view was supported by Cortès-Colomé *et al.* (2016) who conclude that, in their research among allochthonous individuals, Catalan was not constructed as a neutral language and is still closely tied to formations of a Catalan identity. In addition, Cortès-Colomé *et al.* (2016) found that Catalan was associated with group belonging. In a more recent study, Codó (2018) investigated the processes of sociolinguistic relocation of what she labels ‘lifestylers’ in the polylingual city of Barcelona through the lens of their embracing or rejection of the Catalan language. Codó defines ‘lifestylers’ as middle-class individuals trying to get a fresh start in life. This investigation revealed that Catalan was constructed as the most visible emblem of Catalan national identity and was frequently imagined in romantic terms by the informants. However, this did not necessarily mean a rejection of the Spanish language or identity.

Newman *et al.* (2008) examined the evolution of the language attitudes of linguistically diverse adolescents living in urban Catalonia, namely in Barcelona, Rubí, Terrassa and Salt. The primary objective of this study was to map the evolution of language attitudes one generation after the implementation of linguistic normalisation in the region. The authors found that Catalan speakers received higher ratings in both in-group solidarity and out-group rejection from all respondents. In this sense, even though it has argued that Catalan has become a more public language (Newman *et al.* 2008; Woolard 2008, 2016; Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015), Catalan remains the main symbol of the Catalan culture and identity. Similarly, language use represents a marker of group identity and is one of the main ways of defining and expressing one’s attitudes and identification. In the status dimension, Catalan no longer rated higher than Spanish. Rather, the relative status of the two languages varied by speaker. The authors indicate that this softening in the status element could potentially be attributed to:

(...) a fundamental decline in the relation between class and ethnolinguistic origin. [Supporting the view that] the two languages are no longer reliable proxies of ethnolinguistic identity, but are rather seen as viable alternatives for both communities.

(Newman *et al.* 2008, p. 329)

Overall, a general positive valuation of bilingualism, or linguistic cosmopolitanism, has emerged in 21<sup>st</sup> century multilingual Catalan community. In this sense, there was a commonly repeated positive evaluation of the other groups' language and active bilingualism was perceived as a tool for social harmony. However, Newman and his associates (2008) claim that although there has been a softening in the status/solidarity dimension, Spanish will likely continue to dominate preferred informal usage in Spanish background communities (see e.g., Woolard 2003; Bernaus *et al.* 2004, 2007).

In her work with Latin American students and parents in the secondary education system in Catalonia, Patiño-Santos (2018), employed narrative interviews (among other methods) to collect relevant data. Patiño-Santos found that there was a range of conflicting language attitudes (and ideologies) regarding the position of Catalan as the language within the Catalan school system. This study also demonstrated that Latin American parents ultimately placed the responsibility on the children when it came to integrating into Catalan society. Other studies have shown that students coming from Latin America stood out as the immigrant group with the least favourable attitudes towards Catalan and most positive attitudes towards Spanish. Although negative attitudes toward Catalan were generally related to being embarrassed to speak the language, reception of the migrants by native Catalans or the low value of Catalan within the global linguistic market rather than an identity issue (Janés 2006; Lapresta-Rey *et al.* 2010; Newman *et al.* 2008, 2013; Madariaga *et al.* 2013; Codó and Patiño-Santos 2014; Gómez-Zepeda *et al.* 2017). Lapresta-Rey *et al.* (2010) explain these differences, arguing that the language development process is different for autochthonous students (Woolard 2009) and immigrant students (Bernaus *et al.* 2004, 2007). In this respect, Lapresta-Rey *et al.* (2010) posit that:

(...) the attitudes of local students are modelled by identity and the feeling of belonging to Catalan society (where Catalan is the most representative and iconic symbol), whereas immigrant students are driven by their desire to integrate in the society and achieve social and academic progress.

For example, Trenchs-Parera and Newman (2009) and Newman (2011) explored the language attitudes of autochthonous participants and how they differed from the language attitudes of Spanish speaking youth of different origins, with a particular emphasis on the new wave of Spanish speakers from Latin America. In their work, Trenchs-Parera and Newman (2009) found that autochthonous respondents displayed a clear spectrum of six language ideologies: parochial Catalan, mixed Catalan, cosmopolitan Catalan, cosmopolitan Spanish, mixed Spanish and parochial Spanish. At one extreme of this linguistic parochialism was parochial Catalan. This stance consisted of support for Catalan combined with a rejection of compromise with Spanish or the Spanish state. On the other end of the spectrum was parochial Spanish, a view that favoured Spanish and was dismissive of Catalan linguistic and national aspirations. These extremities were in conflict with the varying degrees of ‘linguistic cosmopolitanism’ that were elicited from the respondents, which promoted attitudes toward accommodation, bilingualism and diversity. Considering this, Trenchs-Parera and Newman (2009) argue that the set of six language ideologies they encountered in their research was coherent, ordered and was reflective of different responses to political and socio-economic issues in Catalonia. As they put it:

[There is] a reflection of the political reality in which superiority of the Spanish state is in uneasy balance with its Catalan autonomous component. The most pro-Catalan position is highly politically engaged and committed to change, and the most Spanish one is non-political.

(Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009, p. 520)

Conversely, when investigating the immigrant population, no such spectrum of linguistic ideologies could be identified by Trenchs-Parera and Newman (2009), and opinions regarding identity and language ideology had relatively little connection. In light of this, the immigrant groups were more interested in maintaining their own linguistic identity by avoiding any dialectal influence from Peninsular Spanish. The Latin American participants did acknowledge a perceived political authority toward Spanish on the grounds of its universality and supra-ethnic element. Some immigrants did see Catalan as a means to progress socially and as such, attitudes toward Catalan seem to be built more on instrumental bases than on identity ties (Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015). Nevertheless, Catalan was viewed as being of secondary

importance to Spanish and of no threat to Latino identity, an identity with its own international and dynamic culture from which Spain was excluded. In his updated study, Newman (2011) revealed that Latin American students perceived Catalan as an obstacle to communication and educational success, but time, proficiency, and school support seemed to lead to an improvement of their attitudes. In their work, Trench-Parera and Tristán Jiménez (2014), found that Latin American families valued Spanish higher than Catalan and considered English is the most relevant language to be learned due to its international dimension. However, similar to the current study (see section 6.2.3), the respondents also acknowledged the relevance of Catalan for social interaction and integration in Catalan society.

As previously noted, 94% of the Catalan population today claim an understanding of the language (see section 1.2.1). Depending on their work and social network, many people will only speak Catalan in their daily interactions, however, one of the characteristics of Catalans is their capacity to speak two languages in one environment (Woolard 2016; Ubalde *et al.* 2017). As such, code-switching has dramatically increased in Catalan society and the correlation one-speaker-one-language is disappearing following the global tendency towards multilingualism (Pujolar 2007). However, Pujolar *et al.* (2010) found that although speakers clearly tend to stick to their own language, they found a slightly greater tendency to communicate in Catalan. This leads to greater bilingualism among Spanish speakers. On the other hand, young L1 Catalan speakers tend to use a low-intensity hybridization (habitual use of both languages) that does not displace their preferential use of Catalan. Pujolar and González (2013) add that between “(...) a third and a half of the native speakers of Catalan expect Castilian speakers to accommodate and either refuse or resist accommodating to Castilian in the traditional way” (Pujolar and González 2013, p. 149).

Adding to this, native speakers of Spanish are bilingual now since they have had access to education in Catalan. In addition, immigration is more heterogeneous than ever in socioeconomic, cultural and linguistic terms and this has produced new roles for the local languages in the region. In this sense, Spanish has become a *lingua franca* among speakers of other languages within the job market in Catalonia (Pujolar 2011). However, Newman *et al.*'s (2013) study contradicts this finding. In their qualitative study located in the school system, native Catalan speaking peers and some teachers demonstrated a proclivity toward linguistic convergence to Spanish whenever interlocutors were not perceived as native Catalan speakers. Therefore, Spanish took on a *lingua franca* role within the school system. Reflecting elements

of Corona *et al.* (2013), Woolard (2016) and Ianos *et al.*'s (2017b) work, the authors add that group boundaries are not exclusionary; but rather permeable and facilitate the integration of recent arrivals to Catalonia. In addition, this research argues that Catalan identity appears somewhat welcoming of newly arrived immigrants. This finding was echoed in the current research insofar as informants seemed to be more accepting of immigrants or newcomers to Catalonia and also to the independence movement in the region (see section 6.5). In addition to the research described in the preceding sections, there has also been research conducted in the La Franja region, the Catalan speaking territories of Aragon bordering Catalonia. These studies are explored below.

### **2.4.2.1 La Franja**

As demonstrated above, previous research has concentrated on the school environment and has been located in the greater Barcelona area. However, similar research has also been conducted in the education system in the La Franja region (see e.g., Huguet and Suïls 2000; Huguet and Llurda 2001; Huguet 2006, 2007; Huguet and Janés-Carulla 2008). For example, Huguet and Suïls (1998), examined the language attitudes of secondary school children on the border region between Catalonia and Aragon. This research revealed that students who were native Catalan speakers held less positive attitudes toward Spanish. Comparatively, native Spanish speakers seemed to hold less positive attitudes toward Catalan. The results from this study were confirmed by Huguet and Llurda (2001) who, in their research, emphasised the role of attendance to Catalan classes in fostering positive attitudes toward Catalan. Through employing a quantitative questionnaire, Huguet (2006) studied the language attitudes of students of secondary education in two Spanish contexts related to Catalonia, namely the Principality of Asturias (an autonomous community in north-west Spain) and the Catalan-speaking area of Aragon. Huguet (2006) concluded that the family language (i.e. the linguistic and cultural environment of the family) might determine students' language attitudes (which can be further strengthened at the school). In other words, parents with better attitudes towards Catalan and Asturian are the ones who favour bringing their children to lessons of these two languages.

In her work, Janés-Carulla (2006a, b), examined the language attitudes of 2<sup>nd</sup> level students of autochthonous and immigrant origin. Janés-Carulla focused her research on students living in Osona (an area with a tradition of receiving immigrants) and Lleida (an area of recent

immigration). In summary, similar to Bretxa *et al.* (2008), Janés-Carulla's work found that autochthonous rather than immigrant students had more favourable attitudes towards Catalan and less positive towards Spanish than their immigrant peers. These findings were confirmed by Huguet *et al.* (2008) and Madariaga *et al.* (2013) who found that autochthonous students had more positive attitudes toward Catalan and less positive attitudes toward the other languages in comparison to the immigrant students.

Similar to the aforementioned studies, Ubalde (2013) researched the language attitudes of adolescents living on the border between Catalonia and La Franja. The results of the study revealed a higher appreciation for the Catalan language in the municipalities of Catalonia than in those the neighbouring areas of La Franja. Ubalde (2013) contends that this situation is best explained by identity variables in Catalonia, whereas linguistic self-confidence is the key factor in the case of La Franja. Similar to the results found by Newman *et al.* (2008) (see section 2.4.2), Huguet *et al.* (2008) revealed that attitudes among the immigrant population, those from Latin America, stood out as having the least favourable attitudes toward Catalan. Similar to Huguet and Janés-Carulla (2008) and Lapresta-Rey *et al.* (2009, 2017), the findings of the study also indicated that home language, age of arrival and length of stay were the most significant factors in shaping the attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish. Therefore, language attitudes correlated with linguistic competence.

### **2.4.3 Summary**

In reviewing the above studies, we have seen how globalisation and the construction of national identity in Catalonia has resulted in the hybridisation of local contexts. In addition, there are several conclusions that can be drawn. First, there are two population groups that have been studied more frequently than the rest. The literature demonstrates that young people located in the education system, especially adolescents, have frequently been researched in the Catalan context (Boix-Fuster 1993; Pujolar *et al.* 2010; Ianos *et al.* 2018). This is perhaps unsurprising given that, "Youth behaviour is an indicator of future developments (...)" (Elordui 2016, p. 171), and it is in this period when linguistic competences and attitudes are established (Baker 1992). Pujolar and Puigdevall (2015) also add that the future of the Catalan language depends on this section of the population. Whilst it is agreed that the school setting is a rich site for sociolinguistic research (Heller 2006; Codó and Patiño Santos 2014), there are a limited number of studies located outside of the education system in Catalonia. Second, the immigrant

population has also frequently been the focus of research in Catalonia (see e.g., Ianos *et al.* 2017b; Lapresta-Rey *et al.* 2017; Wilson-Daily *et al.* 2018). These demographics have been investigated, mainly, in the educational field and according to Codó and Patiño-Santos (2014) primarily from three points of view: linguistic ideologies, social and institutional identities and the process of learning Catalan.

Considering the above, Ianos *et al.* (2018) call for more research to be conducted on the autochthonous population living in Catalonia. In addition, with few exceptions (see e.g., Pujolar 2007b; Bretxa *et al.* 2008; Iveson 2018), the majority of work in this field of research has been located in the Barcelona metropolitan area or in the La Franja region. Considering this, Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain (2009) argue that:

(...) speakers’ geographical location and their geographic distance from or closeness to the languages or varieties that are the focus of the study of language attitudes affect the ways of expressing their attitudes.

(Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain 2009, p. 217)

Through exclusively locating this study in Girona, the current investigation offers a unique focus on autochthonous individuals in a city where Catalan is widely spoken (see section 1.2.2).

In addition, Dyers and Abongdia (2010) critique previous language attitude studies, stating that much of the work in the field fails to recognise the importance of the larger societal context that shape such attitudes, or as Swigart (2000) puts it, “(...) how views on particular languages and resources may themselves evolve” (Swigart 2000, p. 91). The majority of language attitude research in Catalonia has been conducted using quantitative methods (see e.g., Huguet and Suïls 1998; Huguet and Llurda 2001; Bretxa *et al.* 2008; Lapresta-Rey *et al.* 2018). While there has been an increase in qualitative approaches in language attitude research in the Catalan context in recent years, there continue to be calls for more research from a qualitative perspective (see e.g., Newman *et al.* 2013; Trenchs-Parera and Patiño-Santos 2013; Woolard 2013; Cortès-Colomé *et al.* 2016). From this perspective, it is argued that qualitative approaches to data collection can potentially explain the wider social context and the influence of a range of variables (social, political, linguistic context etc.), in the formation and shaping of language attitudes (Canagarajah 2006; Vaish 2008; Madariaga *et al.* 2013; Lapresta-Rey *et al.* 2017; Hawkey 2018) (see section 4.3.1 for more).

The current investigation differs from many of the studies discussed above, insofar as a multi-method qualitative approach to data collection was employed to gain deeper insights into the situation in present-day Catalonia. In addition, this study is firmly rooted in the particular circumstances of Catalonia in relation to the types of informants who contributed to the research and also the geographical and temporal location (see chapter 4). To conclude, the intent of this study is to fill the gap in the literature by adding to the relatively small body of qualitative work on the language attitudes of autochthonous speakers living in the city of Girona at a unique time in Catalonia's history.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has introduced the theoretical and conceptual framework employed in this study. The preceding sections introduced the literature on globalisation and the hybridisation of local contexts and its impact on minority languages. To better understand the construction of a modern Catalan identity, one which is framed by intrinsic linguistic and cultural diversity, this chapter discussed Ruiz's (1984, 2010) language orientations. To assess how languages operated *as-a-resource* and/or *as-a-problem* by the research participants, the literature regarding language attitudes was introduced in this chapter. These theories and perspectives formed the analytical framework which guided this study into the current language situation in Catalonia against the backdrop of the Catalan independence movement. This chapter has offered a critical review of the most salient sociolinguistic studies that analyse how national identity is constructed and the role that Spanish and Catalan play in this process, where at present in Catalonia, there continues to be a reformulation of the relationship between language and national identity (Woolard 2008, 2013, 2016). The next chapter examines the socio-political context that has shaped the current situation in Catalonia.

# **Chapter Three: The Socio-Political Context; Past and Present**

Catalonia serves as a living laboratory for exploring the social dynamics and attitudinal transformations set in motion by the push for independence in the region (Urta 2013).

## **3.1 Introduction**

Pennycook (2010) notes that language needs to be conceptualised as being part of complex social, political and cultural environments. Dragojevic *et al.* (2013) add that:

Language attitudes represent a glimpse into the past as much as into the present, and in order to fully grasp the complex and intricate nature of languages' social meanings, we must first understand the histories, relationships, and ideologies of the people who speak them.

(Dragojevic *et al.* 2013, p. 20)

Thus, to understand the significance of contemporary discourses about languages and the independence process in Catalonia, it is vital to situate the phenomena in a historical and socio-political perspective (May 2006; Heller 2007a; Pujolar and Jones 2012; Kraus and Vergés-Gifra 2017). Through an exploration of its history and its current situation in a globalised and interconnected world, this chapter describes the development of the independence movement in Catalonia, a relationship that is prompted by continued tensions between its autochthonous population and an outside dominant political power, namely Spain. While an exhaustive analysis of the history of the social, political and linguistic situation is beyond the scope of this thesis, the identification of the most salient features is outlined in the sections below.

In very general terms, the political tension derived from the sovereignty aspirations of a considerable part of Catalan society has been a recurring theme for many decades or even centuries (Dowling 2009, 2018; Castells 2010a, b; Crameri 2014, 2015; Perles-Ribsa *et al.* 2019). To explore this complex relationship in a coherent manner, this chapter is divided into three sections. The first section offers a brief discussion on the roots of Catalonia as a 'nation' and Catalan nationalism from the 8<sup>th</sup> century up until the death of Francisco Franco and the

subsequent transition to democracy in Spain toward the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The second section of this chapter examines the causes behind the growth in popular support for an independent Catalonia and how this has contributed to current identity politics in the area. The final part of this chapter focuses on the socio-political dynamics of the 2017 independence referendum in Catalonia and sets the context of the period when data was gathered for this investigation.

## **3.2 Origins**

Modern Catalonia is the result of the conjunction of several large and complex sets of lasting historical phenomena but the history of the Catalan ‘nation’ begins with the creation by the Carolingian Empire of the *Marca Hispanica* in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. This acted as a buffer zone between the Moorish south and the Frankish north (Hawkey 2018). However, it is argued that the period between the 12<sup>th</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries is when Catalan national identity and nationalism took root (Miller and Miller 1996; Conversi 2000; Llobera 2004).

In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Catalonia merged with the Kingdom of Aragon. The newly created state expanded into Valencia and the Balearic Islands, and afterwards went on to become one of the largest and most powerful states in the Mediterranean region, with territories in Southern France, Italy and Greece. With the marriage of Ferdinand II and Isabella I of Castile in 1469, Catalonia and Aragon were joined politically with Spain through marriage, but its territories, including Catalonia, maintained their autonomy and political structures and as a territory Catalonia, “(...) exhibited characteristics associated with modern statehood, such as a common language and well-developed political, legal and economical structures” (McRoberts, cited in Connolly 2013, p. 56). The reign of Ferdinand and Isabella marked a period of cultural decadence (*decadència*) for Catalonia as Spanish, not Catalan, became the language of social advancement in the region (Hawkey 2018). However, the vestiges of Catalan self-government were not fully extinguished until the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. With the death of Charles II in 1700, the Hispanic empire was left heirless and the War of Spanish Succession began (1702-1714). Catalonia joined the war in 1705 on the side of the Habsburgs, fighting against Philip V of House Bourbon. Ultimately Catalonia backed the losing side (The Habsburgs) in the war. On the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 1714, Barcelona fell to the Bourbon forces after a yearlong siege and since then Catalonia has formed part of the Kingdom of Spain (Carr 1980; Kamen 2005).

By defeating the Habsburgs, Philip V of house Bourbon occupied the kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon. This had devastating economic, political and cultural consequences for Catalonia. Philip V abolished the political structures and dismantled the main organs of government of the occupied territories. This marked the submission of the *Països Catalans* to the Spanish Crown. Hernández (2014) adds that with Barcelona falling, “(...) the Succession War on the peninsula reached its end, and with it quashed the sovereignty of Catalonia and its very existence as a nation” (Hernández 2014, p. 78). This meant the end of autonomous self-government for Catalonia (Castells 2010a). The 11<sup>th</sup> of September 1714 is often marked out as the end of Catalonia as a separate political entity. This date is also celebrated as the national holiday (*La Diada*) of Catalonia (Conversi 2000; Lanz 2016). Public sentiments towards independence in Catalonia are arguably most visibly expressed during ‘*La Diada*’. More recently this date has seen demonstrations across Catalonia in favour of regaining independence from Spain (see section 3.3.2).

Following the war, the victorious monarch, Philip V, promulgated the Nueva Planta decrees; in 1707 for the former kingdom of Valencia; 1715 for the Balearic Islands and finally in 1716 for Catalonia. The Nueva Planta prohibited the use of Catalan in Catalonia, at least in its use in official and formal domains, and the imposition of the Spanish language. Traditionally, Catalans point to the Nueva Planta decrees as the death knell of the Catalan language. But as Woolard (1989) notes, “(...) the decline of Catalan was based as much on social and economic factors as on official factors” (Woolard 1989, p. 21). Essentially the Nueva Planta decrees only brought official sanction to an ongoing process in Catalonia (Nadal, cited in Woolard 1989). Giner (1984) notes that the years after the War of Succession can rightly be seen as the lowest point in history for Catalans. As the use of Catalan was discouraged by an increasingly centralised state, it became progressively dialectalised and archaic, furthering the Castilianisation of Catalan society. This led to an attitude of resistance to Spanish imposed institutions which was to form the basis for the literary revival in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Webber and Strubell-Trueta 1991).

### **3.2.1 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

Catalan nationalism and the origins of separatism in the region can be traced back to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. The arrival of the industrial age is cited as a turning point in the history of Catalonia (Castells 2008, 2010a; Dieckhoff 2011). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Catalonia was a region

of high-level economic and socio-political development. During this period the region became one of the first industrialised areas of Europe. Consequently, Catalonia became economically independent but remained politically dependent on Madrid (Guibernau 2014a, b; Hawkey 2018). The increasing demographic and economic power of the Catalan region gave the basis for language movements, the *Renaixença* and then the *Modernista*, which would enable the Catalan language and literature to claim a high cultural and cosmopolitan aspect (Miller and Miller 1996; Conversi 2000).

It was these language movements that led to the development of Catalan nationalism and a desire for Catalan autonomy, first in the form of regionalism and later in demands for a federal state (Woolard 1989; Conversi 2000; Cramer 2000, 2015; Balfour and Quiroga 2007; Hernández 2014). Balcells (1996) adds that since the time of the *Renaixença* and the *Modernista*, Catalan nationalism has developed into a complex cultural and structural framework. Mirroring this complexity, Catalan nationalism did not emerge as a unified phenomenon. Guibernau (2014b) posits that:

Rather diverse political ideologies and cultural influences gave rise to different types of nationalism, from the conservative nationalism of Jaume Balmes to the federalism of Francisco Pi i Margall, the Catholic nationalism of Josep Torres i Bages, or the Catalan Marxism of Andreu Nin, among many others.

(Guibernau 2014b, p. 109)

Despite the fact that at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Catalan society was fractured along political lines, cultural nationalism still functioned as a unitary reference for all Catalanists, beyond political allegiance (Conversi 2000). Given this situation, a plan was formed which included the creation of the *Mancomunitat de Catalunya* (Commonwealth of Catalonia), the first practical plan to bring about a degree of self-government in the Catalan provinces in two-centuries. This is discussed in more detail below.

### **3.2.2 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

As in many other European “historic” regions a nationalist movement emerged in the 19th century. Whereas other nationalist movements (e.g. the Polish or the Czech ones) managed to obtain full statehood for their respective territories in the 20th

century, the Catalan nationalist movement brought about a regime of regional autonomy within a larger Spanish state.

(Branchadell 2012, p. 74)

The calls for self-governance in Catalonia during the 19<sup>th</sup> century led to the incorporation of the four Catalan provincial governing bodies into a single institution known as the *Mancomunitat de Catalunya* in 1914. It was the first self-governing body in Catalonia since 1714 and with it, the Catalan language returned to an official sphere of influence. At this time, as the economic engine of Spain, Catalonia received the first of many waves of immigration from different parts of Spain. The first internal wave arrived between 1901 and 1930 and nearly 1.4 million internal migrants arrived in Catalonia. The second wave arrived between 1951 and 1975 (Conversi 2000; Alarcón and Garzón 2013; Domingo 2015; Carbonell 2019). Reflecting this dynamic more than half of the current population of Catalonia, in the first or second generation, has its roots in different regions of Spain (Pujolar *et al.* 2011; Władyka and Morén-Alegret 2013; Domingo 2015; Ianos *et al.* 2017a, b; Poggeschi 2015).

The *Mancomunitat* was abolished in 1925 during Miguel Primo de Rivera's dictatorship. On the 14<sup>th</sup> of April 1931, following the fall of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1939) was declared. This represented a period of greater political tolerance in Spain. The new constitution defined Spain as an 'integral state' and it recognised the right to territorial autonomy for the regions that requested it (Giner 1984; Woolard 1989; Hernández 2014). During the Second Republic, Catalonia was granted a Statute of Autonomy (*Estatut d'Autonomia de Catalunya*) and the *Generalitat de Catalunya* was revived (Guibernau 2013a, b). These institutions gave substantial home control over administration, education and services in Catalonia. This situation lasted until 1936 with the start of the Spanish Civil War. When Francisco Franco came into power in 1939 he abolished both the Statute of Autonomy and the *Generalitat* (Woolard 1989; Guibernau 2004).

### **3.2.3 Franco's Dictatorship**

Following the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939, Franco lost no time in bringing Catalonia under his complete control, more so than any other part of Spain (Crameri 2000; Hawkey 2018). Catalonia faced years of the most brutal repression directed at the language, at the culture and every form and type of political expression (Kleiner-Liebau 2009; May 2012).

Guibernau (2004) labels the Franco regime as a ‘black-hole’ or as “(...) a parenthesis of silence in the cultural and political life of Catalonia” (Guibernau 2004, p. 76). Black (2010) elaborates further stating that:

The culture and language were stamped on and the promotion of nationalism, which in the eyes of the regime was synonymous with separatism, was rewarded with imprisonment and sometimes execution.

(Black 2010, p. 16)

The Franco government saw Catalonia systematically stripped of its former rights and institutions. Franco’s regime took measures of severe repression against the Catalan language and culture, outlawing manifestations of regional identity, including forbidding public use and support for the Catalan language (Hawkey 2018). The anti-Catalan policy included the strategy of ‘dialectisation’, where the, “(...) authorities tried to promote the view that Catalan was a mere dialect, a sub-variety of Spanish” (Conversi 2000, p. 114). This is an understanding that still persists today, as is evident with newly arrived migrants (often Latin Americans) who first see Catalan as an unpleasant and troublesome surprise as they usually do not expect to encounter another official language besides Spanish once in the region (see e.g., Calavita 2005; Huguet and Janés-Carulla 2008; Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009; Newman *et al.* 2013; Poggeschi 2015; Ianos *et al.* 2017a, b; Patiño-Santos 2018) (see section 6.4.2).

Franco’s dictatorship represented an era which has been described as a form of ‘cultural genocide’ (Webber and Strubell-Trueta 1991). Centralist powers attempted to, not simply only suffocate ‘Catalanism’, but to eradicate Catalan culture and any sign of a separate Catalan identity at its very roots (Conversi 2000). Following the first wave of immigration of the early 1900s, Catalonia experienced the greatest migratory wave of its history during the Franco dictatorship, with an estimated 1.7 million migrants arriving into the region from the impoverished agrarian South of Spain and mostly settling around Barcelona (Woolard 1989; Fontana 2014). Laitin (1989) adds that “(...) once Catalan language use was proscribed by the Francoist state, its development in these immigrant communities was severely constrained [and] immigrants who lived in the urban beltways [...] were hardly exposed to Catalan culture” (Laitin 1989, p. 302). There were further waves of migration into Catalonia at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (see section 6.5.2).

Over the course of the dictatorship, marginal concessions were granted toward the Catalan language and institutions. For example, in the late 50s, cultural movements began to emerge and small intellectual institutions were established. In 1961 one of the main pro-independence organisations, *Òmnium Cultural*, was founded (Guibernau 2004; Crameri 2014; Colomer 2017). Barcelona Football Club also became a prominent symbol of Catalan identity. In the early 1960s the club's 'propaganda' was published in Catalan and they used Catalan in the loudspeaker system in the stadium which led to retaliation from the Spanish government (Santacana 2014). Despite these acts of resistance, there can be little doubt that the Franco dictatorship was massively detrimental to the Catalan language and Catalan society in general. During this time Catalan was in a greatly weakened position regarding its status and the number of speakers within its traditional territory, as well as individual speakers' abilities in the language (Conversi 2000; Dowling 2018). However, Balfour and Quiroga (2007) argue that the strict repression during Francoism elicited an increase in and politicisation of Catalanism. In this sense, Catalan culture and the Catalan language took on a political meaning because of its prohibition (Conversi 2000). Adding to this, Lanz (2016) states that:

(...) we can say that Franco's attempt to hispanize [Catalonia] was unsuccessful. In the long run it might even have accelerated the Catalan drive towards minority cosmopolitanism since at least some of the Spanish immigrants in Catalonia have let themselves be seduced by the promise of a diverse and globalized Catalan (nation) state.

(Lanz 2016, pp. 39-40)

### **3.2.4 The Transition**

Following Franco's death and the end of his regime in 1975, Spain moved toward the restoration of a democracy, a period known as *La Transición* (1975-1982). A new constitution was adopted in 1978. The 1978 constitution enshrined the recognition of the linguistic, cultural, and some degree of 'national' pluralism. Power was devolved to seventeen *comunidades autónomas* (autonomous communities) and special rights and privileges were accorded to areas deemed *nacionalidades históricas* (historical communities), initially understood to be the Basque Country, Catalonia and Galicia (Conversi 2000). The approval of the constitution in 1978 was followed by the Statute of Autonomy for Catalonia in 1979. Almost the entire

political spectrum in Catalonia urged support for 1979 Statute. In 1980, Catalans elected their first parliament in more than forty years (Boylan 2015).

The 1979 Statute reinstated the *Generalitat* which coordinated Catalonia's institutions of self-government with those of the national government. Guibernau (2004) describes the preamble of the Catalan 1979 Statute of Autonomy, stating that it highlights the Catalan people as a 'collective identity' which is created through the, "(...) consciousness of forming a community with a shared culture, attached to a particular territory (...)" (Guibernau 2004, p. 77). During the transition, Catalan politicians also incrementally advanced Catalan self-government in social and economic areas. Moreno *et al.* (1998) note that these self-governing institutions played an important role in the production and reproduction of local identities since they were for a large part responsible for cultural, educational, linguistic and mass media policies.

Language was given a central role in the 1979 Statute of Autonomy for Catalonia (Cramer 2008). Article 3 of the Statute declares that 'la llengua pròpia de Catalunya és el català', or Catalonia's own language (llengua pròpia) is Catalan, thereby enshrining in law the institutions needed to ensure the linguistic vitality of the Catalan language (Roller 2002; Woolard 2016). The restoration of Catalan in Catalonia at this time constituted one of the most successful language policy experiences in the world (Fishman 1991). However, Woolard (2016) argues that at this time, 'Catalanism' drew heavily on discourses of 'authenticity' (see section 6.2.1), which legitimised Catalan as a language of public life but impeded its adoption by new speakers. In parallel, Spanish was promoted as 'anonymous' and universal through the, "(...) banal invisibility of the Spanish nationalist perspective" (Woolard 2016, p. 63).

The 1979 Statute also paved the way for specific linguistic legislation, most notably the aforementioned *Llei de Normalització Lingüística a Catalunya* of 1983 (see section 2.4.1), and the later *Llei de Política Lingüística* (LPL: Language policy law) of 1998. The 1983 LNL gave Catalan, Basque and Galician an official status in their respective territories and also provided regional authorities with control over the educational system (Zapata-Barrero and de Witte 2007). In regions like Catalonia, Galicia and the Basque Country the authorities started a process of 'normalisation' of their respective regional languages, namely, Catalan, Galician and Basque (see e.g., Elordui and Zabala 2005; Newman *et al.* 2008; Loureiro-Rodríguez *et al.* 2013).

In 1998, the LPL was passed to further promote, among other things, an increase in the use of Catalan in higher education and between businesses (Ferrer 2000; Vila 2011; May 2012). The successful implementation of these normalisation policies since the early 1980s have resulted in an increase in the number of speakers of the language (Boix-Fuster and Sanz 2008; Kleiner-Liebau 2009). In addition, with globalisation, linguistic diversity in Catalonia has assumed new proportions (Blommaert 2010; Heller 2010a, b; Canagarajah 2013) (see section 5.5.2).

At the political level, the *Convergència i Unió (CiU)* led by Jordi Pujol, ruled the autonomous Catalan government for 23 consecutive years (1980 until 2003). The aim of *CiU* during Pujol's presidency was to gain more autonomy for Catalonia rather than secession. In addition, Pujol aimed to modernise the Catalan economy and protect its culture but also to continue with the democratisation of Spain (Dowling 2018). In this sense, during the *CiU*'s rule, there was always an emphasis on increased home rule rather than independence for Catalonia a policy which mirrored the situation in both Quebec and Scotland (Keating 2001).

### **3.3 The 21<sup>st</sup> Century: A Context of Crisis**

In the past, Catalonia traditionally pushed for national recognition and greater devolution of power in the form of autonomy. This is in comparison to today, where there has been a strong increase in calls for independence (Cramer 2014; Guibernau 2014a). From 1979-2006, only between 25% and 30% of Catalans favoured outright independence and most preferred a larger degree of autonomy for the region (Colomer 2017; Cuadras-Morató and Rodon 2017; Dowling 2018). In fact, in 2005, social support for Catalan independence was at its lowest level since the early 1990s (Dowling 2018). In recent years, increased tensions between Catalonia and the Spanish state have resulted in a spike in support for an independent Catalonia, going from 17% in 2006 to 45% in 2014 (Boylan 2015; Liñeira and Cetrà 2015). At the end of 2018 support in the region for an independent Catalonia was at 38.8% (CEO 2018).

According to Guibernau (2013a, b), the current revival of nationalism and demands for Catalan secession can be explained by three factors. Firstly, José María Aznar's government, the right-wing *PP* (People's Party) (1996-2004), distinct lack of dialogue with Catalonia when it came to the issue of greater autonomy for the region. Aznar's attempts to clamp down on concessions granted to Catalonia during his second term was seen as a step too far by many Catalans, not only because of his policies toward Catalonia but also because of his attempts to promote a

common Spanish national identity (Guibernau 2014a, b; Colomer 2017). This, according to Guibernau (2014a) was a period when “(...) secession was not even mentioned” (Guibernau 2014a, p. 15). Secondly, there was contentious debate surrounding the suspension of the new 2006 Statute of Autonomy for Catalonia. This point is examined in greater detail below (section 3.3.1). Thirdly, there was an increasing awareness of the annual 8% deficit of Catalonia’s GDP as a result of the financial arrangements with the Spanish state. This issue was further amplified by the 2008 economic crisis and the subsequent growth in unemployment, job insecurity, lowering of salaries and a reduction of welfare services in the region (Guibernau 2014a, b; Muñoz and Tormos 2015; Rubio *et al.* 2019). In addition to these circumstances that are unique to Catalonia, some scholars have argued that globalisation and continental integration, instead of subduing minority nationalism, may have encouraged it (Mlinar 1992; Keating 2001; Sabanadze 2010; Kraus and Vergés-Gifra 2017) (see section 2.2.1).

### **3.3.1 2006 Statute**

Although there have always been social organisations and political parties favouring independence for Catalonia, the turn towards a more robust nationalism can be traced back to June 2006. It was then that Catalans voted in favour of an amended Statute of Autonomy that expanded the authority of the *Generalitat* and contentiously, defined Catalonia as a ‘nation’. The new Statute stressed the preferential status of the Catalan language in the region’s public administration bodies, education and media (Connolly 2013; Cuadras-Morató and Rodon 2017). Initially, the Catalan parliament ratified the 2006 Statute of Autonomy with 90% of MPs voting in favour (Guibernau 2013a, b). However, the Spanish parliament removed fundamental aspects of the text, such as the recognition of Catalonia as a state and also the renegotiation of the tax arrangement between Catalonia and Spain (Hernández 2014; Cramer 2015). Specifically, the mention of the ‘right of the citizens of Catalonia to freely determine their future as a people was completely suppressed (Martínez-Herrera and Jeffrey Miley 2010).

Nonetheless, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of June 2006, the newly revised version of the Statute of Autonomy was approved in a referendum in Catalonia albeit with a low voter turnout of 48.9%, but those who did vote endorsed the Statute by a clear majority of 73.2% (Colino 2009; Keating and Wilson 2009). Immediately after being sanctioned, the new Statute was challenged in front of the Spanish Constitutional Court of Justice by the *PP* as they deemed it unconstitutional. This generated a sense of outrage among Catalans, who could not understand how the newly

approved Statute, after following all the procedures and modifications as requested by Spanish political institutions and the Constitution, could still be challenged (Guibernau 2013a, b).

After nearly four years of deliberation, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of June 2010, a ruling by Spain's Constitutional Court led it to nullifying provisions of the draft concerning Catalan identity and status, language policies and the economic and political prerogatives of the regional government (Bofill 2014; Hawkey 2018). The Court insisted that there was only one nation, Spain. Overall, the Court declared more than 50% of the Statutes text unconstitutional (Martínez-Herrera and Jeffrey Miley 2010; Guibernau 2014a, b; Cramerí 2015). The ruling marked a watershed moment in the independence struggle and underlined the importance of the Catalan language in the territory (Dowling 2014, 2018; Hawkey 2018; Perles-Ribsa *et al.* 2019). The ruling was considered as draconian and unfair by many Catalans and popular protest against the decision quickly escalated into demands for independence (Guibernau 2014a, b; Amat 2015; Minder 2017). According to Burg (2015), the Court's decision, "(...) engendered widespread opposition in the region, contributing to a dramatic upsurge in nationalist sentiment (...)" (Burg 2015, pp. 292-293). In addition, during the period 2006-2010, the deteriorating economic situation reshaped the general context in Spain (Dowling 2018). The Court's decision only compounded widespread discontentment in Catalonia.

Rico and Liñeira (2014) argue that the Constitutional Court's 2010 decision was taken as an offence by many Catalans given that the Statute had passed in the Spanish parliament and was later ratified by Catalan voters. José Montilla, the then president of the *Generalitat*, declared his 'indignation' at the 'irresponsibility' of the Court and called for a 'massive' demonstration in support of the Statute (Burg 2015; Kraus and Vergés-Gifra 2017). At this time, *ANC* (*Assemblea Nacional Catalana*) was established to promote the creation of a new Catalan state (Colomer 2017). *ANC*, along with *Òmnium Cultural*, organised a demonstration under the rubric '*Som una nació. Nosaltres decidim* (We are a nation, we decide)' against the Courts ruling (Cramerí 2014). These two civil groups, *ANC* and *Òmnium Cultural*, have been pivotal in the organisation of pro-independence demonstrations since 2010.

The first large-scale mobilisation took place straight after the ruling of the Constitutional Court was made public (Kraus and Vergés-Gifra 2017). On the 10<sup>th</sup> of July 2010 over one million people demonstrated on the streets of Barcelona against the Constitutional Court's decision to suppress the 2006 Statute (Guibernau 2014a, b). Of central concern was the overturning of articles which listed Catalan as the preferred language of administration and education, as well

as a countermand stating that it was not a duty of Catalan citizens to know the Catalan language. In conclusion, the 2010 ruling from the Constitutional Court and the subsequent demonstration contributed to the intense mobilisation cycle of the pro-independence movement in Catalonia (Muñoz and Guinjoan 2013; Serrano 2013).

### **3.3.2 Rekindled Independence (2010-2014)**

Following the ruling of the Constitutional Court in 2010, demands for an independent Catalonia moved to the top of the political agenda during 2010-2012 (Orriols and Rodon 2016; Hawkey 2018). Dowling (2018) states that:

The decision of the Spanish Supreme Court in 2010 concerning the *Estatut* was the precipitating event that fed into an already existing accumulation of grievances. This slow build up of discontent was released in 2010 as the economic crisis intensified; Catalan society was convulsed, particularly between 2011 and 2013 as austerity ruptured social stability.

(Dowling 2018, p. 96)

Parallel to the discontent with the refusal of a renewed Statute was the emergence of the Catalan people's, '*Dret a decidir*' (Right to decide) its collective future (Rico and Liñeira 2014). Guibernau (2013a, b) argues that the transition from dictatorship to democracy in Spain led to more people expressing their political aspirations without fear of oppression. Younger generations, which were raised within the 'new' democratic Spain, are increasingly convinced of the legitimacy of their claims. One of these claims is the right to decide upon their political future by means of a referendum, similar to other European countries like Scotland (Guibernau 2013a, b). Considering this, the origins of the pro-secessionist movement can be traced back to late 2009 when the small town of *Arenys de Munt*, at CUP's (*Candidatura d'Unitat Popular* (see section 4.7.1 for more)) initiative held a symbolic referendum on self-determination and independence for Catalonia (Kraus and Vergés-Gifra 2017; Rubio *et al.* 2019). Following this, unofficial referendums were held in towns and villages throughout Catalonia between 2009 and 2011. All the towns returned a high 'yes' vote, with a turnout of around 800,000 citizens or 30% of those eligible to vote. These unofficial referendums popularised the independence idea in the region (Muñoz and Guinjoan 2013; Guibernau 2014a; Colomer 2017; Dowling 2018).

Following on from the 2010 demonstrations, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 2012 (*La Diada*), 1.5 million people took to the streets of Barcelona under the slogan ‘*Catalunya nou estat d’Europa*’ (Catalonia, new European state). The 2012 protest called for Catalans to be permitted to vote (Guinjoan and Rodon 2016). This protest has been cited as one of the most important events because it created a snowball effect that was reflected in the political attitudes of citizens as well as political leaders (García 2016). Dowling (2018) illustrates the importance of the 2012 demonstration, stating that:

The Diada of 2012 was the turning point, a moment that found expression for profound social grievance amongst the independence movement, an expression that was not repeated as the mainstream political parties sought to regain control. Thus, after 2012, the identity strand became ever more visible and the social strand ever less so.

(Dowling 2018, p. 162)

Following the demonstrations of the previous years, *CiU* leader and Catalan president Artur Mas called early elections for the Catalan Parliament on the 25<sup>th</sup> of November 2012. Mas ran on the promise of calling a referendum on Catalonia’s self-determination (Martí 2013; Guibernau 2014a, b). Boylan (2015) suggests that party leaders called for the snap November 2012 election to capitalise on growing restlessness for secession and to remain in power. Turnout for the 2012 election was 69.8% and while the *CiU* won the election they did unexpectedly lose seats to *ERC* (*Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya*) (Boylan 2015; Burg 2015). *ERC* offered parliamentary support to a minority *CiU* government. The agreement between the two main Catalan nationalist parties (*ERC* and *CiU*) included a commitment to guarantee parliamentary stability, to moderate austerity policies and public cuts and to call for a referendum to decide the future of Catalonia in 2014 (Martí 2013; Levrat *et al.* 2017).

On the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 2013, the ‘*Via Catalana*’ (The Catalan Way) took place. This was even more complex than the 2012 demonstration since the idea was to form a 400-kilometre unbroken human chain across Catalonia from the French border in the north to Valencia in the south (Cramer 2015, 2016). Like previous years, the 2013 protest was organised by *ANC* with the support of the Catalan Government. 400,000 people participated in the human chain, joining their hands at the symbolic time of 17:14. On the same day the president of *ANC*, Carme Forcadell, gave a speech in Barcelona’s *Plaça Catalunya* where she called on Catalonia’s

politicians to hold a referendum on independence without delay, stating that independence was the only way of guaranteeing Catalonia's future as a distinct nation (Levrat *et al.* 2017).

On the political front, inspired by similar documents in Quebec and Scotland, in January 2013 the newly elected *Generalitat* drafted the '*Declaració de sobirania i el dret a decidir*' (Declaration of Sovereignty and Right to Decide) arguing that the Catalan government had the mandate of the people following the many mass public demonstrations (Martí 2013; Orriols and Rodon 2016). In March 2014 the Constitutional Court voided the *Declaració de sobirania i el dret a decidir*, ruling that Catalonia could not be considered sovereign under the Spanish Constitution, as only the whole of the Spanish people enjoy sovereignty (Burg 2015). This decision was made in the months before the November 2014 referendum, a point which is explored below (see section 3.3.3).

In addition, in 2013, the Spanish Minister of Education (José Ignacio Wert) approved several laws aimed at reducing the presence of the Catalan language in schools in Catalonia. These laws were viewed as a direct attack on the Catalan language and were interpreted as a means to promote the assimilation of Catalans into a Spanish national identity (Balcells 2013; Cetrà 2019). The laws introduced by Wert were also controversial because of its Catholic, conservative and re-centralising proposals. Wert's actions are frequently added to the list of aggressions that Catalan nationalists attribute to Spain, and it has been cited as one of the catalysts behind the independence movement in Catalonia (Clua-Fainé 2017). At the end of 2013, after long negotiations, the political parties in the Catalan Parliament came to an agreement to hold a self-determination referendum on the 9<sup>th</sup> of November 2014.

### **3.3.3 The Path to Independence: Self-Determination Referendum**

#### **2014**

2014 was a particularly tumultuous year for Catalonia. Following the protests of the previous years, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 2014, another mass demonstration was held in support of independence in Catalonia. The date that year was significant as it was the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Siege of Barcelona, the symbolic date that marks when Catalonia became part of Spain (Cramer 2014) (see section 3.2). The main political message of the 2014 demonstration was to support the self-determination referendum (or Citizen Participation Process), that was due to take place two months later on the 9<sup>th</sup> of November. This demonstration comprised of

protesters wearing yellow and red t-shirts on two main Barcelona streets, the Diagonal and the Gran Via, to create a giant V standing for ‘Vote’ and ‘Victory’ at 17:14 (García 2016). Like previous demonstrations, the reported figures in attendance tended to oscillate and anywhere between 500,000 to 1.8 million demonstrators were cited as being in attendance (Dowling 2018).

Inspired by the referendum on independence in Scotland, the government of Catalonia organised a ‘participation process’ for the 9<sup>th</sup> of November 2014. The label ‘participation process’ was used as the initial idea to hold a Catalan self-determination referendum was deemed to be unconstitutional and illegal by the Spanish Constitutional Court. *ANC* and *Òmnium Cultural* were heavily involved in the campaign and operated under the banner of the civil platform, ‘*Ara es l’hora*’ (Now is the time) (Iveson 2018). The consultation asked two questions regarding a Catalan state and independence. The first question was, ‘Do you want Catalonia to be a state?’ Those who answered affirmatively had to answer a second question, ‘Do you want this state to be independent?’ (Liñeira and Cetrà 2015; Cetrà 2019). In total, over 2.3 million people voted in the consultation (the estimated turnout was approximately 37%), with 80.8% of participants voted for a double ‘yes’ (i.e., yes for a state for Catalonia; and yes for an independent state) (Elias 2016; Colomer 2017; della Porta *et al.* 2017; Iveson 2018). However, the 2014 vote was perceived more as a symbolic victory for the pro-independence movement and a demonstration of its strength rather than an actual mandate for independence (García 2016; Martí and Cetrà 2016; Cetrà 2019).

Following the previous year’s demonstrations, the ‘*Via Lliure a la República Catalana*’ (Free Way to the Catalan Republic) was organised for the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 2015, 16 days before the regional elections in Catalonia. That day, pro-independence associations gathered in Barcelona’s Meridiana Avenue to once again call for an independent Catalonia (Orriols and Rodon 2016). The 2015 demonstration was not as well attended as previous years and the cited figures in attendance vary between 270,000 and 875,000 (Iveson 2018).

The unofficial nature of the 2014 self-determination referendum in Catalonia led Catalan politicians to an impasse and to uncertainty in the pro-independence camp on what to do next (Martí and Cetrà 2016). Considering this, the Catalan government once again called early elections for the 27<sup>th</sup> of September 2015. This would be the third regional election in five years. The election was presented as a de facto plebiscite on independence. The slogan ‘*El vot de la teva vida*’ (The vote of your life) was used to emphasise the importance of the election and to

maximise participation (Orriols and Rodon 2016). Changes to the political landscape in Catalonia had resulted in the creation of *JxSí* (*Junts pel Sí*) in 2015. *JxSí* was a pro-secessionist coalition party comprised of *PDeCAT* (*Partit Demòcrata Europeu Català*) and *ERC* and representatives from the civic groups *ANC* and *Òmnium Cultural* (Guibernau 2015; Guntermann *et al.* 2018). The relatively new alternative left party, *CUP*, also supported independence for Catalonia but was not part of the pre-electoral alliance. The coalition of political parties in Catalonia reinforced the ‘plebiscitary’ nature of the regional elections and it ran on the platform of delivering constitutional change in Spain and holding a legally binding referendum in Catalonia (Martí and Cetrà 2016). In this sense, the September 2015 elections acted as a proxy for an independence referendum by political parties.

The turnout for the 2015 regional election was the highest ever with just fewer than 75% of the electorate casting their vote (Orriols and Rodon 2016). The pro-independent parties won the elections with a majority in the Catalan parliament but in terms of absolute votes, *JxSí* and *CUP* did not obtain a majority (Martí and Cetrà 2016). However, with the majority of seats in the Catalan Parliament, *JxSí* and *CUP* jointly passed a resolution on the 9<sup>th</sup> of November 2015, declaring the start of a ‘process of disconnection’ from the Spanish state. This declaration was subsequently suspended by the Spanish Constitutional Court (Martí and Cetrà 2016). In addition, after three months of infighting in the separatist camp, Artur Mas stood down as the President of the *Generalitat* and at the beginning of 2016 the mayor of Girona, Carles Puigdemont, was chosen as his successor. On taking the oath of office, Puigdemont omitted the oath of loyalty to the King and the Spanish Constitution, becoming the first Catalan President to do so (Simms and Guibernau 2016). Under the slogan ‘*Endavant República Catalana*’ (Go ahead, Catalan Republic) demonstrators again took to the streets of Barcelona, Berga, Lleida, Salt and Tarragona on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 2016 to declare their support for Catalonia’s full independence from Madrid. Turnout for the 2016 demonstration was estimated by local police at around 800,000 but central government figures put the numbers in attendance at only about 370,000. The rallies held in multiple cities were once again organised by *ANC* and *Òmnium Cultural* (Levrat *et al.* 2017).

### **3.4 2017 Referendum**

The tension between the Catalan and central governments reached a new peak in June 2017, when Puigdemont announced that the Catalan government would organise a referendum on

independence for the 1<sup>st</sup> of October of the same year, with or without the consent of the Spanish institutions. The main question asked was, ‘Do you want Catalonia to be an independent state in the form of a republic?’. This led to further tensions between Madrid and the Catalan government and the referendum was rejected by the central government and other national political parties (Cetrà and Harvey 2018; Cetrà 2019). Although considered illegal by the Spanish government and Constitutional Court, the referendum went ahead on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 2017 (Jones 2017; Gamper-Sachse 2018; Guntermann *et al.* 2018; Magone 2018; Rodon and Guinjoan 2018; Tobeña 2018; Carbonell 2019). Following the independence referendum, a period that represented Spain’s worst political crisis in 40 years, Catalonia received international attention (Spain’s Catalan separatist crisis 2017).

Despite massive intervention from the *Guarda Civil* and the National Police, the October 1<sup>st</sup> vote went ahead albeit in highly unsettled conditions and accompanied by the use of violence by security forces to prevent voting (Carbonell 2019). People from all social classes, and with different political orientations, resisted peacefully and prevented the police from seizing many ballot boxes (Gamper-Sachse 2018). Many Catalans were shocked at the Spanish police’s use of force against largely peaceful demonstrators and voters on the day of the referendum. Over 1,000 Catalans who were trying to vote were injured (Guntermann *et al.* 2018). For some older people, the scenes provided ominous flashbacks to Franco’s rule (Spain’s Catalan separatist crisis 2017). The ‘Yes’ side won, with 92.01% of voters opting for independence and 7.8% voting ‘No’ (Generalitat de Catalunya 2017a). However, there was an electoral participation rate of just 42.7% (Cetrà and Harvey 2018; Magone 2018; Mut-Bosque 2018; Rodon and Guinjoan 2018).

The referendum was deemed unconstitutional by the Spanish government and Madrid’s reaction to the vote deepened the constitutional crisis to levels without precedents in democratic Spain (Cetrà and Harvey 2018; Cetrà 2019). On the 10<sup>th</sup> of October, the Catalan government declared independence from Spain, but it maintained that it was not effective immediately, arguing that this move was directed at entering talks with Madrid. The Spanish Prime Minister, Mariano Rajoy, responded by giving Puigdemont five days to clarify whether independence had been declared (Jones 2017). After some hesitation, and a few indirect and unproductive contacts between Spanish and Catalan government officials, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of October a formal Declaration of Independence was approved and proclaimed by a tiny majority in the

*Generalitat*. This bill announced, ‘The Catalan republic as an independent state’ (Spain’s Catalan separatist crisis 2017; Guntermann *et al.* 2018).

As a result of the proclamation of the ‘Catalan Republic’ on the 27<sup>th</sup> of October by the *Generalitat*, Spain’s Senate voted 214 to 47 to approve Article 155 of the Spanish Constitution. The measure granted Spain’s Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy extraordinary authority to take direct administrative control of the region. Rajoy then suspended Catalan autonomy, dismissed the entire ‘insubordinate’ Catalan government, dissolved the legislative chamber and called for new elections on the 21<sup>st</sup> of December 2017 (Guntermann *et al.* 2018; Tobeña 2018; Perles-Ribsa *et al.* 2019). Rajoy also announced that Madrid would govern Catalonia until the elections and formation of a new regional government. In the meantime, on the 16<sup>th</sup> of October 2017, two civil-society leaders, Jordi Cuixart the president of *Òmnium Cultural* and Jordi Sànchez the president of *ANC*, were arrested on charges of sedition (Jones 2017).

On the 28<sup>th</sup> of October the ex-president of the *Generalitat*, Carles Puigdemont, together with several members of his government, travelled to Belgium in order to seek refuge given the likelihood of being obliged to face court proceedings in Spain on charges of sedition, rebellion and embezzlement (Amat, cited in Carbonell 2019). The ex-Vice-President of the *Generalitat*, Oriol Junqueras, and other members of the deposed Government were called by a High Court in Madrid, to face charges of sedition and the failure to comply with the Spanish Constitution. After a brief enquiry, they were preventively sent to prison under the accusation of breaking democratic law and attempted rebellion against the Spanish state (Tobeña 2018; Carbonell 2019).

### **3.4.1 December 2017 elections**

The regional election called for the 21<sup>st</sup> of December 2017 was seen as a way to terminate, as quickly as possible, the suspension of Catalonia’s Statute of Autonomy dictated two months before. The results offered a portrait of what Tobeña (2018) labels “(...) an almost perfectly divided society” (Tobeña 2018, p. 464). The turnout for the December elections reached a historical mark of 79.1% of the electorate, the largest since the transition to democracy (Carbonell 2019). The total sum of the secessionist parties received 47.33% of the votes, whereas the non-secessionist parties attained 50.71% of the votes. So, the narrow margin of 150,000 votes gave the lead to the unionists (Tobeña 2018). The leading formation in the Parliament was for the first time in decades, a unionist party: *Ciutadans* with 36 seats. The

political situation resumed the previous standstill because the majority at the Regional Parliament went, once more, to the secessionists parties (70 seats, from a total of 135) (Atkinson 2018; Guntermann *et al.* 2018; Maza *et al.* 2019). This was due to the characteristics of the electoral law which awards an over-representation to the rural parts of Catalonia (Tobeña 2018; Carbonell 2019).

Catalonia and the independence question remained at the forefront of much media attention for the remainder of 2017 and beyond, not least due to the jailing by the Spanish state of a number of Catalan politicians, the flight abroad of Puigdemont and other political figures, in the context of charges such as ‘insurrection’, which carry sentences of up to thirty years’ imprisonment. Adding to this, there were continued street demonstrations in Catalonia, the election of Quim Torra as the president of the *Generalitat* and the election of Pedro Sánchez as the new Prime Minister of Spain in June 2018. At the time of writing (March 2019), the dispute between Spain and Catalonia was ongoing but some observers argue that the new Spanish government may be intending to adopt a somewhat less extreme approach to the issue of Catalan separatism. However, in response to a lack of support for his budget, Pedro Sánchez called a snap general election for the 28<sup>th</sup> of April 2019.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

Perceptions of language and its function in society are highly dependent upon the wider social and political context (Erwin 2001). In seeking to capture some of the roots and resonances of the situation in Catalonia, it was necessary to provide some of the history of language, territory and people. This broad historical overview has drawn attention to several key moments that may be used to contextualise evidence with which to understand issues of identity, language and belonging in present-day Catalonia. Various factors have shaped Catalonia, such as, the restrictive language policies during the Franco regime, mass transnational immigration and the successful implementation of language normalisation policies which have resulted in an increase in the number of speakers (Boix-Fuster and Sanz 2008; Kleiner-Liebau 2009; Atkinson 2018).

The apparently banal Catalan nationalism evident in the late 1990s and early 2000s has evolved into a forceful, ‘hot’ nationalism in Catalonia (Billig 1995; Crameri 2000). Several events have triggered secessionist sentiments among the Catalan population which culminated in an illegal

referendum being held on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 2017 (Martí 2013; Guibernau 2014a, b; Carbonell 2019). Catalonia's decision to convene a referendum of self-determination constituted a major challenge for Catalonia, as well as for Spain and the European Union. What has been discussed in this chapter is an evolving situation and at present, it is unclear how the struggle will unfold but 'Catalanism' has certainly attracted international attention and identity politics in Catalonia are increasingly complex as a result (Hawkey 2018). The fluid socio-political situation described in this chapter is important for the current study because language attitudes occur, and are receptive to, the ecological context of changing social and political circumstances (Baugh 1997; Woolard 1998, 2016). The next chapter outlines the methodology that was employed to collect the data for this investigation.

## **Chapter Four: Methodology**

The most fundamental challenge for sociolinguistic research is how to obtain appropriate linguistic data to analyse.

(Tagliamonte 2006, p. 17)

### **4.1 Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to describe, explain and provide justification for the decisions taken during the research process. Following Clough and Nutbrown's (2006) call for research methods to be constructed rather than selected, data for this investigation was gathered by means of a qualitative multi-method approach comprising of six focus groups and ten narrative interviews. In addition, visual prompts taken from the linguistic landscape of Girona were used to encourage discussion in the focus groups (see Appendix H). As discussed in the introductory chapter, data for this research was gathered at a unique time in Catalonia's history, a period when the region was pursuing self-determination and linguistic issues were centre stage (Dowling 2018; Hawkey 2018). This chapter discusses the research design and overall methodology that was employed. As pointed out in chapter one, this study aims to answer two research questions, namely:

- What can an examination of the language attitudes (toward Catalan and Spanish) of members of independence organisations contribute to our understanding of sociolinguistic changes in minority language ideologies in a globalised world?
- What can an examination of the language attitudes (toward Catalan and Spanish) of members of independence organisations contribute to our understanding of sociolinguistic change in the calls for independence in 21<sup>st</sup> century Catalonia?

This study adopted a social constructionist approach. This approach argues that our knowledge and ways of understanding the world are constructed through social interaction with others (Burr 2003). Considering this, the development of a multi-method qualitative approach to data collection (see section 4.3.1) was deemed most suitable as it presented the researcher with the

opportunity explore the informants' views and attitudes toward languages as they emerge through talk and discussion rather than researching preestablished categories. As such, given the fluidity of the research setting (see section 3.4), the research aims and objectives could not be achieved without employing a qualitative approach to data collection. This approach to the study of language attitudes permits for the contextualisation of languages in the wider socio-cultural and socio-political context in which people live, thereby understanding the phenomena from the necessities felt by those involved (Ladegaard 2000; Sandín 2003; McKenzie 2010).

The first section briefly outlines the main methodological approaches that are employed in language attitude research. The following section details the multi-method qualitative methodology adopted in this study. The next section explores the participant selection process and recruitment procedures of the study. Following this, a detailed outline of the research instruments, namely focus groups and narrative interviews is presented. The justification for employing these methodological tools is outlined. The data collection procedure for each instrument is then discussed. The pilot studies conducted are also discussed with reference to the research instruments and how they helped inform the main study. Various ethical considerations are then addressed. The chapter then reviews the data analysis procedure before closing with a review of the dependability and credibility of the research instruments.

## **4.2 Methods of Attitude Elicitation**

As previously stated, this investigation sought to explore the language attitudes of members of independence organisations in Girona toward Catalan and Spanish in a context of increasing linguistic and cultural diversity in Catalonia (see section 2.2.1). In such a context, this research was interested in how each language was perceived in terms of Ruiz's (1984, 2010) language orientations, *language-as-a-resource* and/or *language-as-a-problem*. Therefore, it is prudent to examine the literature in relation to the analysis of language attitudes, many of which have been used in the Catalan context (see section 2.4).

Since it emerged as a field of study in the 1960s, language attitude research has been characterised by a substantial amount of studies that have taken a scientific and experimental approach (Gardner and Lambert 1959; Wolff 1959; Lambert *et al.* 1960; Baker 1992; Cargile *et al.* 1994). Approaches to language attitude research are usually divided into three broad methods (Ryan *et al.* 1987, Garrett 2010): (i): the societal treatment of language varieties; (ii):

indirect measures; and (iii): direct measures. The first approach investigates the public treatment of language varieties and their speakers within society, for example, the analysis of languages as they appear in the public domain. Ryan *et al.* (1987) suggest that all techniques which do not involve explicitly asking respondents for their view or reactions can be classified under the 'public treatment' umbrella. Studies in this category tend to employ qualitative methods and typically involve observation, participant observation, ethnographic studies or autobiographical accounts. Given the small-scale and ethnographic nature of studies employing this approach, the societal treatment approach is often considered insufficiently rigorous by many mainstream language attitude researchers, especially those working in the social psychological tradition (Garrett 2010).

The second approach, namely indirect measures of language attitudes, is generally considered to be one of the more traditional methods of investigation. This approach to researching language attitudes involves more subtle techniques of measurement rather than directly asking overt questions. The aim of the indirect approach is to elicit covert language attitudes instead of public views on language (Knops and van Hout 1988). The most frequently employed indirect technique in the measurement of language attitudes is the matched-guise technique (MGT) as designed by Lambert *et al.* (1960) (see Giles and Billings 2004 or Soukup 2012 for an in-depth description of the MGT). In the MGT, and later and adaptations of it such as the verbal-guise test (VGT), listeners are asked to rate tape-recorded speakers on a bipolar semantic-differential scale on a range of personal traits (e.g., educated/uneducated, honest/dishonest). In the test, each speaker on the tape reads the same prepared text once in each language under investigation, for example, Spanish and Catalan. The listener-judges' ratings are thus considered to be representative of their stereotyped reactions to the language or language variety concerned (see Garrett 2010; O'Rourke 2011 for more). The purpose of the study is made less obvious to the informants in the hope that participants will reveal private attitudes instead of just providing the socially acceptable answer (Garrett 2005; McKenzie 2010). Indirect methods of measuring language attitudes are generally considered to be able to penetrate deeper than direct methods and capture deep-rooted feelings about languages and perhaps are most appropriate to an analysis of the affective component of attitudes (O'Rourke 2011) (see section 2.3.2).

The third method, the direct measures approach, is used to measure overtly held attitudes and is characterised by the elicitation of data by means of direct questioning, generally through

questionnaires and/or interviews (Henerson *et al.* 1987). This approach is a process of elicitation, whereby participants themselves are asked to articulate their beliefs, feelings and knowledge of the attitudinal object in question (Garrett 2005; McKenzie 2010). The direct approach, “(...) has probably been the most dominant paradigm if one looks across the broader spectrum of language attitudes research” (Garrett 2010, p. 159). O’Rourke (2011) argues that direct methods are best suited to the analysis of the cognitive component of an attitude (see section 2.3.2). In this sense, direct measures of language attitudes are often a measure of beliefs about language (Edwards 1994).

In the present study, direct measurements of language attitude elicitation were employed (focus groups and narrative interviews). The direct approach was used because it allows the researcher to examine the level of support for languages amongst research respondents. Additionally, direct measurements permitted the researcher to explore the informants’ perceptions about language use and practice in Catalonia. A direct measure approach was selected in the current because the societal treatment approach and indirect measures have been criticised for decontextualizing the research environment or overlooking the diverse array of experiences and contexts in which language attitudes exist (Bradac *et al.* 2001; Krahn and Putnam 2003). In contrast, direct methods have the potential to gain a greater range of insights and more contextual specification where meanings and experience can be explored (Chamberlain *et al.* 1997; Cargile 2002; Garrett *et al.* 2003, 2005). This was a key concern given the time period of the data collection for this research (see section 3.4). Under the rubric of direct methods, this research employed a qualitative ‘word-of-mouth’ approach to data collection (Henerson *et al.* 1987). In short, language attitude research in Catalonia is largely quantitative based (see section 2.4), and as such, there is a clear place for the complementary insights brought by qualitative research (Hawkey 2018). The following section explores the qualitative methodology employed in this research and the justifications for selecting it.

### **4.3 A Qualitative Approach to the Study of Language Attitudes**

With a view to answering the research questions and fulfilling the aims and objectives of this research a qualitative approach was employed to gather data. The following section outlines the advantages of adopting a qualitative methodology.

Studies of language attitudes are quite common in language and literacy journals (Vaish 2008). Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain (2009) observe that the study of language attitudes has traditionally tended to rely exclusively on statistics-based methods of analysis such as the MGT (see section 4.2). These methods have come under fire from many quarters. For example, one of the main criticisms of these approaches is that they force subjects to respond along dimensions that have been worked out by researchers, instead of along dimensions of their own choice. As such, they have been criticised for decontextualizing the research environment (see Hyrkstedt and Kalaja 1998; Garret 2010 for more). As such, it is argued that qualitative approaches to data collection permit for an in-depth exploration of language attitudes and sociolinguistic situations (Vaish 2008; Ushioda 2009; Atkinson and Kelly-Holmes 2016; Hawkey 2018). The qualitative approach to attitudes represents a recent turn in the history of language attitude studies and it considers the wider factors affecting particular language attitudes (Juarros-Daussà and Lanz 2009). Hawkey (2018) adds that given the somewhat blurred lines between attitudes and ideologies (see section 2.3.2.1), it is unsurprising that qualitative methods have been frequently employed to contribute to the understanding of language attitudes.

The inflow of qualitative methodologies into the study of language attitudes over the past few decades has broadened the methodological spectrum (Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain 2009; Garrett 2010). In this sense, many scholars have advocated for the use of qualitative based approaches to the analysis of language attitudes (see e.g., Giles and Coupland 1991; Winter 1992; Hyrkstedt and Kalaja 1998; Garrett *et al.* 2003; Korth 2005; Garrett 2010; Soukup 2012; Nguyen and Hamid 2016; Hawkey 2018). In addition, the volatility of the globalised world presents new methodological opportunities for study and the broadening of research methodologies permits for more nuanced analysis in rapidly changing and increasingly complex circumstances (Vargas-Silva 2012; Geraghty and Conacher 2014). Considering this, an innovative multi-method qualitative approach was employed in this study. Under this rubric, focus groups and narrative interviews were used as data collection tools, with visual prompts being employed in the focus groups to promote discussion and debate (see section 4.7.1).

The qualitative researcher tends to adopt a more phenomenological approach to research, known as interpretivism or constructivism. In this sense, the qualitative research paradigm rejects the practices of the ‘scientific model’, a central aspect of quantitative research. The qualitative paradigm embodies a view of social reality as a constantly shifting and emergent

property of the individual's creation (Bryman 2016). Qualitative research is a way of making the world visible, based on distinct procedural 'traditions of inquiry', which construct a multifaceted picture, through the analysis of the respondents' comprehensive views on the issues at hand (Creswell and Creswell 2017). O'Donoghue (2007) adds that qualitative methods can be used to ascertain the meaning of experiences to the individual and give attention to the cultural and social contexts in which people live. The qualitative approach is concerned with exploring psychological and social phenomena as they naturally occur, as well as the 'human side' of an issue, that is, the thoughts, feelings and experiences of individuals as research subjects (Hancock 2002; Rubin and Rubin 2012). Qualitative methodologies aim to understand what is happening 'on the ground', through exploring:

(...) what it assumes to be a socially constructed dynamic reality through a framework which is value-laden, flexible, descriptive, holistic, and context sensitive; i.e. an in-depth description of the phenomenon from the perspectives of the people involved. It tries to understand how social experience is created and given meaning.

(Yilmaz 2013, p. 312)

It has been argued that adopting a qualitative methodological approach has the potential to capture the more nuanced and individualistic aspects of the phenomenon under investigation (Rossman and Rallis 2012; Bryman 2016). In this sense, qualitative research adopts an inductive approach through discovering patterns, themes and categories in the data (Patton 2015). Findings are emergent rather than fixed and the approach is interpretive and reflexive (Marshall and Rossman 2006). Consequently, qualitative research methodologies allow for the researcher to "(...) produce rich, thick, conceptual descriptions" (Bhattacharya 2015, p. 3), that allow for personal experiences to be heard. In addition, qualitative methodologies aid in the exploration of the research participants' language attitudes from their own perspective (Hoare 2001; García 2003). Such an approach empowers and encourages participants to share their stories, opinions and subjective views on the importance, position and values of languages within society (Nguyen and Hamid 2016). In conclusion, adopting a qualitative methodology enabled this study to add to the growing body of research in this field (see e.g., Newman *et al.* 2013; Cortès-Colomé *et al.* 2016).

### **4.3.1 A Multi-Method Approach to Language Attitudes**

Ryan *et al.* (1987) conclude that “(...) to use only one method, and particularly so in the pursuit of socio-political ideals and/or policy implementation, is to be guilty of misunderstanding the nature of language attitudes” (Ryan *et al.* 1987, p. 1076). Pujolar *et al.* (2011) add that conducting research into language, culture and identity in the global age requires the implementation of a varied collection of methods to understand the phenomena of identification in the contemporary world.

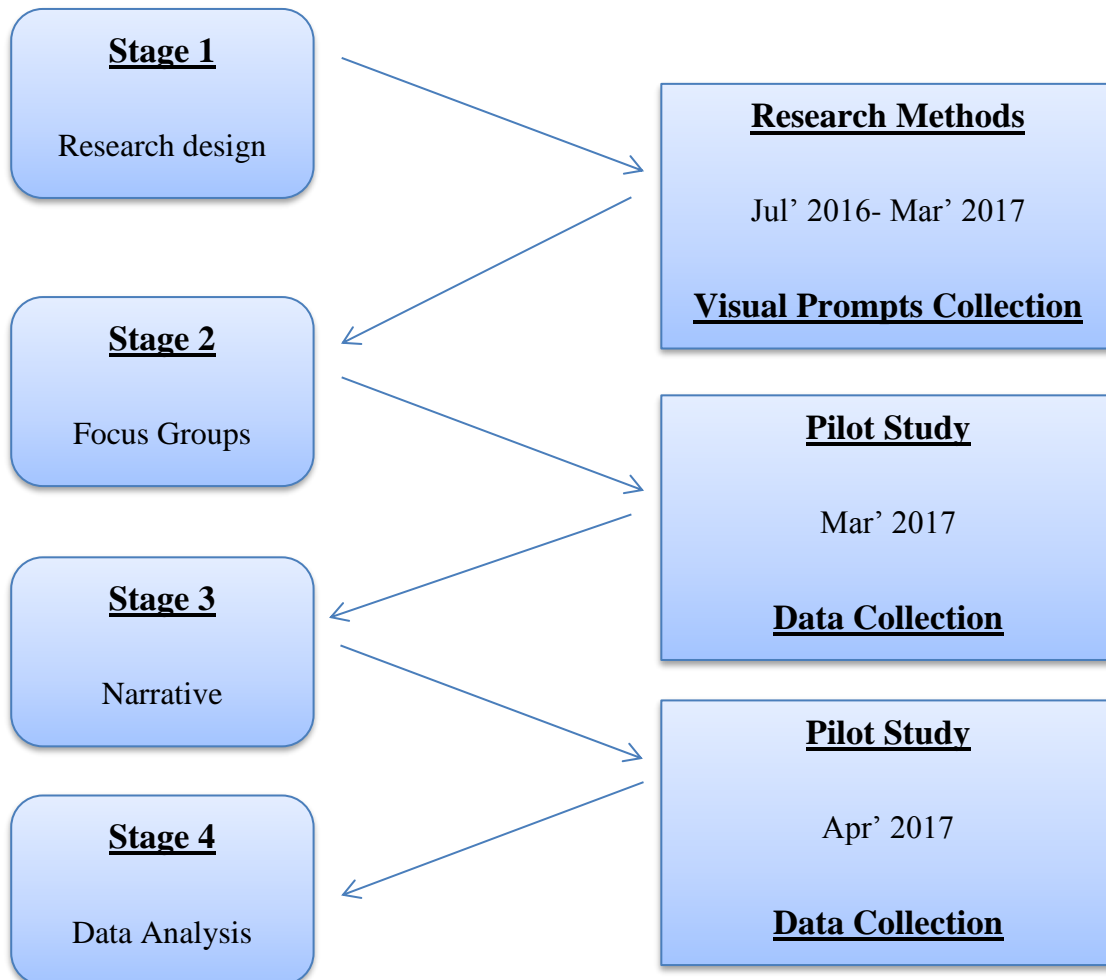
Due to the complexity of language attitudes, multi-method research is now common practice (Enever 2011; Portolés-Falomir 2015). In this study, a multi-method approach was adopted to encourage narratives on the experience of being a member of an independence organisation, participants’ views on Catalan and Spanish and whether their views had changed over time. Therefore, a qualitative multi-method approach, comprising of focus groups and narrative interviews, was used to collect data in this research. The combination of such methodological tools can be beneficial to researchers as complementary views of the phenomenon may be generated, providing the researcher with an in-depth knowledge of the research setting (Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003; Lambert and Loiselle 2008). In addition, the collation of data from a range of sources, gathered through a variety of research methods, has the potential to strengthen the validity (or credibility) of the subsequent analyses and interpretation (Baker 2010; Starfield 2015) (see section 4.11). A multi-method approach can potentially provide more comprehensive data and confirmation of findings (Redfern and Norman 1994; Patton 1999, 2015; Risjord *et al.* 2001; Foss and Ellefsen 2002; Halcomb and Andrew 2005; Casey and Murphy 2009; Cohen *et al.* 2018). McKenzie (2010) adds that adopting a multi-method approach when measuring language attitudes can provide greater insights into the issues under investigation enhancing the researcher’s depth and breadth of understanding of the phenomenon under study.

Given the issues related to languages in Catalonia at the time of data collection (see section 3.3), employing a qualitative multi-method approach to data collection:

(...) is likely to help social psychologists and linguists to identify the cultural and social forces which form and maintain attitudes as well as the specific linguistic features which trigger attitudinal responses.

Ladegaard (2000) adds that because of the complexity of measuring language attitudes, researchers need to rely on many different methodologies. As mentioned above, a qualitative research framework was adopted for data collection, comprising of focus groups and narrative interviews. Figure 4.1 illustrates the various stages involved in this research

**Figure 4.1:** Research framework employed.



## **4.4 Participants**

### **4.4.1 Sampling Strategy**

Fraenkel *et al.* (2015) observe that sampling is the process of selecting several individuals (the sample) from a population, in such a way that the individuals are representative of the larger group from which they were selected. When selecting individuals or groups for research it is critical that they are especially knowledgeable about a phenomenon of interest (Creswell and Plano Clark 2017). While there are various types of sampling strategies that can be implemented in research, purposeful sampling is a technique widely used in qualitative research for the identification and selection of cases for the most effective use of limited resources (Adler and Clark 2008; Merriam 2009; Patton 2015; Lindlof and Taylor 2017). Draper and Swift (2011) define purposive sampling as a strategy where “(...) people are deliberately selected with an explicit purpose in mind, namely to address the research aim and because they are rich sources of data in relation to this” (Draper and Swift 2011, p. 5). Purposive sampling involves identifying and selecting information-rich cases for in-depth study. Information-rich cases are “(...) those from which one can learn a great deal about the issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry” (Patton 2015, p. 264). This research sought to select appropriate participants that would best illuminate the research questions at hand (Denscombe 2014) (see section 1.1.2).

Considering the above, this study adopted a purposive sampling which allowed the researcher to choose participants with specific characteristics (Denscombe 2014). The purposive sampling method of recruitment guaranteed a high quality of information. As previously mentioned (see section 1.2.2), limited academic attention has been given to sociolinguistic research in Girona. Therefore, all the participants selected were members of various independence organisations in Girona and had varying and different levels of insight into the research questions. Through exploring this demographic, this study sought to identify the key beliefs, concerns and practices with respect to the participants’ language attitudes. In addition, this study aimed to understand the context in which these attitudes were rooted (historically, socially, politically and economically) and explore whether they were related to views on Catalan independence.

## **4.4.2 Recruitment**

No recruitment of informants took place until permission had been approved from the Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences (AHSS) Research Ethics Committee in the University of Limerick. Originally, participants were to be recruited from the following independence organisations and movements operating in Girona: *Ateneu 24 de Juny*, *Casal el Forn*, *Assemblea de Joves Girones*, *ARRAN Girona/Ateneu 4 Rius* and *Súmate*. However, upon entering the field the researcher discovered that there was a large degree of crossover and convergence between several of the organisations, with some having been dissolved, incorporated into other organisations or branching off into a separate entity due to an internal disagreement. This led to a re-examination of the target organisations. A detailed outline of the six organisations that ultimately contributed to this research can be found in section 4.7.1.

Initial recruitment procedures involved contacting a number of independence organisations through email (see Appendix A). This email detailed the research aims and objectives. The initial email was also designed to introduce the researcher and the study to potential participants in a clear and understandable fashion. All eight of the independence organisations that were contacted responded but two groups had to withdraw from the research due to time and logistical constraints. Through the initial email to the relevant organisations, the researcher was put in contact with gatekeepers. Liamputtong (2011) states that gatekeepers can help the researcher to organise focus groups through aiding with logistical matters such as potential focus group venues or by relaying the purpose of the research and its potential value to participants before the focus group is held.

The role of the gatekeeper in the independence organisation was usually that of a secretary or spokesperson. Following on from this initial contact, follow up phone calls, emails and face-to-face meetings were held, where the researcher provided the gatekeepers with background information concerning the research topic and the methods of data collection that would be employed. The practicalities of the research such as issues related to the recruitment of participants, language to be used, dates for the data collection, the focus group location and duration were also discussed. The gatekeepers agreed to relay all the information in the initial email and subsequent meetings to members of the organisation who may have been interested in participating in the research. Focus groups were chosen as the first method of data collection in this study for a number of reasons. These reasons are explored in the following section.

## **4.5 Focus Groups**

The focus group or group interview is a ‘nondirective’ method of data collection which has been described as an interview with a group that aims to gather rich qualitative data from small numbers of people (Frankfort-Nachmias *et al.* 2014; Jones 2014). Focus groups are beneficial because they facilitate a much more in-depth exploration than quantitative methods and participating in a focus group may lead to informants thinking about or talking about things that they may not have considered alone (O’Reilly 2009; Yitzhaki 2010). This group interaction reveals how participants may brainstorm their ideas together, share experiences, inspire and challenge each other and react to the emerging issues (Webb and Kevern 2001; Lehoux *et al.* 2006; Dörnyei 2007). As Meyerhoff *et al.* (2012) put it:

(...) having a number of people interviewed at the same time avoids some of the formality associated with one-to-one interviews because it facilitates interaction between the participants rather than between the interviewer and a participant only (...)

(Meyerhoff *et al.* 2012, p. 132)

Focus groups allow the researcher to generate a large amount of data in a relatively short amount of time from a large number of people (Schensul *et al.* 1999). Given this investigation’s research aims and objectives (see section 1.1.1), focus groups were employed as they can provide unique insights into social and political phenomena (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis 2011). In this sense, through careful moderation by the researcher focus group members have the opportunity to talk about issues that they previously may not have otherwise of discussed in public arenas (see section 4.7.1). As such, focus groups were deemed appropriate because they can act as a method to re-contextualise political discourse expressed by politicians and the media in everyday conversation (de Cillia *et al.* 1999; Wodak *et al.* 2009)

The selection of the focus group as a methodological instrument was deemed a valid choice in this project as it represented a powerful tool to explore complex topics. Additionally, attitudes towards languages are multifaceted subject matters that benefit from qualitative investigation (Morgan 1998; Hoare 2001; García 2003). Furthermore, focus groups are suited to topics of attitudinal research as they can tap into human proclivities (Kitzinger 1995; Krueger 2009). Attitudes and perceptions are developed in part by interaction with other people, and bringing

participants together in a focus group presents an excellent opportunity to study respondents' attitudes toward a given object (Barbour 2007; Krueger and Casey 2014). It is through 'natural' processes of communication that the researcher can gain deeper insights into research participants' views on selected topics (Wilkinson 1999).

Qualitative researchers tend to opt for homogeneous focus groups as participants are more likely to excavate shared experience and assumptions revealed through the talk of members joined in a common exchange (Clark 2011; Silverman and Patterson 2015; Hesse-Biber 2017). To ensure that the dynamic of each discussion was adequate, the focus groups were conducted with what Taylor *et al.* (2010) calls, "(...) naturally occurring groups of previously acquainted persons" (Taylor *et al.* 2010, p. 203). The risks and benefits of using pre-existing groups for focus groups must be considered. For example, participants who have a prior knowledge of others in the group may be reluctant to share opinions and views and the researcher must be aware of potential pre-existing group dynamics when analysing the data (Kitzinger and Barbour 1999; Barbour 2005, 2007; Hennink 2007; Stewart and Shamdasani 2015). In the focus groups for this research this was not a major problem, the group dynamic worked well and created an environment where the respondent's experiences were expressed through sharing or comparing their different perspectives (Leavy 2007). Halkier (2010) stresses the necessity of including the social interaction dynamics in analysing focus group data. Considering this, focus groups were more conversation-like, with the participants frequently forgetting that they were participating in a research project. As a result, the informants often talked among themselves at length once a topic had been introduced into the focus group by the researcher and they were often able to bounce opinions off each other or stimulate forgotten memories (Thompson 2000). This produced a wide diversity of responses from the informants which in turn revealed a striking complexity of language attitudes toward both Catalan and Spanish and their role in contemporary Catalonia (see chapter five).

To ensure that a focus group goes smoothly, the researcher must consider the venue, the role of the moderator and the number of participants in each focus group. The venue is a critical consideration when conducting a focus group. The venue creates an ambience which can impact how people behave and it is vital that the location is quiet and private to ensure that the focus group will not be interrupted (King and Horrocks 2010). The moderator is "(...) crucial if group discussion is to be facilitated effectively, leading to good outcomes in terms of data disclosure (...)" (Fallon and Brown 2002, p. 199). The moderator must encourage all

participants to talk and monitor individuals who may dominate the conversation (Creswell and Poth 2018; Nyumba *et al.* 2018). This research adopted an approach whereby the moderator took what Frey and Fontana (1993) call, a passive nondirective approach, whereby only enough questions or enough probes were used to keep the discussion going and interjection by the moderator was kept to a minimum. In the six focus groups that were conducted in the current study, the researcher acted as the moderator. This was beneficial in the interpretation of the data collected because when conducting focus groups “(...) the researcher begins to analyze the data even as he or she is generating them” (Barbour 2007, p. 113). Another important aspect of focus groups is the number of participants. There are no set guidelines in this regard, with smaller groups offering “(...) each participant more time to contribute to the conversation [...] on complex or controversial topics” (Hennink 2007, p. 136), while larger groups (more than ten) can often result in “(...) data lacking both depth and substance” (Cronin 2008, p. 235).

It is recommended that researchers use an interview protocol or schedule to guide the questions when conducting one-to-one interviews or focus groups (Creswell and Creswell 2017). Focus group discussion questions should be open and conversational in nature and they should help facilitate the discussion and make the participants feel more at ease (Hennink *et al.* 2011; Aurini *et al.* 2016). Following these guidelines, a detailed focus group schedule was drawn up (see Appendix G). The focus group schedule was carefully predetermined and sequenced and took elements from Krueger’s (1998) five category framework, a framework which follows Morgan’s (1998) ‘funnel approach’, whereby questions moved from more general topics toward more specific topics.

As previously mentioned, visual prompts were incorporated into the focus groups to elicit responses. The decision to incorporate a visual element into this stage of the data collection was taken because photographs offer a way to potentially “(...) enrich and extend existing interview methodologies” (Collier and Collier 1986, p. 99). In addition, qualitative projects can often be facilitated and enriched from the inclusion of new and creative data collection methods (Stewart and Shamdasani 2015; Creswell and Poth 2018). The aim of introducing photographs into the data collection process was to trigger responses and memories and unveil participants’ attitudes, views, beliefs and meanings within a group dynamic (Prosser and Schwartz 1998; Harper 2002; Punch 2002; Radley and Taylor 2003; Rasmussen 2004; Clark-Ibáñez 2007; Samuels 2007; Fleury *et al.* 2009; Stuckey and Tisdell 2010). Researchers have also asserted that the inclusion of photographs could operate as a bridge between the distant social and

cultural worlds of the researcher and research subjects (Harper 2002; Wagner 2002; Epstein *et al.* 2006). Indeed, it has been argued that photos may provide a technique for “(...) bridging the culturally distinct worlds of the researcher and the researched” (Samuels 2007, p. 199). Before the focus groups commenced, the researcher spent several months collecting images of graffiti and official or commercial signage that had been ‘corrected’ in a ‘bottom-up’ manner (see Appendix H). These prompts were collected by the researcher from the linguistic landscape of Girona between September 2016 and March 2017. Moriarty (2014b) notes that “The LL [linguistic landscape] provides important clues to the nature of multilingualism in the community and often provides a more accurate account of the lived sociolinguistic reality of a given community than official language policies do” (Moriarty 2014b, p. 457). As such, between ten and twelve prompts were used in each focus group.

Focus groups are not without their limitations (Jugenheimer *et al.* 2015). For instance, organising a focus group takes a considerable amount of time and effort, and there is always a risk that participants will not turn up or that the focus group itself may be cancelled entirely (Fredericks and Ward 2014). In addition, with focus groups, individuals are participating in an unnatural environment and they may not always be truthful and informants may sometimes give the answer that they deem best suits the situation. Furthermore, participants in focus groups can hold back important information because of apprehension or social pressure (Krueger 2009; Jugenheimer *et al.* 2015). Group dynamics can also lead to ‘group think’, insofar as a few vocal respondents through informal leadership set the tone for the discussion (Clow and James 2014), and rather than disagree and talk about their feelings individuals “(...) may be giving an account that is covered in part by the rules of the group that apply to account giving” (Agar 1996, p. 159). It was important to keep these concerns in mind during the data collection procedures and the subsequent analysis of the data (see sections 4.7.1 and 4.10 respectively).

## **4.6 Narrative Interviews**

Geraghty and Conacher (2014) note that perhaps because of the rapidly changing milieu of the modern world, the voice of the individual has become more prominent in the literature, which has resulted in a great emphasis on narrative studies. Considering this, the narrative interview was the second method of data collection employed in this study.

In qualitative research, interviews have long been used as a method in sociolinguistics for the investigation of an extraordinary and varied array of phenomena (Talmy and Richards 2011). Interviews permit the researcher access to informants' subjective experiences, where temporal and spatially subject matter can be verbalised (Peräkylä 2005; Hawkey 2018). Ever since Labov and Waletzky (1967) first turned their attention to the structure of narratives, the field of study has become progressively prominent in social science research, and over the last two decades the awareness of the importance of narrative among qualitative researchers has increased (Sarbin 1986; Polkinghorne 1988; Bruner 2002; Elliot 2005; Smith and Sparkes 2006; Murray 2008; Andrews *et al.* 2013). As Thornborrow and Coates (2005) put it:

The study of narrative is no longer a literary preserve, but has emerged as an object of enquiry in a whole range of disciplinary contexts, from sociolinguistics to social anthropology, social psychology and beyond.

(Thornborrow and Coates 2005, p. 1)

Nonetheless, 'narrative' is a term that tends to resist definition (Riessman 2008; Chase 2013). In this study, narrative refers to accounts through which speakers make intelligible their lives and describe and define their lived experience (Ricoeur 1984; Bruner 1986; Gergen and Gergen 1988). Narrative interviews were chosen for this research because they present a less dominating way of interviewing that facilitates detailed accounts of participants' lives and experiences (DeVault 1999; Riessman 2002b; Elliot 2005). Narrative interviews were selected for this research because they, unlike quantitative approaches, go beyond simple description and get at the nature of contemporary linguistic, social and political phenomena in a globalised environment, exploring how linguistic identity is emergent and socially constructed through interaction (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis 2011; Heller 2011; Squire 2013). In addition, Pavlenko (2007) points out that language attitude research which employs narrative interviews as a data collection tool is commonplace (see e.g., Pavlenko 1998, 2003; Pavlenko and Lantolf 2000; Heinz 2001; Yelenevskaya and Fialkova 2003; Lanza and Svendsen 2007; De Fina and King 2011; Patiño-Santos 2018).

Traditionally sociolinguistic research in the Catalan context has studied language attitudes in what have been labelled 'pre-established social categories' (Auer 2005; Shin 2018). As the present research was interested in individuals' subjective experiences, narrative interview were deemed to be an appropriate method as they allow the researcher to capture studied

phenomenon through the richness of the presented data (Biggerstaff and Thompson 2008; Riessman 2008). In addition, quantitative methodologies fail to explain the influence of the researched variables (and others) in the shaping of language attitudes (Vaish 2008; Lapresta-Rey *et al.* 2017; Hawkey 2018). In addition, the nature of the research questions did not require quantifiable attitudinal or demographical data. Other methods of data collection that are often used in language attitude studies were considered for the present study, such as questionnaires, structured interviews and the MGT. However, these methods of data elicitation were not considered appropriate and narrative interviews were selected as they can capture unique personal accounts in fluid sociolinguistic and socio-political environments. Rather, narrative interviews provided in-depth and subjective accounts of the situation in Catalonia that could not be emulated by quantitative methods or more structured qualitative methods such as the semi-structured interview for example. Thus, the research aims and objectives could not be pursued and answered without the contextualisation of the wider research environment that narrative interviews provide.

Narratives constitute a pervasive method for telling about human experience which “(...) gives prominence to human agency and imagination [and as such] is well-suited to studies of subjectivity and identity” (Riessman 1993, p. 5). In this respect, a narrative attempts to find out how people make sense of events and the meaning that they attach to events through the process of interpretation and re-interpretation (Ricoeur and Kearney 1996). From this point of view, narratives are seen as a way of communicating personal experiences, social events, and political and social historical developments (Polkinghorne 1988; Murray 2008; Flick 2014). Narratives can be used to study the culture and lives of individuals and communities during times of cultural change and to mobilise marginalised groups and initiate political action (Miskovic 2007; Riessman 2008). Additionally, narratives can be a useful tool for creating a situation in which the interviewee can make his/her experiences with languages explicit, without being limited to answering interview questions in predefined categories (Korth 2005). Schiffrin (1997) argues that narratives can provide:

(...) a **SOCIOLINGUISTIC SELF-PORTRAIT**: a linguistic lens through which to discover peoples’ own views of themselves (as situated within both an ongoing interaction and a larger social structure) and their experiences.

(Schiffrin 1997, p. 42)

There are several ways in which narratives can be collected, with interviews being the most popular one (Riessman 1993, 2008, 2012, 2013). Within sociolinguistics, the narrative interview continues to explore a rich array of topics and yield notable insights concerning research participants' experiences, attitudes and orientations toward a range of phenomena (Ruiz 1984, 2010; Thornborrow and Coates 2005; Riessman 2008; Talmy 2010; Prior 2016).

#### **4.6.1 Riessman's Approach**

For this study, the narrative interview as described by Riessman (1993, 2008, 2012, 2013) was considered the most appropriate method. Narrative interviews involve "(...) long sections of talk-extended accounts of lives in context that develop over the course of single or multiple research interviews (...)" (Riessman 2008, p. 6). Riessman's approach was considered suitable as it emphasised the importance of context (social and political) and how it can impact upon interviewees during the research process (Squire 2013). Without consideration of the local and broad contextual factors influencing narrative construction, researchers may lose sight of the reasons why the persons' experience has been storied in a particular way within a particular context (Riessman 2008). Riessman's approach allows the researcher to explore the interviewees' attitudes and dispositions toward what may be controversial topics (Jetter 2016). Furthermore, the narrative interview, as understood by Riessman, empowers respondents to select what they perceive to be the most important information about their lives and experiences. Therefore, Riessman's approach to narrative interviewing can potentially gather a detailed account of people's life stories or some aspects of their lives (Elliott 2005; Riessman 2008).

Similar to the situation with focus groups (see section 4.5), it is important to ensure that the environment in which interviews take place is suitable. MacDonald and Greggans (2008) contend that research participants should be interviewed in a location of their choosing. This allows for the interview to be conducted in a comfortable and confidential environment where the interviewee is free to discuss the topics of importance to them (Elmir *et al.* 2011). Riessman (2008, 2012), calls for the researcher to act as the interviewer, because as she puts it, "(...) the interpretive process begins during the conversation" (Riessman 2008, p. 26). In this approach, interviewees are not seen as passive participants being questioned by an active, facilitating interviewer, but rather the researcher cedes some control of the direction of the interview over

to the interviewee, “(...) following participants down their trails” (Riessman 2008, p. 24). Riessman (2008) observes that:

The model of a ‘facilitating’ interviewer who asks questions, and a vessel-like ‘respondent’ who gives answers, is replaced by two active participants who jointly construct narrative and meaning.

(Riessman 2008, p. 23)

Some researchers have suggested that as long as the interviewer shows that they are actively listening through non-verbal cues, short responses or back channel utterances such as ‘right’, or ‘hmm’, and by asking additional questions or making statements participants will spontaneously provide narrative accounts in relation to their experiences (Mishler 1991; Riessman 2008). In this sense, the stories told by participants are co-created in the research setting (Mishler 1991; Riessman 2008, 2012). In addition, among the methods for analysing narrative accounts, thematic analysis is the most common (Riessman 2008) (see section 4.10).

Riessman (1993, 2008) calls for the use of an interview schedule when conducting narrative interviews (see Appendix I). In line with this, several topics were chosen before the interview. Employing such an approach encouraged research participants to expand on or give further narratives (Riessman 1993, 2008). However, as Wengraf (2001) notes, with narrative interviews, the interviewer may have to improvise between 50% and 80% of the time with new questions. In light of this, general probes and prompts were also prepared for each of the selected topics of discussion. These probes assisted the flow and openness of the conversation greatly (see Appendix J).

It has been argued that much like qualitative interviews in general, narrative interviews offer a rich source of data. Nonetheless, there are inherent limitations associated with narrative interviews as data collection instruments (Lieblich *et al.* 1998; Silverman 2014). For example, employing a narrative approach promotes an environment whereby the researcher and interviewee co-construct the stories being told. Salmon and Riessman (2013) stress that storytelling happens collaboratively between speaker and listener. Therefore, the researcher brings their own experiences to the research and this plays a role in the co-production of the data.

In addition, there is a tendency in qualitative linguistic research to take research participants at their word and offer, “(...) no problematization of the data themselves or the respective roles of interviewers and interviewees” (Block, cited in Talmay 2010, p. 129). With reference to narrative interviews, most scholars in the field maintain that a narrative is “(...) not simply a factual report of events, but instead one articulation told from a point of view that seeks to persuade others to see the events in a similar way” (Riessman 2008, p. 187). The narrative may be ‘recipient-designed’ and not a factual representation of the event (Riessman 1997). In this sense, narratives are not objective and impartial descriptions of reality but rather an edited version of it, with the interviewees making choices about what to divulge (Riessman 1990). Thus, this research acknowledges that the narrative data were composed for a particular audience, within a specific context in history and it is likely that in a different context, within a discussion held with someone else, these narratives would differ (Riessman 2008). Consequently, when interpreting the narrative interviews, the researcher was mindful of Geertz’s (1983) warning of the need to “steer between overinterpretation and underinterpretation, reading more into things than reason permits and less into them than it demands” (Geertz 1983, p. 16). Considering this, steps were taken to ensure objectivity in the interpretation of the data. Elements of Krueger and Casey’s (2000) framework analysis, which is used for both individual and focus-group interviews, was employed. Here, the frequency of a particular opinion was considered, this stage relates to consideration of how often a comment was made. This permitted for the exploration of patterns in the narrative data. The extensiveness of a particular view or opinion by the interviewees was also considered by the researcher. Finally, the intensity of the comments or feelings as expressed by the informants was also taken into consideration. In addition to acknowledging these three parameters in the narrative data (frequency, extensiveness, and intensity), this research also employed a thematic analysis of the data as it permits for means for organising and summarising large and diverse amount of qualitative data in a rigorous manner (King 2004; Riessman 2008) (see section 4.10). Nevertheless, “(...) no methodology is perfect, what matters are the insights that may be gained” (Shankar and Patterson 2001, p. 487). Similar to the situation with the focus groups, it was necessary to carefully consider the aforementioned limitations when conducting the narrative interviews and when analysing the data (see sections 4.7.2 and 4.10 respectively). The following section details the data collection procedures.

## **4.7 Procedure**

### **4.7.1 Focus groups**

The focus groups took place between March 2017 and July 2017. As stated in section 4.4.2, six organisations volunteered to participate in the focus groups, with thirty-six respondents contributing in total. A breakdown of the number of informants in each focus group can be found in Appendix B.

At various times throughout the data collection procedures, the informants described how Catalan was their habitual language from a young age and had been learned either from their parents or guardians and/or within the school system, albeit at times clandestinely. As such, the informants who contributed to this study were classed as autochthonous rather than new speakers of Catalan. Here new speakers are understood as those who did not inherit the minority language as a native language yet for a variety of personal reasons made the choice to start using the language as part of their linguistic repertoire (see Urla 2012a; O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013; Jaffe 2015; O'Rourke *et al.* 2015, 2018; Ortega *et al.* 2016 for more on the conceptualisation of 'new speaker'). In the Catalan context, Woolard (1989, 2016) has referred to new speakers as 'new Catalans' when discussing second language speakers of Catalan who are in the process of actively using the language and engaging in bilingual behaviour. In addition, as previously mentioned, although a city, Girona is considered more rural in nature in comparison to the greater Barcelona urban area (Nuss-Girona *et al.* 2016; Lepič 2017) (see section 1.2.2). Therefore, the respondents in this study were considered autochthonous provincial speakers of the Catalan language.

These six organisations were selected for the purposes of the current study because they had intimate knowledge and experience of the socio-political and socio-cultural situation in Girona. In addition, at the time of the data collection each organisation, to varying degrees, was at the forefront of the campaign for an independent Catalonia and as such could provide rich and contextual data that would address the research questions. A single focus group was conducted with each organisation. Each group was small enough for everyone to have the opportunity to share insights, and yet large enough to provide a diversity of perceptions and ongoing conversation. Table 4.1 offers a description of the six organisations who contributed to this research.

**Table 4.1:** Organisation Profiles.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Description</u>
<u>ADAC</u>	<p>Founded in Girona in 1981, <i>Ateneu d'Acció Cultural</i> (ADAC) claim to have about 275 members. Initially, <i>ADAC</i> was established to maintain, fight for and preserve the Catalan language and culture through the provision of language classes in Girona and the surrounding area. In recent years the organisation states that it has taken on a pro-independence ethos, becoming increasingly active in organising different demonstrations, rallies and protests in the Girona region. In addition to these political and cultural elements, <i>ADAC</i> states that its mandate has grown to include social and recreational events. In line with this, <i>ADAC</i> offers a platform for its members to go on excursions, attend talks or conferences and to organise traditional festivals and holidays which are used to promote Catalan culture and identity. Nevertheless, protecting and promoting the Catalan language remains <i>ADAC</i>'s main objective. While the organisation claims that it is not directly associated with any political party, it has on different occasions collaborated with various political and civic bodies to promote and campaign for Catalan independence.</p>
<u>CUP</u>	<p><i>Candidatura d'Unitat Popular</i> (CUP), or the Popular Unity Candidacy, is a left-wing, pro-independence political party in Catalonia. <i>CUP</i> calls for an independent Catalonia through the principle of self-determination. <i>CUP</i> is also strongly in favour of the defence of the Catalan language in the public and private spheres throughout Catalonia. Traditionally, <i>CUP</i> focused on municipal politics, where autonomous candidates ran in local elections to represent towns or neighbourhoods. <i>CUP</i> nominated candidates for the Catalan parliamentary elections for the first time in 2012, where it won three seats. In the elections to the Catalan Parliament on the 21<sup>st</sup> of December 2017, <i>CUP</i> won four seats.</p>

<p><u>Ateneu 24 de Juny</u></p>	<p><i>Ateneu 24 de Juny</i> was founded on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 1998 in Girona. As a pro-independence organisation, it was established as a space where people could come to discuss and debate issues relating to Catalan independence and the Catalan language. Smaller than the other organisations in this study (20-25 members), <i>Ateneu 24 de Juny</i> was established in <i>El Barri Vell</i> (the old town) area of Girona, and it states that its initial goal was to improve the neighbourhood. <i>Ateneu 24 de Juny</i> claims that it is not aligned with any political party, although its members do state that they are leftist. As an organisation, it is more social in nature than the other groups in this study but it does engage in debates, demonstration and pro-independence rallies across Girona. Catalan is the vehicular language of <i>Ateneu 24 de Juny</i> but as an organisation, they assert that they do not directly conduct any campaigns to promote or defend the language.</p>
<p><u>Súmate</u></p>	<p><i>Súmate</i> is a non-political, pro-independence civic organisation for individuals who speak Spanish and/or claim Spanish heritage. <i>Súmate</i> was founded in 2013 in <i>L'Hospitalet de Llobregat</i>, an area directly Southwest of Barcelona that has had a historically high number of immigrants from elsewhere in Spain and more recently from regions such as South America and Northern Africa. <i>Súmate</i> claims to recognise the pluralism within Catalan society and aims to bring those who may not have been born in Catalonia or may not speak Catalan into the pro-independence movement. Although founded in <i>L'Hospitalet de Llobregat</i>, it now has branches across Catalonia as it seeks to increase support for Catalan independence among demographics that may not have traditionally supported the movement. Although <i>Súmate</i> claims not to be a political party it does have members from a variety of different political entities. Its members also come from other organisations and movements, such as trade unions, social movements and neighbourhood associations. <i>Súmate</i> claims that it is for the creation of a Catalan Republic that will defend the collective</p>

	interests of all Catalans. This is in addition to promoting economic and social justice for all.
<u>ANC</u>	<i>Assemblea Nacional Catalana</i> (ANC), or the Catalan National Assembly, is a civic association that was founded in 2011. It states that it has approximately 80,000 members, although only about half of these are full paying members while the other half act as volunteers. <i>ANC</i> states that its central objective is the independence of Catalonia through democratic means. As an association <i>ANC</i> has been at the centre of the push for independence in Catalonia, engaging in several high-profile campaigns and demonstrations. <i>ANC</i> has offices and branches throughout Catalonia and also in other countries where it actively promotes the Catalan language and Catalan culture. Furthermore, <i>ANC</i> has been at the forefront of many of the civic demonstrations that have taken place in Catalonia over the last number of years (see section 3.3). The current president of <i>ANC</i> is Jordi Sànchez i Picanyol who at the time of writing was imprisoned and awaiting trial on charges of sedition in relation to the Catalan independence referendum of 2017.
<u>ERC</u>	<i>Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya</i> (ERC), which translates to the Republican Left of Catalonia, was one of the largest organisations included in this study. <i>ERC</i> is a political party that was founded in 1931. It claims to currently have around 8,000 members. <i>ERC</i> propagates a leftist or centre leftist ideology and it is deeply rooted in the Catalan nationalist movement. Catalan is the vehicular language of many members of the party although it actively engages with speakers of other languages (primarily Spanish speakers) to expand its base and the overall support for independence in Catalonia. In the elections to the Catalan Parliament on the 21 <sup>st</sup> of December 2017, <i>ERC</i> won 32 seats. Oriol Junqueras is currently the leader of <i>ERC</i> but at the time of writing, he remains imprisoned on charges of sedition and misuse of

	public funds in relation to the Catalan independence referendum of 2017.
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The sequencing of the focus groups was dependent on who responded to the initial contact first and the logistical convenience for each organisation. Focus groups were usually arranged two or three weeks beforehand in order to give participants an opportunity to decide if they wished to become involved in the research and to organise their timetable. The focus groups were conducted in several different locations, including conference rooms, offices and community centres. The focus groups all took place in the late evening, once participants had finished work and had the time to discuss the issues at hand. Although it was intended for the focus groups to last for only sixty minutes some flexibility was needed for lateness and for participants who wanted to leave the group early or temporarily (e.g., to go for a cigarette or take a phone call). Typically the focus groups lasted for between fifty and seventy-five minutes.

Prior to the commencement of the focus groups, participants talked to each other and the researcher informally. Once participants were all seated around the table they were provided with an information sheet and consent form explaining the aims and objectives of the research and that it would be audio-recorded (see Appendices C and E). After discussing the purpose of the research, the opportunity was provided to ask questions. Informants were reminded that their participation was completely voluntary and that they could withdraw from the research at any time without question. Through the correspondence with the gatekeepers, it was decided that the focus groups would be conducted in Catalan, although there were occasions when participants very briefly switched codes to English or Spanish.

Once all participants indicated their consent the audio recording equipment was turned on and the focus group commenced. The focus groups were used to explore how the research participants discussed, negotiated and contested issues relating to the Spanish and Catalan languages and the Catalan independence movement through interaction within a group context. The group discussions broadly followed the previously mentioned interview schedule (Krueger 1998; Morgan 1998), although there was flexibility in the ordering of the questions depending on the direction being taken by participants in their contributions.

Where possible, questioning moved from more general topics toward more specific topics. Discussions started by asking introductory and general questions about the participants'

experiences of being a member of an independence organisation, their motivations for joining and their views on the Catalan and Spanish languages. The visual prompts were then introduced into the focus groups (see Appendix H). This enabled the respondents to become familiar with both the topic and each other, before moving onto discussing key issues in more detail. The researcher sought to steer the conversation within the confines of each group dynamic. The aim was to facilitate the conversation in an unobtrusive and subtle manner, allowing participants to shape the discussion. At times it was necessary to interject in discussions to ensure that each respondent was afforded an opportunity to contribute.

Some of the focus group informants were very closely acquainted and others were at least peers that knew each other and got along well. For example, the participants from the smaller organisation *Ateneu 24 de Juny* focus group could be considered close friends, whereas the participants from the much larger organisation *Súmate* would have been less familiar with each other. The intra-group dynamic tended to amplify discussion and debate as participants built off each other's often already familiar opinions. As a result, the dynamic varied across each group and was influenced by the personalities of those involved. The discussion became heated at stages as participants sometimes disagreed with others point of view or thoughts on a subject. Nevertheless, each focus group participant was respectful of each other's opinions and comments. In general, discussions flowed very naturally with little need for moderation and prompting.

When the visual prompts were introduced into the focus groups, each participant had an opportunity to discuss the photographs individually and with the rest of the group. Initially, a computer and projector were to be used in the location of the focus groups to display the images. However, in the location of all the focus groups, these facilities were not available. Therefore, printed examples of the prompts were brought into the focus groups. The photos triggered rich and stimulating discussions which often went beyond the content of the images but mostly were still relevant to the research agenda. Given the fact that the photographs were explored by the participants, they experienced less pressure from being the 'subject' of interrogation. Therefore, their role became that of experts leading through the content of the visual prompts and offering different interpretations.

The focus group concluded after all the photographs had been discussed and participants were asked if they wished to add anything that they felt was relevant. All focus groups ended with the researcher thanking all the respondents for contributing to the study. On completion of the

focus group, the audio recorder was turned off. A number of limited notes were taken during the focus groups. Upon completion of each focus group the researcher immediately made a series of notes in order to detail periods of intense or heated discussion, the body language of the participants and also their reaction to the questions or photographs used. These post focus group notes added to the strength of evidence supporting conclusions (McBride 2016). Participants generally stayed in the room for several minutes before departing and many expressed enthusiasm for the study and felt their participation was worthwhile. As predicted by Corbin and Strauss (2015), informants often volunteered extra information once the audio recorder had been switched off. The participants also used this time to ask the researcher questions about the Irish language or why the researcher had become interested in investigating the situation in Catalonia. All six of the focus groups recordings were later transcribed.

#### **4.7.2 Narrative interviews**

Upon completion of the focus groups, participants were reminded of the opportunity to take part in the narrative interview at a later date and they were provided with the researcher’s email address and phone number. If they wished to proceed to the second stage of the data collection procedure (the narrative interview) they were asked to contact the researcher. This was done to give the potential interviewees time to reflect and think about whether they would like to participate in the research further. Respondents for the narrative interviews were self-selected insofar as they decided whether they wanted to volunteer to be interviewed. Interviews were usually arranged one week beforehand. From the thirty-six focus group participants, ten respondents agreed to be interviewed. The narrative interviews were conducted between April 2017 and July 2017. The respondents and the organisation they were affiliated with are listed in Table 4.2 below (pseudonyms were employed).

**Table 4.2:** Individual Profiles.

<b><u>Name</u></b>	<b><u>Profile</u></b>
<u>Pere (ADAC)</u> <u>(R1)</u>	Pere was 62 years old and recently retired. He had spent most of his life working in a bank. He held a senior position in ADAC. His father was from Madrid and his mother was from Murcia. Pere had been born and raised in Barcelona and he spoke Spanish in school and at home

	<p>when he was young. It was not until he started work at the age of 16 that he started to come into contact with Catalan. Through <i>ADAC</i> Pere was engaged in promoting the Catalan language. He had been involved with <i>ADAC</i> for the last 10 years. Pere viewed the Catalan language as being a fundamental component of Catalan identity and also of the independence movement.</p>
<p><u>Aleix (ADAC)</u> <u>(R2)</u></p>	<p>Aleix held a senior position in <i>ADAC</i>. In his early sixties, he had lived his entire life in Girona and had been involved with <i>ADAC</i> since its inception (1981). His primary education had been in Spanish but he stressed that outside of the classroom environment he had always spoken Catalan with friends or family members. He claimed that his early experience in the school system had shaped his views and thoughts on the Catalan and Spanish languages and Catalan independence. Aleix was strongly in favour of Catalan independence and saw the 2017 referendum as a turning point in the independence process.</p>
<p><u>Meritxell (CUP)</u> <u>(R3)</u></p>	<p>Meritxell was 52 years old and had lived all of her life in Girona. She had joined <i>CUP</i> three years previously. At the time of the interview, she was unemployed. She had received all of her education in Catalan and as a result, she claimed to be one of the few people of a similar age that could speak and write in Catalan to a reasonable standard. A member of <i>Súmate</i> also, Meritxell felt that for the independence campaign to succeed it was vital that Spanish speakers be incorporated into the process. Meritxell was also an active member of other pro-independence and civic associations in Girona.</p>
<p><u>Neus</u> <u>(CUP)</u> <u>(R4)</u></p>	<p>Neus was 55 years old and lived in one of the suburbs of Girona. Originally from a town outside of Barcelona, she had spoken Catalan all of her life. She was only exposed to Spanish once immigrants from within Spain arrived in her hometown. She studied Catalan Philology for five years in the University of Barcelona. She was a secondary</p>

	<p>school Catalan teacher and she also worked in the University of Girona in the education department. She had been a member of <i>CUP</i> for several years and had run in the municipal election for the party a number of years previously.</p>
<p><u>Pau</u> (<u>Ateneu 24 de Juny</u>) (R5)</p>	<p>Pau, an engineer, was 48 years old and from a town next to Girona. He came from a Catalan speaking town and family. His first contact with Spanish was in the school system. As a teenager, he mixed with Spanish speakers and Catalan speakers but he claimed that the majority of his daily interactions were in Catalan. As an older adult, he stated that he rarely spoke in Spanish. Pau also stated that Catalan should be the only official language in Catalonia. He was one of the founding members of <i>Ateneu 24 de Juny</i>.</p>
<p><u>Josep (Ateneu 24 de Juny)</u> (R6)</p>	<p>Josep was 49 years old and was born in a small town just outside of Girona. He had moved to Girona in his early twenties to study. At the time of the interview, he was living in the city centre. A founding member of <i>Ateneu 24 de Juny</i>, he considered himself to have always been an independentist even at a time when the idea of Catalan independence was not as prominent. For Josep, the Catalan language was absolutely central to Catalan independence and identity.</p>
<p><u>Èric (Súmate)</u> (R7)</p>	<p>Èric was a retired Spanish teacher in his early sixties. Originally from Barcelona, he had worked in the Canary Islands for most of his adult life. Since retiring he had been very active in <i>Súmate</i> and acted as the spokesman for the organisations Girona branch. Èric felt that the Catalan language was essential for the maintenance of Catalan identity. Moreover, it was clear from the interview that Èric felt his views on the Catalan language and Catalan independence had been shaped by the Franco dictatorship.</p>

<p><u>Alba</u> (ANC) (R8)</p>	<p>Alba was in her late forties and was originally from a large town on the Costa Brava coastline. She had been living and working in Girona for a number of years and lived in the city centre. Alba had been actively involved with <i>Assemblea Nacional Catalana</i> (ANC) for a number of years. Alba's education had been in Spanish and she had spoken Catalan at home with family and friends. She viewed the Catalan language as being a core component of Catalan identity.</p>
<p><u>Flor</u> (ANC) (R9)</p>	<p>Flor was 52 years old and had been involved with <i>ANC</i> since it was established in Girona. She had been living in Girona for most of her life. At the time of the interview, she held a senior position in <i>ANC</i>. She had spoken Catalan her entire life but when she was in school Catalan was prohibited and speaking it was seen as a rebellious act. At times, she mentioned that she had felt inferior to others because she was not proficient in Spanish when she was younger</p>
<p><u>Pol</u> (ERC) (R10)</p>	<p>Pol was 26 years old and lived in the centre of Girona. He had studied political science in University and had been living in Girona for six years. He was originally from a coastal town near the border with France. Pol had spoken Catalan for most of his life but because of the high number of immigrants living in his hometown, he often spoke Spanish with his friends. He also spoke English as he had learned it in school.</p>

In the information provided above, the code *R1* equates to narrative interview 'respondent 1', and the code *R2* to narrative interview 'respondent 2' etc. A full coding system for the data can be found in section 5.1. The narrative interviews were held in a variety of different locations including cafés, common rooms and offices. This ensured a degree of privacy and minimal interruptions. The interviews usually took place in the late evening during weekdays. The duration of the narrative interviews was on average between fifty and seventy minutes. Due to time constraints, two interviews lasted between twenty-three and twenty-eight minutes. All of the sessions consisted of one narrative interview per respondent.

Before each interview, the informant was reminded of the aims and objectives of the research and they were then provided with an information sheet detailing the procedure. Informed consent was also sought before the interview commenced (see Appendices D and F). Interviewees were reminded that the interview would last approximately one hour (though it may be paused for breaks) and that the interview would be audio-recorded. As with the focus groups, participants were reminded that their involvement was completely voluntary and that they could withdraw from the research at any time without question. Once these issues had been discussed and informed consent had been obtained the audio recorder was placed in an unobtrusive location and the interview commenced. Through prior communication by phone or email, the informant was asked which language they would like the interview to be conducted in. All but one of the interviews were conducted in Catalan (the interview with Pol was conducted in English).

A single, lightly structured approach to narrative interviewing was adopted for this investigation (Riessman 2008). The aim of the narrative interview was to make them as much like conversations as possible to permit the informant to tell their own story in a flexible, unconstrained manner. A degree of improvisation was required in all the narrative interviews conducted. To improvise effectively the interviewer varied the question order to fit the flow of the conversation; let the interview seem to go off track and build rapport by sharing similar or different experiences (Arksey and Knight 1999). Whenever an interesting issue not included on the topic list came up but was deemed particularly relevant for the purposes of the study, it was pursued by probing the matter further. Occasionally, the conversation went off topic and the interviewees had to be gently steered back onto the subject.

The discussions started by asking general questions about the participants' experiences of being a member of an independence organisation, their opinion on the focus group they participated in and their views on the Catalan and Spanish languages. Questions about their views on the Catalan independence movement followed. After covering these more personal life experiences, the discussion moved on to questions concerning the participants' motivations for joining an independence organisation. To elicit as much data as possible the researcher 'actively listened' to the flow of the story and only asked questions that encouraged the interlocutor to expand and enrich their story whilst minimising the extent to which the direction taken was influenced by the interviewer (Kvale 2007). Employing this approach gave the interviewees,

“(…) considerable latitude to pursue a range of topics [and provided the participant with] a chance to shape the content of the interview” (Bogdan and Biklen 2007, p. 3).

The preceding focus groups allowed the researcher to get to know the informants, build trust and establish an element of rapport. This greatly assisted the flow and openness of the narrative interviews and overall there was little difficulty in getting the interviewees to talk. Through asking additional questions the researcher sought to reassure the interlocutor that he/she was being understood, a particularly salient point given the fact that the researcher was a non-native in the language being used (Catalan) in all but one of the interviews.

As previously mentioned (see section 4.6.1), with narrative interviews the researcher and interviewee co-construct the stories being told. This co-construction or co-production of the data was particularly evident in the sections of the interviews when the interviewee asked the researcher to share his own opinions on the events in Catalonia, how it was being portrayed in the media outside of Spain or how it was similar and/or different to the situation in Ireland in terms of language or politics. Instead of being viewed as a negative the sharing of the researchers’ experiences and opinions with the research informants may have helped to redress some of the power differentials inherent in the research enterprise (Elliot 2005).

The interview concluded with an opportunity for the participant to add anything that they felt was relevant. All interviews ended with the researcher’s thanks to the interviewees for agreeing to contribute to the study. On completion of the interview, the audio-recorder was turned off and the respondent was given the opportunity to reflect on how it had felt to participate in the research. Several respondents made the point that the interview presented an opportunity to discuss issues of importance to them with someone from outside their immediate circle. Directly after the interview, the researcher reflected on the interview process and made detailed notes, which were incorporated into the data analysis.

## **4.8 Pilot Study**

The methodology employed in this study required a degree of fine-tuning to ensure that the fieldwork would be as effective as possible. This section briefly discusses the pilot studies that were conducted. The aim of conducting a pilot focus group and narrative interview was to produce a final fieldwork methodology that would accurately and concisely address the

research questions at hand. Any elements within both pilot studies that were found to be extraneous or unsuccessful were removed, resulting in a refined and concise methodology.

A pilot study is a small-scale methodological test that is conducted to ensure that methods or ideas work in practice (Jariath *et al.* 2000; van Teijlingen *et al.* 2001; Kim 2011). Pilot studies in qualitative research can help to test and refine aspects of a final study, such as its overall design, fieldwork procedures or data collection instruments. Conducting a pilot study provides an opportunity for the researcher to test, adjust and revise the main study (Kim 2011; Yin 2016). From this point of view, piloting in qualitative studies can assist in expanding or narrowing their proposed research topics and provide an insight into the time needed for each methodological tool employed (Williams *et al.* 2008).

### **4.8.1 Focus Group**

With reference to focus groups, Breen (2006) stresses that conducting a pilot can prove to be extremely useful and can dramatically improve the data collection process. A pilot can be used to collect comments and feedback on the appropriateness of the questions asked, revise the question structure and decide whether more needs to be included or excluded (Breen 2006). Harper (2002) adds that it is important that a pilot study is conducted when using photographs to elicit responses from research participants. Considering this, a pilot focus group was conducted. The pilot focus group was used to test the specific questions asked and photographs used. It also allowed the testing of the recording equipment. The visual prompts used in the study were reviewed by a selection of the target audience or experts in the field to ensure that they were unambiguous and prompted discussion. The pilot focus group comprised of four individuals.

The idea of conducting a pilot study among the population chosen for the actual study, (members of independence organisations) was not pursued when it was realised how difficult it was to recruit a sufficient number of individuals from the same independence organisation in Girona for a pilot focus group (logistical, timetable issues etc.). It was therefore judged that as many respondents as possible should be saved for the main study. Given this, a pilot focus group was conducted with four volunteers from a civic centre located in the centre of Girona (*Centre Cívic Barri Vell*). The *Centre Cívic Barri Vell* was contacted through email and the pilot focus group was conducted in the weeks that followed the initial contact. Although, not exclusively an independence organisation the *Centre Cívic Barri Vell* did have an

independence ethos and frequently held talks and presentations on the issue of Catalan independence. Adding to this, during the pilot focus group the four volunteers (3 male; 1 female), discussed how at various times they had joined independence demonstrations in the past. As such, the volunteers recruited from the *Centre Cívic Barri Vell* in Girona were representative of this investigations target group as they had knowledge of the socio-political and socio-cultural situation in Girona at the time of the data collection. In addition to fitting the criteria for this study, the *Centre Cívic Barri Vell* was approached as it was felt that its members would be more capable of critically commenting on the interview schedule and the visual probes employed in the focus group.

The pilot focus group revealed that the respondents were comfortable in the group and with the topics, enjoyed the discussion and they offered extended explanations. Furthermore, the pilot revealed that the topics were well sequenced and that the discussion took between sixty and seventy minutes. The feedback from the pilot focus group also revealed that the informants felt that two of the photographs used were too similar to the others and added little to the discussion. Considering this, these two images were removed from the set of photographs used (see Appendix H).

#### **4.8.2 Narrative Interview**

It is also advantageous to conduct a pilot study when using interviews as a data collection tool in qualitative research (Kim 2011; Bryman 2016). This is because a pilot study permits for finalising the sequence and wording of the questions and probes that will be used. The pilot can also serve as training and allow for the researcher to come to grips with the practical elements of research (Crabtree and Miller 1999; Seidman 2013). Considering this, a pilot narrative interview was conducted for this research. The pilot was conducted to test the method in terms of the specific interview questions and probes used and the overall time required. The pilot was used to generate feedback on the chosen method of eliciting narratives. This feedback helped to improve the design of the data collection instrument. The pilot narrative interview was conducted with one individual.

In line with the overall design of this study, the pilot narrative interview was conducted with a volunteer from the pilot focus group (see section 4.8.1). Following the completion of the pilot focus group, the researcher informed the volunteers of the opportunity to take part in the pilot narrative interview. As such, they were provided with the email address and phone number of

the researcher. One pilot group volunteer agreed to take part in the narrative interview. Interestingly, this focus group volunteer had also contributed to *Súmame* campaigns in various communities in Girona and further afield. Thus, this individual was knowledgeable about the situation in Catalonia at the time of data collection and as such fit the criteria for the research. The pilot found that the questions and probes used were suitable and minimal revision to the questions was required. The revision required was related to the ordering of the topics of discussion. As previously stated (see section 4.7.2), where possible informants were asked the same questions in the same order. The pilot narrative interview revealed that this was not always feasible as the respondent often discussed subjects not included on the list of topics but were particularly relevant for the purposes of the study. Therefore, the initial list of probes and prompts was expanded to guide the conversation and the sequencing of the discussion topics became more flexible.

## **4.9 Ethical Considerations**

This section explores the ethical aspects of the research. In any social research project, there are formal ethical procedures and review processes (Hammersley and Traianou 2012; Lahman 2017). Cohen *et al.* (2018) note that ethical issues are an important consideration from the beginning of the process when researching human participants. They note that whatever the specific nature of the research project, social researchers must consider the effects of the research on informants, and to act in such a way as to preserve their dignity as human beings (Cohen *et al.* 2018). Consideration of ethical issues is an important part of any discussion of sociolinguistic fieldwork methods (Tagliamonte 2006; Milroy and Gordon 2008; Schilling 2013). Informants in this study were assured that their contributions would be treated with the utmost confidentiality and they would remain anonymous. These considerations are examined in the following section.

### **4.9.1 Informed Consent**

The issue of informed consent has been a topic of continuous debate among qualitative researchers and it remains as one of the fundamental elements of ethical research (Edwards and Mauthner 2002; Flick 2007; Milroy and Gordon 2008). Alldred and Gillies (2012) believe that “(...) informed consent involves the idea that good practice in research means providing ‘adequate’ information about the study” (Alldred and Gillies 2012, p. 150). Informed consent has also been described by Polit and Beck (2017) as a process whereby, respondents voluntarily agree to participate in the research after being given sufficient information regarding the investigation in a way that is accessible and easily understood. As Boeije (2010) summarises, informed consent can be understood as the researchers’:

(...) obligation to outline fully the nature of the data collection and the purpose for which the data will be used to the people or the community being studied in a style and language that they can understand.

(Boeije 2010, p. 45)

It is crucial that informed consent is obtained from informants before the beginning of the research process (Guest *et al.* 2013). Miller and Bell (2012) add that obtaining ‘informed consent’ at the start of a project should not mean that it does not have to be thought about again.

Taking this into consideration, informed consent was not only sought at the beginning of the research but also at every stage throughout the data collection process (Riessman 2005; Miller and Boulton 2007; Murphy and Dingwall 2007). As described above, each participant who agreed to contribute to the focus groups and narrative interviews were asked to read an information sheet. After reading the information sheet the research participants were then asked to read and then sign a consent form if they were willing to take part in the research.

### **4.9.2 Confidentiality**

The issue of confidentiality is important in the social sciences (de Vaus 2014). In this study, measures were taken to ensure that the identity of the respondents was concealed and that their identities would not be disclosed to anyone (Marvasti 2004; Israel and Hay 2006). As stated above, every participant signed a consent form for both the focus groups and the narrative interview, which stated the aims of the research and guaranteed the anonymity and confidentiality of the informant.

Some aspects of ethics are unique to focus groups (Carey and Asbury 2012). For instance, confidentiality cannot be guaranteed when conducting focus groups as participants may disregard the confidentiality of the focus group and divulge what was discussed with others (Willis *et al.* 2009; Stewart and Shamdasani 2015). Liamputtong (2011) notes that the researcher should ask the participants to respect the confidentiality of all the group members and not to repeat what is said outside the group. In addition, issues relating to confidentiality in focus groups should be clearly specified in the consent form (Stewart and Shamdasani 2015). Considering the above, potential participants were made aware of these issues relating to confidentiality before agreeing to join the focus groups. A written agreement was sought in the consent form requesting that participants did not speak of the content of the focus groups with anyone else (see Appendix E).

The concern with protecting confidentiality also extends to the storage of data. Hammersley and Traianou (2012) and Ryen (2016) stress the importance of confidentiality of records, data, information, fieldnotes etc. gathered during the data collection process to ensure that individual participants are not identifiable. Considering this, the participants of both the focus group and the narrative interview were assured that nobody but the investigator would have access to the data. The original recordings and the anonymised transcripts were encrypted and stored securely in a locked filing cabinet. Transcribed material was imported into NVivo (version 11)

on a password-protected computer, and the hard copies of the transcriptions were destroyed once they had been used in the analysis process.

### **4.9.3 Anonymity**

Taking measures to ensure the anonymity of respondents was particularly important. Tagliamonte (2012) maintains that when individuals agree to have a conversation with a sociolinguist they are usually informed that only the researcher will have access to the data and that they are guaranteed complete anonymity. To guarantee anonymity a number of steps were taken.

Care was taken to ensure that the anonymity of the participants was protected not only in all published materials but also during the storage of data (Jones 2014). This was accomplished by separating all personal details from transcripts and other materials (Fade and Swift 2011). The real names of the participants were replaced with pseudonyms in the transcribed data and in any references to the recordings. References to place names, social background, age and other characteristics that could identify participants, as well as other identifying material that was accidentally or intentionally mentioned while recording was omitted or was anonymised in the transcripts. Identifying material (consent forms, codes etc.) detailing the real names of the participants were stored separate from the anonymised data and destroyed after completion of the project.

## **4.10 Data Analysis**

Dörnyei (2007) and Merriam (2009) state that there a number of procedures that can be used to organise and analyse qualitative data. In this study, a thematic analysis of the data was conducted, as it represents a well-established method of data analysis in qualitative research (Luborsky 1994; Boyatzis 1998; King 2004; Nowell *et al.* 2017). Thematic analysis, or thematic narrative analysis (Riessman 2008), is a theoretically flexible approach which has the potential to produce a rich, detailed and complex account of the data (Braun and Clarke 2006; Clarke and Braun 2013). Thematic analysis provides a means of identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) that are important or interesting and these themes can be used to address the research question (Braun and Clarke 2006; Clarke and Braun 2013).

Thematic analysis is flexible enough to provide deep and detailed descriptive accounts of complex data, while at the same time providing room for interpretation (Ryan and Bernard 2000; Nowell *et al.* 2017). This method of analysing the data was well suited to the current investigation of the language attitudes of respondents against the backdrop of the Catalan secessionist process. Data obtained from the focus groups and narrative interviews were audio taped, translated, transcribed and analysed using this approach. There are many ways to approach thematic analysis (see e.g., Boyatzis 1998; Alhojailan 2012; Javadi and Zarea 2016). In this investigation, the six-stage guide to thematic analysis was adhered to (Braun and Clarke 2006; Clarke and Braun 2013). These stages were; familiarising yourself with your data; generating initial codes; searching for themes; reviewing themes; defining and naming themes; producing the report. All these stages were used in this study to answer the research questions. All data were imported into NVivo and analysed thematically. NVivo served as a useful tool for managing the large volume of data. Using NVivo, codes where created, re-created, abandoned, re-named and organised into categories (Richards 2015).

Once all the focus groups and narrative interviews were transcribed and translated the researcher began the *familiarisation process* through reading and re-reading each transcript multiple times. Early thoughts were summarised to fully understand what the participants were trying to say. The in-depth familiarisation process assisted in identifying certain themes, codes, categories and also in eliminating data that were not relevant to the research questions (Adams *et al.* 2007). The *familiarisation process* provided an opportunity to begin the second stage of the data analysis, namely, *generating initial codes*. Miles *et al.* (2014) state that codes are the

tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study. This stage of identifying initial codes allowed patterns of meaning to emerge (Tuckett 2005). In addition to providing a detailed description, every code included an inclusion and exclusion criteria, creating a catalogue of codes (Crabtree and Miller 1999).

The next step of the data analysis, *searching for themes*, involved bringing together the most important and related codes (Richards 2015; Robson and McCartan 2016). To collate these codes into broader themes and relationships, similarities between codes needed to be identified. This stage involved grouping the codes together into a framework of themes that made sense for further data analysis (Dörnyei 2007). These themes were developed to identify patterns, discover relationships and make interpretations (Hatch 2002; Bogdan and Biklen 2007). The next stage, *reviewing themes*, re-examined the collated data under each code and theme. This was done to ensure that the data gathered from the focus groups and narrative interviews meaningfully identified with each theme. During this process, several changes were made resulting in a more in-depth analysis of the data. Clarke and Braun (2013) add that the fifth step of the data analysis, *defining and naming* themes, involves *naming* or *defining* each of the previously identified themes. These themes represented the central phenomena of this study, shaping the overall ‘story’ of the data. Once the process of coding the data and defining the themes was completed, the next step, *producing the report*, began. The themes identified in the previous steps served as part of a coherent narrative of the dataset. Chapters five and six present the narrative as a storied response to the research questions.

## **4.11 Dependability and Credibility**

Several authors have argued that the concepts of validity and reliability are of central importance in the ‘natural sciences’, but they are not considered appropriate terminology for the determination of ‘quality’ in a qualitative study (Sandelowski 1986; Nyamathi and Shuler 1990; Leininger 1994; Holloway and Galvin 2016). Denscombe (2014) advocates for replacing the terms reliability and validity with ‘dependability’ and ‘credibility’ respectively, in qualitative research. Several procedures were undertaken to ensure the dependability and credibility of the focus groups and narrative interviews.

Generally, focus groups are considered to have a high level of credibility (Nyamathi and Shuler 1990). Nevertheless, there are several strategies that researchers can use to ensure the

dependability and credibility of data gathered from focus groups (Plummer-D'Amato 2008). For example, a detailed description of the research methods and analysis can be provided. In addition, data can be collected using different methods. Consequently, "It is the strategic rigour with which the interconnecting voices of thick description are presented that gives qualitative research and the use of narrative its validity" (Holliday 2009, p. 308). In line with this, the researcher endeavoured to provide rich descriptions of the data from which the conclusions were drawn (Lincoln and Guba 1985). Kidd and Parshall (2000) also claim that the use of the same moderator can increase the dependability of focus groups. The use of the same moderator for all focus groups is advocated for because differences in moderator experience and interviewing style may influence the content of the focus groups. In this study, the researcher conducted all the data collection procedures (see section 4.5).

Questions about dependability, credibility and trustworthiness of narrative interviews remain a 'vexing question' for narrative researchers. Narratives can be read in many ways and are always situated in ever-changing contexts and wider narratives (Riessman 2008). For example, a narrative is rarely an accurate report of social reality, but rather one articulation of an event that seeks to persuade others to see a situation in a similar way (Riessman 2008). In this way, 'verifying the facts' may be less important than, "(...) understanding their meanings for individuals and groups" (Riessman 2008, p. 187). In this respect, Riessman (2008) maintains there are no abstract criteria for validation to fit all projects. More appropriate perhaps is Riessman's (2008) observation that persuasion is the most useful way to demonstrate trustworthiness with narrative interviews. Good narrative research should aim to persuade readers and analytical interpretations should be plausible, reasonable and convincing (Riessman 2008). In more practical terms, Riessman (2008) has also suggested that researchers ground their claims for dependability and credibility by using detailed transcripts or excerpts, being attentive to the narrative form and language, to the contexts of (co)production and being reflexive about positioning. Considering this, the researcher attempted to represent the participants' narratives accurately but recognised difficulties associated with gathering and analysing narrative data.

## **4.12 Conclusion**

The purpose of this chapter was to describe, explain and provide justification for the decisions taken during the research process. This chapter has reflected upon and evaluated the research

process and the methodological framework employed in this sociolinguistic study. While acknowledging the merits and limitations of the different methods available to measure language attitudes, in line with the research questions and objectives of this study, a multi-method qualitative approach was implemented. Having reflected on the methodology and research practice in this chapter, the next two chapters explore the empirical findings about language attitudes in the city of Girona against the backdrop of the Catalan independence movement. Chapter five offers an analysis of the most pertinent data as they relate to the research questions. This is followed by chapter six, which discusses the findings, in relation to the literature discussed in chapter two, in more detail.

## **Chapter Five: Data Analysis**

For me it is very weird, speaking in Spanish with people of my own age. If they don't understand it, I can speak to them in Spanish perfectly, but it makes me feel strange because with all my friends or whoever, I speak in Catalan. (FG SÚ F3)

### **5.1 Introduction**

The previous chapters have served to introduce the theoretical and conceptual frameworks, present the sociolinguistic context of Catalonia, critically review previous studies as well as present the methodology employed to collect the data for this investigation. The objective of adopting a methodological approach that combined focus groups and narrative interviews was to provide a greater range of insight and contextual specification into the language attitudes under investigation and to add to the understanding of how and when language served *as-a-resource* and/or *as-a-problem* (Ruiz 1984, 2010). Given that an ideology is a rope of intertwined attitudes and related fibres (Banaji and Heiphetz 2010), many of the comments below were located on the previously mentioned attitude-ideology continuum (Austin and Sallabank 2014) (see section 2.3.2.1). In this respect, the current study recognises that some of the comments presented below may have represented a single strand of the larger 'ideological rope', whereas other comments closely represented a collection of intertwined attitudinal fibres, closely resembling ideologies.

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the respondents' language attitudes with a view to exploring how language acted *as-a-resource* and/or *as-a-problem* for the research participants (Ruiz 1984, 2010). The interface between the informants' language attitudes and their views on Catalan independence were also examined. The data discussed are the result of many centuries of changing fortunes for both Catalan and Spanish in Catalonia. In addition, language attitudes are also sensitive to local conditions and changes in the socio-political milieu (see e.g., St. Clair 1982; Giles and Pierson 1988; Woolard and Gahng 1990; Baker 1992; Dorian 1993; Giles and Billings 2004; Lippi-Green 2012; Hawkey 2018). The recent developments in the region, offered an excellent opportunity to examine the changing roles of Catalan and Spanish in the region (see chapter three). As such, the data for this study were gathered in the seven months (March 2017-August 2017) before the controversial self-determination referendum on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 2017. A full outline of the organisations who contributed to

the focus groups and the individuals who participated in the narrative interviews can be found in section 4.7.1 and section 4.7.2 respectively.

As has been discussed in chapter four, the organisations and individuals that contributed to this research should be understood as part of a wider, multi-layered and heterogenous socio-political and socio-cultural community in Catalonia. Within this context boundaries at both individual and group level are defined by a shared history, culture and sociolinguistic background. However, this is not to say that the views of the informants were homogenous in nature. Rather, the respondents demonstrated a wide variety of opinions, shaped by individual histories and sociolinguistic backgrounds (Lytra 2016) (see section 4.7.2). In line with a social constructionist approach (Burr 2003; Soukup 2012) (see section 4.1), the current study views identities as socially constructed, fluid, dynamic and historically, contextually and discursively produced through language (Wodak *et al.* 2009). In this respect, social identity is multi-dimensional, intersecting in many different ways and a continuous process shaped by people's own unique background and history (Benwell and Stokoe 2006). The following chapter aims to provide a description of the most common themes to emerge from the data analysis while at the same time showing the diversity of attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish in 21<sup>st</sup> century Catalonia as expressed by those who contributed to this research.

To maintain the focus of the study, the data are discussed in the order of the research questions as stated below. Many of the findings were inevitably interwoven and a degree of overlap was unavoidable in the discussion. The research questions were as follows:

- What can an examination of the language attitudes (toward Catalan and Spanish) of members of independence organisations contribute to our understanding of sociolinguistic changes in minority language ideologies in a globalised world?
- What can an examination of the language attitudes (toward Catalan and Spanish) of members of independence organisations contribute to our understanding of sociolinguistic change in the calls for independence in 21<sup>st</sup> century Catalonia?

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section explores the participants' attitudes towards the Catalan language. The second section examines the respondents' attitudes toward

the Spanish language. The third section reports on attitudes toward code-switching and the everyday language use of the interviewees. In the final section, the relationship between the respondents' language attitudes and their views on Catalan independence is then discussed.

For clarity, a coding scheme was developed for the collected data (see Table 5.1 below). This was done in the following way: Data Collection Procedure-Organisation-Respondent Number-Sex. For the focus groups for example:

FG AD M1- Focus Group *ADAC* Male 1

FG CU F1- Focus Group *CUP* Female 1

Additionally, the narrative interviews were coded in the following manner:

NI AD R1- Narrative Interview *ADAC* Respondent 1

NI CU R2- Narrative Interview *CUP* Respondent 2

**Table 5.1:** Focus group and narrative interview coding system.

<u>Abbreviation</u>	<u>Description</u>
<b>M1, F1 etc. (Focus Groups only)</b>	M1 = Male one F1 = Female one etc.
<b>R1, R2 etc. (Narrative Interviews only)</b>	R1 = Respondent one R2 = Respondent two etc.
<b>FG</b>	Focus Group
<b>NI</b>	Narrative Interview
<b>Organisation</b>	AD = ADAC ER = ERC CU = CUP AT24 = Ateneu 24 de Juny AN = ANC SÚ = Súmate

## **5.2 Attitudes toward Catalan**

This section aims to address the first research question:

- What can an examination of the language attitudes (toward Catalan and Spanish) of members of independence organisations contribute to our understanding of sociolinguistic changes in minority language ideologies in a globalised world?

During the data collection procedures, Catalan provoked much more passionate debate than Spanish. This was unsurprising, given the sensitivities about the role of the language at the time of data collection. It was evident from the data that the overwhelming majority of respondents who participated in this study maintained positive attitudes toward the Catalan language and it was frequently framed *as-a-resource* for a number of different reasons. Positive attitudes toward Catalan came from different perspectives. Some informants regarded Catalan as an important component of their self-identity and also as a fundamental marker of difference between Spain and Catalonia. Some saw the language as an important aspect of Catalan culture while others argued that Catalan was a language that required continuous defending. These constructions of the language are explored in the following sections.

### **5.2.1 Catalan Identity**

For many of the respondents, the Catalan language was viewed as the epitome of Catalan identity. Interviewees frequently stated that the language played a significant role in their feeling of being Catalan. For example:

Catalan is important because it is a symbol of identity and I have to protect it and continue with it. If I had a child, I don't have one, I would speak Catalan to him or her. And I would like them to learn Spanish and Catalan also, for a sense of continuity, to preserve the language. On top of that, it is a small language. I think Spanish is the third most spoken language in the world. (NI SÚ R7)

In the excerpt above, Catalan had a symbolic status as a means of transmitting Catalan cultural heritage to the next generation. The comments above also reflect Ruiz's (1984, 2010) *language-as-a-resource* perspective, where, "(...) language is a resource to be managed,

developed and conserved” (Ruiz 1984, p. 28). In a similar vein, another respondent discussed the importance of the language in shaping what it meant to be Catalan:

Both language and culture (...) without language Catalonia wouldn't be (...) it's like England without the English language [laughs]. Of course, in Catalonia, there is the Catalan language. You can feel Catalan or you can feel at ease living here even if you have come from another place and use Spanish with your family for example. But the core of Catalan identity is the Catalan language. (NI AN R9)

The respondent above suggests that the language goes far beyond communicative purposes. Rather the Catalan language serves as a symbolic and fundamental pillar of Catalan identity, where the language acts as an identifying element of the nation. It is interesting to note the informant above explains how the Catalan language is the ‘core’ of Catalan identity, which implies a strong essentialist understanding of language as a marker of a national identity (Mar-Molinero 2000). Moreover, to varying degrees, the above comments index a naturalised Catalan identity, reflecting the concept of authenticity as described by Woolard (2016) whereby, the value of a language and its relationship to a particular community is deeply rooted in a given social and geographic territory (see section 6.2.1 for more).

In contrast to the previous excerpts and perhaps mirroring elements of the glocalisation of language (see section 2.2.2), instead of situating the Catalan language as a core component of Catalan identity, one informant maintained that Catalan society should try and move away from such a conceptualisation and create a society based on civic ideals rather than just language:

I think that Catalonia is so deeply rooted in Catalan, like Spain is with Spanish, but it is clear that Catalan is, for a lot of people, a popular symbol of the country, in a certain way. So, I agree with this, that this is the case, but I also agree that we should try to avoid this, because like I mentioned before, Catalonia should be a country shaped by its people that want to share a citizenship based more on civic ideals than just a shared language, because, if this is not the case, Catalonia will become intrinsically exclusive. (FG ER M1)

In the excerpt below, it is clear that the language remains as a symbol of Catalan identity or ‘*Catalanitat*’ (the quality of being Catalan or identifying with Catalan values). However, the informant also stressed the importance of not discriminating against those who do not speak the language.

Yes, I believe that it [Catalan] is obviously a fundamental part of our identity and I think that in this sense it must be preserved and must be defended like any other language, but it cannot be exclusionary. Also, we cannot discriminate against certain Catalans because they don't speak Catalan, or don't speak it so well. Yes, we have taken the path where Catalan is used by almost everyone, so it's, even more so, becoming an increasingly widespread and a stronger language. (FG ER M2)

To summarise, the data indicated, that for some, the Catalan language remained a prominent symbol of what it meant to be Catalan, while for others this had shifted in recent years becoming a language of civic participation (see section 6.2.1 for more). Interestingly, the language had also been reformulated in terms of its role in the Catalan sovereignty process (see section 6.5).

### **5.2.1.1 Catalan: Identity Relations**

Positive attitudes toward Catalan were evident when the research participants discussed the role of the language in constructing Catalonia as a distinctly different entity from Spain. Much of the discussion relating to how Catalonia was different from Spain was initiated when Figure 5.1 below was introduced into the focus groups.

**Figure 5.1:** Photograph, 'Girona does not have a Prince or King' (September 2016).



When talking about the differences between Spain and Catalonia, one informant stated the following:

It's central [Catalan]. I have never felt nor have I ever heard of a racial difference. It is not a racial issue, it is not a religious issue, we are Catholics, the French are Catholics, the Spaniards are Catholics. It is not a question of superiority or

inferiority, no. It is a question centred on the language. It's like the distinguishing fact. (NI SÚ R7)

In the excerpt above, the Catalan language served as a means to distinguish Catalonia from Spain. The following informant adds to this conceptualisation of the language, stating that Catalan was the main marker of difference between Spaniards and Catalans.

Yeah man, it [Catalan] is the absolute differential factor. Completely, absolutely. When you see that in Catalonia the most watched television station is TV3, that the two radio stations that are most listened to in Catalonia are in Catalan, that Catalan press is increasingly being read by other people (...) obviously all this helps. This is the most differential characteristic. We have to fight tooth and nail because the same thing that happened before could happen again when the language was lost through force. But yes, totally, totally, the language is fundamental. (NI AT24 R6)

The informant above stressed the importance of Catalan in distinguishing Catalonia from Spain as it assisted in drawing a symbolic boundary between Catalans and 'the other', which in this case was Spain and Spanish culture. Informants also stated that Catalan not only served as a marker of difference between Catalonia and Spain but it also acted as a facilitator of social cohesion in a multilingual and increasingly heterogeneous Catalonia. For example:

Catalan is a symbol. It's what gives us our identity and makes us unique. It unites us and distinguishes us from others. I consider it the most basic element, the soul of our nation. (FG AN M1)

Another informant stated:

Yes, it's [Catalan] essential. It's the essence. Catalonia wouldn't exist as a nation if it wasn't for the Catalan language. It's what unites and what has united us against the invader and the so-called enemy. It's a feeling. (NI AN R9)

The data indicated that Catalan was constructed as a unifying element in Catalonia, one that served to bind together a heterogeneous society. The above excerpt reflects elements of Moriarty's (2015) claim that "Under globalization what is local and distinctive is gaining new value as the opposite to what is global and ubiquitous" (Moriarty 2015, pp. 48-49). In another excerpt, the role of Catalan in bringing people together in a sense of community and acting as a unique marker of difference is again emphasised.

It's what one feels. It's something you have so deep inside yourself that just for the fact of speaking Catalan in a time that you mightn't have had much affinity with other people or you might have not met them if it wasn't because the language brought us together. I don't know how to explain it. It's part of an emotion. (NI AN R9)

Adding to this conceptualisation of Catalan, another informant voiced her pride that Catalan now acted as a link between people of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds in the region.

I think that the language has always been and will simply continue to be a distinguishing characteristic of Catalonia as a country. The Catalan language is a very important part of our culture, it's a means of communication and cohesion. Therefore, we need to defend it. It is a global wealth that needs to be preserved. (FG CU F2)

Reflecting Ruiz's (1984, 2010) *language-as-a-resource* orientation, overall there were positive evaluations of the Catalan language as it was constructed as a mechanism for social cohesion in a multicultural and multilingual environment. Within this framework, Catalan served *as-a-resource* for identity formation and group cohesion (Ruiz 1984, 2010; Hornberger 1990a, b, 2002; Bale 2016).

### **5.2.2 Language and Culture**

Languages are typically rooted in 'pride' discourses, that is, valuing language as a symbol of cultural identity where languages can become a source of pleasure or pride (Crystal 2010; Urla 2012b). Previous research indicates that studying language attitudes is a way to tap into how language is viewed as a proxy for attitudes toward culture and society (Baker 1992; Choi 2003). Considering this, when speaking about the wider cultural heritage of Catalonia, the Catalan language was frequently discussed during the data collection procedures and this discourse was frequently framed against a backdrop of historical repression. Interviewees stressed that the language was inseparable from Catalan culture. As one participant commented:

To me it [speaking Catalan] means pride! I already felt this way when I was a child and they asked me to speak Spanish in school. I was proud to have been born here,

to be Catalan. I always felt lucky for having been born here! It is how I have always felt! (FG AN F1)

It is evident from the comment above that Catalan was framed, in Ruiz's (1984, 2010) conceptualisation as a cultural resource, as it aided in the development of a strong sense of identity. In addition, the language was seen as resistant to political repression and a marker of inalienable identity. The excerpt below shows the importance of the language to wider Catalan culture:

It's our own language. It has the role any other language has in any other place. Unfortunately, it doesn't have the role that it should because it's underused. But I think that right now it has an extremely important role. It's the basis of the culture. It's the core of our culture. What I mean is that culture is based on a language. (NI AD R1)

When discussing the role of the language in the construction of wider Catalan culture another participant stated the following:

(...) within culture, the Catalan language is a key factor. There are other expressions of culture, but in this case the Catalan language is the core. So, it is fundamental. In fact, we [ADAC] are quite active defending the Catalan language when it suffers from some form of aggression. (NI AD R2)

The language and the role that it occupied in creating and defending a rich and vibrant culture was a source of pride for many. Such a finding is consistent with Chin and Wigglesworth (2007), who maintain that positive evaluations of a language variety are frequently associated with the continuity of the language and the culture. In this regard, the language was often associated with symbolic representations of 'Catalanness' and the language represented a core component of Catalan heritage and culture. Such a sentiment is evident in the following excerpt:

They have always been linked together. Culture has been made in Catalan. Catalan music has been sung in Catalan. Theatre has been performed in Catalan. The Catalan language is another cultural component. Language is culture. The manner in which there was a push for the Catalan language happened within a cultural sphere. In essence, the entire cultural sphere was reinforced by the language too. So, at a cultural level, it has always been a key factor. (NI AT24 R5)

The comments above echo elements of what Armstrong (1982) labels the ‘linguistic border guard’, where language is often used as a symbol of independence and to mark the creation of boundaries. In this respect, research participants were also keen to stress that Catalonia had its own unique culture and traditions or *cultura pròpia*. Mæhlum (2010) defines ‘tradition’ as “(...) the inherited, local practices that are passed down through the generations” (Mæhlum 2010, p. 29). For the respondent below, the Catalan language was a vital element of a distinct Catalan identity, wider Catalan traditions and a mechanism for diffusing Catalan culture.

I can speak with some authority on this subject because I have always been an independentist. It’s a feeling. We believe here that the independentist feeling is about defending our *cultura pròpia* [own culture], or own language (...) *cultura pròpia* means that, for example, we have deep cultural and linguistic roots. For example, to be a bit more exact, we have our own dance here, *La sardana* [traditional Catalan dance], we have our own traditions, like the *castellers* [human towers], we have our own cuisine, perhaps everywhere has this. And all of this makes us very different from the rest of Spain. The independence movement is based on these differences. (NI AT24 R6)

The informant above evokes a sense of belonging to Catalonia and the use of the metaphor ‘roots’ suggests the notion of a natural, ancient people. Above, Catalonia was imagined as a bastion of Catalan cultural activities, from dance to food, with the language acting as an anchor to local culture, allowing informants to feel intimately connected to Catalonia (Hawkey 2018).

Another participant said:

I wanted to say something, maybe it is true for those who lived during the Franco dictatorship, including myself when I was a child, for example, the word symbol might have had meaning as it was a symbol of resistance and survival of our own culture. Maybe that’s why we really cling onto it. But with time, it’s what Miquel and Oriol were saying, it has become more than a symbol. It is a means of communication and, of course, it’s a link among people with different cultural backgrounds. And Catalonia has been culturally rich for centuries, and the Catalan language is used for this reason, to unite a little bit. (FG CU F2)

The data showed that respondents were overtly proud of the Catalan language and the place it occupied as an intimate part of wider Catalan culture and heritage. In this respect, positive evaluations of the language were closely associated with cultural identification and also with

its role as a marker of difference between Catalonia and the Spanish state. In this regard, Catalan served as an overt and tangible resource (Ruiz 1984, 2010) that could be used to delineate the differences between Catalonia and Spain and to unite an increasingly heterogeneous territory (see section 2.2.1).

### **5.2.2.1 On the Defence**

Positive evaluations of Catalan were also prevalent when the respondents discussed the need to defend the language. Figure 5.2 below, frequently produced debate and discussion in respect to the defence of the Catalan language and culture.

**Figure 5.2:** Photograph, ‘Youth in defence of the land’; Maulets (A now defunct youth independence movement) (November 2016).



Interviewees felt that by speaking Catalan they were actively contributing to the current and future vitality of the language.

Well, in fact, it is because I have realised that it's in danger. My language is in danger, so my attitude is trying, as much as I can, to save it. I love my language. (NI AD R1)

Or as another research participant stated:

We must defend the language as much as possible. And we must not be afraid or embarrassed to speak our language. (NI AT24 R6)

Discussions relating to protecting the language were common during the data collection process. For the participants, the Spanish state did little to support the Catalan language and

they equated this lack of support with a disregard for the regional culture. Consequently, the language needed to be continuously defended. For example:

If we only talk about Catalan, we can say that it's a minority language that's in a state which has a majority language and which clearly supports it more. The Spanish state goes against the Catalan language as it is basically an identity and political sign. They don't let Catalan become a mandatory language. They don't make civil servants learn how to speak it (...) so it's a language that is on the defence. It needs to be a combative language that needs continuous defending and maintenance. We can't lower our guard because they're hitting us hard and we need to be strong in order to defend it [Catalan]. Now we need to get to a stage where it wouldn't be necessary to defend the language because it wouldn't receive any attacks. The current problem is that the Catalan language is under threat, so we need to defend it. This is at a political level. Socially, it has to compete with the Spanish language. Many people communicate in Spanish daily, we need to take care of the Catalan language, so it doesn't disappear. (NI AT24 R5)

The informants above argued that Catalan was under attack from the Spanish state and as a result, the language was in a precarious situation and needed to be protected to ensure its future vitality. In this regard, the language was a vital element of Catalan identity and given the socio-political context of the Catalan situation (see section 3.3), the public needed to remain vigilant and continue to protect the language. When asked about the health of the language, one research participant stated the following:

The thing is that with a very strong language this doesn't matter, but with a weak language it can make it become a minority faster, a language only for a specific sector of the population. If we want everybody to speak Catalan and that our language continues, we need to defend it, help it and take care of it. We need to love our language, so it's kept alive. (NI AN R8)

Below another informant argues that Catalan will always be in a precarious position given its proximity to the Spanish language and he advocated for a policy of positive discrimination whereby structures were put in place to protect and promote Catalan.

Basically, becoming aware of the reality that the Catalan language is the native language of this country and there's a need to use it and especially defend it. This is because the reality is that Catalan is a minority language when compared to Spanish

and if we don't (...) what we need is a form of positive discrimination. If we don't put the tools in place to defend the Catalan language, then, little by little, it will disappear. Mainly because languages that aren't useful disappear. And, of course, undoubtedly, why do you need to speak in Catalan if everywhere inside Spain you can communicate in Spanish? This is the danger. If we don't use the Catalan language and if we don't put the tools in place so that it doesn't diminish, then it will disappear. (NI AD R1)

Interestingly, the two respondents above refer to Catalan as a 'minority' language. This is despite the fact that Catalan remains a language of prestige in the region and aspects of the ethnolinguistic vitality of the language are in a far more favourable situation than is the case with most languages which tend to be thought of as 'minoritised' (Fishman 1991; Atkinson and Moriarty 2012; Soler-Carbonell *et al.* 2016; Atkinson 2018). Nevertheless, as a minority 'nation' with a minority language the prioritisation of one language over another is a common practice, in this case Catalan (Heller 2006). In addition, the concept of authenticity is often reserved for minority languages (Coupland 2012; O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013). This point is examined further below (see section 6.2.1). To summarise, for the research participants the Catalan language required constant protection. In addition, defending the language was a key factor for those who claimed to be independentists.

### **5.3 Attitudes toward Spanish**

The previous section explored the research participants' attitudes toward the Catalan language. This section continues to address the first research question (below), but in this instance with an emphasis on respondents' attitudes toward the Spanish language.

- What can an examination of the language attitudes (toward Catalan and Spanish) of members of independence organisations contribute to our understanding of sociolinguistic changes in minority language ideologies in a globalised world?

Language attitudes are rarely focused on just the language in question itself. Considering this, language attitudes are often connected to larger socio-political, socio-cultural and socio-economic contexts where languages are attributed different meanings and values (Cargile *et al.* 1994; Garrett 2010; Tódor and Dégi 2016). In this investigation, the language attitudes of the

informants were often focused on what the language was associated with or what it represented in the minds of research participants. Many of those who contributed to this study held negative attitudes toward the Spanish language and other related attitudinal items. However, there was also evidence of positive attitudes toward the Spanish language. These issues are examined in the following sections.

### **5.3.1 Spanish: A Resource Orientation**

Many of the informants articulated that they were content to communicate in Spanish. This willingness to communicate in Spanish was most prevalent when it came to language choice in the parental home, where often the informants' parents (or grandparents) were not born in Catalonia and thus elected to communicate in Spanish over Catalan (Tuominen 1999; Barron-Hauwaert 2011). This dynamic reflected the reality of Catalonia's long history of inward migration (see section 3.2.2). Talking about this issue, one informant said the following:

Me, in my house, among themselves my parents speak Spanish. My mother is from Malaga and my father was born in Catalonia, and I speak Catalan with them. For example, my older sister, there is ten years between us, she speaks to them in Spanish. And you can be at a table and when they are speaking, my parents, they speak Spanish, when they talk to me or my middle sister they speak in Catalan and when they talk to my older sister they speak in Spanish. But everyone speaks how they want, it's very natural (FG AT24 F1)

Research participants viewed Spanish as a beneficial language. This was because it was perceived as a stronger language in terms of the number of speakers globally and learning the language had the potential to provide more opportunities for speakers. This finding aligns with previous research that found in the bilingual context of Catalonia, the most common *lingua franca* between the local Catalan community and the international community is Spanish (Llurda 2013; Newman *et al.* 2013). In this regard, if an individual was new to Catalonia it was perhaps more pragmatic to learn Spanish over Catalan. For example:

I would prefer, in theory, a Catalonia where everyone was bilingual. We would speak in Catalan and also know how to speak Spanish. If you see a Spanish person, speaking in Spanish, because he does not know Catalan. Or, well, a tourist, that knows Spanish, maybe you [the researcher] are an exception, your case is not very common, an English person or an Irish person or an Italian person comes here and

learns Spanish first, because it is a strong language. Well, I can adapt to this situation. Yes, because this person will have more opportunities. I don't see it as a problem. (NI SÚ R7)

In the excerpt above there was some emphasis placed on the value of Spanish as a global language and an element of what Heller (2008) calls the 'commodification of language' (see section 2.2.2), whereby Spanish is valued for its ability to compete effectively on international markets. In other words, languages that may not be seen *as-a-resource* at the regional or local level (in this case Spanish in Girona), could hold unique value nationally for different groups (Ruiz 1984, 2010). Despite the general acceptance that it may be more pragmatic to learn Spanish, many of the informants stressed that they would prefer if everyone in Catalonia was bilingual. The Spanish language was also seen as the stronger language in comparison to Catalan. In light of this, many of the respondents discussed the strength of the Spanish language and their admiration and respect for Spanish culture.

I believe we must continue protecting it [the Catalan language], always respecting the Spanish language because it's a great culture. But of course, in this case, we need to be more drastic. Not rude or impertinent. No, not me. If I have to communicate in Spanish I speak it, you know? (NI AN R8)

In this study, the ability to speak both Spanish and Catalan was constructed as positive and beneficial. In this respect, some of the informants portrayed less of an ethnolinguistic attitude towards Spanish and displayed a pragmatic view of bilingualism or multilingualism in Catalonia, perhaps reflecting an acknowledgement of the composition of modern Catalonia (see section 1.2.2). From this perspective, many of the respondents demonstrated an acceptance of a bilingual identity inside and outside of the home, views which seemed to be influenced by the individual sociolinguistic profiles of the informants. Adding to this, informants frequently stated that they were 'lucky' to know two languages. For example:

Well, we are really lucky that we know two languages. We are really lucky, because it's a great thing, knowing both Catalan and Spanish. Then there are other people who know English, French or whatever. But we are really lucky that we know two languages. (NI AT24 R6)

Using the example of Gabriel Rufián (a Spanish speaking representative of *ERC*), one informant stated that many Catalans are bilingual, if not trilingual and that having the ability to speak Spanish along with other languages was beneficial.

Then, there is a deputy, Gabriel Rufián who is from *ERC*. Rufián was born in Barcelona and his parents are not Catalan. He is like me, in that my father was Galician. He is a '*xarnego*', that's what Catalans call him: a new Catalan. Rufián is very intelligent, and when he makes a speech in Madrid, he does it cleverly, really witty. And then, once, they said, 'You have to know English, you have to know English' and Rufián said, let's see if I understand you, he said 'It is funny-Spanish yeah, in Madrid. You, *PP*, *Ciudadanos*, not the *PSOE*, you are always talking about learning English. This is very funny because you, in Congress, are monolingual and you are telling a bilingual to become trilingual', Do you understand the irony? It's like saying, 'You have to know English, what matters is English', 'Well, learn Catalan first. I'm already bilingual, I already have two languages. You only have one. And your hobby, the person who is monolingual, is to tell the bilingual person that he has to become trilingual'. (NI SÚ R7)

Reflecting the long history of inward migration to Catalonia, the interviewee above employed the term '*xarnego*', a derogatory term for the offspring of a mixed marriage between a Catalan and an immigrant. This is in contrast to a Catalan of pure ancestry, or '*Catalans, de la ceba*' (Jeffrey Miley 2013). To conclude, the data revealed positive attitudes toward Spanish, largely due to its prominence as an international language. The ability to communicate in Spanish or demonstrating bi/multilingualism was framed *as-a-resource* (Ruiz 1984, 2010) by the research informants.

### **5.3.2 Imposition**

In this study, negative comments in relation to Spanish were not directly aimed at the language but rather at a range of attitudinal topics (see section 5.3). Negative attitudes toward Spanish seemed to originate from the perceived imposition of the language or the increasing public dominance of the language in Catalonia. In addition, for the older respondents (40+ years old), attitudes toward Spanish seemed to be influenced by their early educational experience, a fact that was closely linked to the Franco dictatorship (see section 3.2.3). Some of the interviewees felt that the Spanish language had negative connotations. For example:

There is a negative thread for Spaniards. It's negative, yeah! I have seen it in the Canary Islands and with the foreign students. There is a thread that relates Spanish with what? With dictatorships or with democracies? With dictatorships. Why? Franco. Franco, flamenco, bulls, olé. There is a bad smell, odour, from Spanish. This is abstract, but it is like the smell of a language. Do you understand? Instead, Catalan is small, it's not imperialist, it's not associated with the extreme right, Nazism, or Gulags, what is it? It is associated with democracy. (NI SÚ R7)

The comments above echo Ruiz's (1984, 2010) argument that language problems are never merely language problems but tend to be representative of a more general view of a society. As demonstrated above, attitudes toward Spanish were not directed at the language itself, but rather what it was associated with, which in the case above were Francoism and repression. In addition, respondents maintained that the language was being imposed on Catalan society by state bodies. As one participant put it:

The problem with the Spanish powers is that they try to impose the Spanish language before the Catalan language. This is the biggest problem. Because, for example, the French State, which is also our neighbour, has no ability to repeal any laws passed in the Parliament of Catalonia because we're two different states, aren't we? Well, this is not the case in Northern Catalonia but (...) The biggest attack comes from the Spanish state because we are in it. This is the biggest problem. (NI M2 AD)

**Figure 5.3:** Photograph, 'Referendum 2014; Now or Never' (August 2016).



In response to Figure 5.3 above, one informant stated the following:

I guess that it's a reflection of a realisation that after 300 years of being subject to an 'empire' that wants to impose a language and a culture and also want to stifle a country like it was an annoying smell, a country that has another language and wants to be different. Therefore, it says 'now or never' because 300 years is a long time and now we want it because otherwise another 300 years more can go by! At least I see it that way. (FG CU F2)

The data showed that there was a sense among the informants that Spanish was being imposed on Catalonia in order to create a cultural and linguistic homogeneous state. In addition, 2014 was a significant year as it was the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Siege of Barcelona (see section 3.2), and the pro-sovereignty movements have used this historic event to mobilise the people of Catalonia (Crameri 2014).

### **5.3.2.1 Public Use**

Attitudes toward Spanish frequently came to the fore when the informants discussed the public use of languages in Catalonia. In this study, the spread of Spanish in Catalonia was seen *as-a-problem* (Ruiz 1984, 2010). Talking about this issue one interviewee said:

There are many expressions or sayings that my mother used to say and I still say, but my children don't. I have the highest Catalan level because I like the language a lot and I study it as a passion, but in the exams none of the youngsters know what the sayings mean. They don't know them because they have disappeared, and that's because the Spanish state has really insisted on the teaching of Spanish. And it's a pity that this essence is disappearing because these are very Catalan things. Expressions that my parents said and I also say many of them, but my children say, 'my Mum says this expression because they used to say it in the past!'. But they don't use them anymore with their friends. This is losing linguistic richness. (NI AN R9)

Adding to the above, the data indicated that being visible was as important for Catalan speakers as being heard (Marten *et al.* 2011). According to the research participants Catalan was not being used to an adequate degree in public domains, with an overt preference being given to Spanish. As one interviewee said:

Public use of the language is unequal. For example, all of this is in Spanish [showing the writing on a water bottle]. And this is a Catalan product, the bottle is made in

Catalonia, the water is from *Caldes de Malavella*, but all of this is in Spanish. This is a linguistic problem, the public use of the language and everything that it has an impact on. This is a serious problem. (NI SÚ R7)

Other languages or (...)? (Interviewer)

Even the name of the business is in Spanish, *San Narciso*, in Catalan it would be *Sant Narcís*, the patron saint of Girona. So, the problem is with public use, the school guarantees that Catalan is taught but the future of the language is not guaranteed, because we don't have our own state. What example of this do we have? For example, in Valencia, in the Valencian Country, now they say '*Comunidad Valenciana*' [Spanish], the official name is '*Comunidad Valenciana*' because they do not want to say *El País Valencià* [Catalan]. They don't want to say, '*Valencian Country*', they call it the '*Valencian Community*'. So, in Valencia, since there is no protection for the Catalan language, Catalan was spoken a lot, they called it Valencian, one hundred years ago, but the number of speakers has been going down and down and down, and so now, Catalan in Valencia is spoken very little, very little. (NI SÚ R7)

The respondent above argues that although Catalan is the language of instruction in the school system, the vitality of the language was not guaranteed as the language does not have its own state to protect it. Using the example of Valencia, he claimed that the number of speakers of Catalan has declined in recent years, something he fears could happen to the language in Catalonia. Much of the discussion toward the public use of the Spanish language in Catalonia was prompted when Figure 5.4 was introduced into the focus groups.

**Figure 5.4:** Photograph, ‘In Catalan! Exclusive use of firefighters’ (August 2016).



The discussion below reveals the informants’ general attitude toward Spanish, whereby public use of the language was representative of the imposition of Spanish in Catalonia by state authorities.

To me, this is an example of language activism against the imposition of Spanish. Of demanding the use of Catalan, the national language of Catalonia. (FG AN M2)

When was this taken? Because it depends (...) (FG AN M3)

It is mandatory that it is written in Spanish. I mean, the Spanish government specifically requires that the fire extinguishers and all emergency exit signs are in Spanish. Which means that there are many laws that force the use of Spanish in Catalonia. Then there are people who disobey them and write in Catalan. Firemen are obviously people who feel very close to their country. They are very committed people. But a lot of activism was needed for this information to be in Catalan. For this to become the norm, many had to use markers or sprays and to take direct action. Many have been jailed for it, too. This was forty or thirty years back, and even now, many people carry around a spray can, to call for their rights. (FG AN M2)

The account above reflects the argument that displays of minority languages on public signs have both a functional and symbolic value (Edwards 2001). From this point of view, the continued use of Spanish in public domains was representative of wider power relations in

Catalonia, and this was where the problem resided for many of the informants. The perceived supremacy of Spanish over Catalan in a range of public domains was frequently a point of contestation. The over-representation of Spanish in the linguistic landscape of Girona seemed to add to the symbolic value and status of the Catalan language for the research participants.

## **5.4 Language Attitudes: Communicative Practice**

This section continues to address the first research question:

- What can an examination of the language attitudes (toward Catalan and Spanish) of members of independence organisations contribute to our understanding of sociolinguistic changes in minority language ideologies in a globalised world?

The following discussion will examine the informants' language attitudes through the lens of code-switching and everyday language preference. According to Jaffe (2009), in bilingual contexts language choice is accrued with significance because choosing one language is always done to the detriment of the other choice available. In addition, the link between attitudes and behaviour patterns has long been a concern for social psychologists. Schilling (2014) states that "(...) linguistic behaviours [are] reflective of language perceptions, attitudes and ideologies (Schilling 2014, p. 107). Considering this, it makes sense for any study of language attitudes to attempt to elucidate the attitude-behaviour relationship by incorporating an analysis of speakers' linguistic behaviour.

### **5.4.1 A Problematised Practice**

For the respondents, switching between languages or converging toward Spanish was frequently framed negatively and as such, in Ruiz's (1984, 2010) typology, switching to Spanish from Catalan was constructed *as-a-problem*. Nonetheless, code-switching was reported as an everyday occurrence for those who contributed to the study. The excerpt below describes the linguistic reality for many:

My language is Catalan everywhere except at home, at my parents' house. And with my brothers, because we have spoken Spanish all our life. At first, I speak Catalan and if they speak Spanish, often I change language, I have this bad vice, I suppose.

I insist on speaking Catalan and if the other speaker says that they do not understand it, then I change. (FG SÚ F2)

The excerpt above demonstrates that code-switching was a site of controversy for research participants, with many blaming themselves for switching to Spanish. In addition, informants articulated their frustration at the common practice of linguistic convergence to Spanish whenever interlocutors were not perceived as native Catalan speakers.

It's strange because little children, when they go to school, it's always Catalan speaking children who switch to Spanish. (NI AN R8)

Really? (Interviewer)

Yes. Have you never seen it? I have children and I've seen it. And then you ask them, 'why do you change your language?'. They don't know why. Maybe they copy the adults, the teachers, I don't know. But it's always the Catalan speakers who change language, so it's them who are aware that they speak differently. It makes us different. It's a bit like our differentiating feature because as for the rest we're quite similar. (NI AN R8)

The comments from the respondent above echo elements of Woolard (2003) and Bernaus *et al.*'s (2007) findings that, to some degree, Spanish background youths refuse to use Catalan during their free time in school (see section 2.4.2). As one participant stated:

Another problem is the lack of self-esteem many Catalan speakers have who, if they hear someone speaking Spanish they speak Spanish or they reach out to strangers in Spanish, without even asking (...) if they hear an English accent, I guess it has happened to you [the researcher] while living here, they speak to you in Spanish. It's not that they hear an English accent and they speak to you in English. No, no, they speak to you in Spanish! To me, this is really offensive. But they don't consider it as an offensive act. (NI CU R4)

There was a perceived assumption that Catalan speakers should automatically switch languages in situations where Spanish speakers or foreigners were present, something which the informant above finds an 'offensive act'. This is in line with what Pujolar (2007b) calls the 'commonsensical sociolinguistic comportment' that is, "(...) the naturalised idea that in Catalonia, foreigners are addressed in Spanish" (Codó and Garrido 2010, p. 311). Informants

believed that Catalan was often viewed as being subordinate to the Spanish language and therefore they were required to switch from Catalan to Spanish to accommodate other speakers. This represented a linguistic power struggle between Spanish and Catalan speakers (see e.g., Boix-Fuster 1993). Adding to this, the respondent below reported negative constructions of being addressed in Spanish.

(...) in the legal area, the situation is outrageous, in the economic area there are many civil servants who work here and are Catalan speakers but depending on the position they have they don't speak to you in Catalan by any means. You can talk to them in Catalan, they understand you but say nothing and continue talking in Spanish, and they keep insisting! They don't ever change languages, not even by mistake! They really make me feel like, 'I own you and I'll talk to you however I want because I'm superior, whether you like it or not'. Not even as an act of humanity! Well, as I was saying, is a game of power to show that they're stronger.  
(NI CU R3)

In the excerpt above, the informant maintains that Spanish speakers consider themselves superior to Catalan speakers and she expresses her frustration with members of the civil service and their choice of language. She finds the situation, whereby civil servants refuse to communicate in Catalan, unacceptable. In her opinion, there is a reluctance on the part of Spanish speakers, who presumably know Catalan, to switch languages. Such comments reflect Woolard's (1989) suggestion that Spaniards who do not switch to Catalan may be doing so to put Catalan speakers in a position of powerlessness.

#### **5.4.2 Embracing 'Language-as-a-resource'**

Issues relating to code-switching were not always framed negatively by the informants. Rather, code-switching was actively used as an instrument to introduce potential new speakers to the Catalan language, in this sense bilingualism was located in the *language-as-a-resource* orientation (Ruiz 1984, 2010). As such, the communicative function of code-switching was of more importance than the symbolic value of speaking Catalan or Spanish.

The data indicated that informants were content to have bilingual conversations, with one person speaking in Catalan and the other in Spanish. Pujolar (2001) labels this practice as 'passive bilingualism', whereby no switch is made and each interlocutor continues in their own language. Talking about this issue one interviewee stated:

Well, in theory with people from here I don't switch languages. Generally, if it's not necessary, I don't change the language. They speak Spanish and I speak Catalan. It's such a normal practice that you don't give too much importance to it. But of course, then there are situations in which (...) in Catalonia almost everyone knows both Catalan and Spanish, so when someone asks you something in Spanish you can reply to him in Catalan. This is like this 95% of the time. Someone asks something in Spanish and you reply to him in Catalan because you feel it's good for both of us. At work, some people always speak in Spanish to me and I always answer in Catalan, and that's how we communicate. What happens? If the person who approaches you is a tourist or an immigrant who doesn't understand Catalan and says this to you, then you switch languages. But usually it's not natural to change our vehicular language because normally you speak with Spanish speakers who understand Catalan, so you automatically answer in Catalan. If they say, 'Hey, excuse me, but I don't understand Catalan', then you change your frame of mind. Otherwise, you don't. (NI AT24 R5)

The interviewee above claimed that it did not matter which language one chose, as long as one could express one's thoughts in it. However, in almost all of the cases, there was a caveat added by the informants whereby they stated that if given the opportunity they would prefer to speak in Catalan. For example:

Let's see, if I speak it [Catalan] with someone who doesn't understand it, then of course I can switch language. But I should be able to express myself freely in Catalan in Catalonia, which is something that, in theory, I can do. (NI AT24 R5)

Another informant had a similar point of view, stating:

As much as we can. Yes, in as many occasions as possible (...) in principle we use the Catalan language, and if there's an occasional need to speak to someone who doesn't understand it, then we switch languages. Maybe I am just talking for me. (FG CU F1)

The data indicated that switching between Catalan and Spanish was deemed acceptable if the interlocutor did not understand Catalan. However, many of the informants viewed code-switching as reasonable given that it provided an opportunity to slowly introduce non-Catalan speakers to the language. In this sense, switching between Catalan and Spanish acted as an educational instrument until a stage was reached whereby the entire conversation could be

conducted in Catalan. The manifestations of multiculturalism, multilingualism and fluidity in language choice in modern Catalonia can be seen in the comment below:

I have an example, I have a Colombian friend who I speak to in Catalan and he speaks to me in Spanish. We arrived at a stage and started speaking in Catalan. But sometimes the conversation is me speaking Catalan and him speaking in Spanish!  
(NI AT24 R5)

Or as another informant stated:

Then, when a person comes from abroad and speaks Spanish, obviously you will answer him in Spanish without any problem at all. Now, yes it's true that you can explain to them or you can let them know, 'Hey, do you know that we speak Catalan here?'. And if he says yes to you, he already knows it, well fantastic. Little by little, you can bring it [Catalan] in, right? (NI AT24 R6)

The data indicated that respondents were willing to speak Spanish if they were aware that the interlocutor was new to Catalonia and did not understand Catalan. However, interviewees also believed that individuals should be aware that Catalan was the language of Catalonia and if you reside in the region you should be willing to gradually learn the language. In this regard, code-switching acted as a means for non-speakers of Catalan to learn the language in addition to the cultural practices of the community (Bhatia 2010).

## **5.5 Language Attitudes and Independence**

The previous section discussed the respondents' attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish and by doing so sought to answer the first research question. This section aims to address the second research question:

- What can an examination of the language attitudes (toward Catalan and Spanish) of members of independence organisations contribute to our understanding of sociolinguistic change in the calls for independence in 21<sup>st</sup> century Catalonia?

To answer the above research question, this section focuses on the roles for the Catalan and Spanish languages in the independence community. In addition, *Súmate* (Join us) and the future

of both languages in a hypothetical independent Catalonia is discussed. The debate relating to globalisation and its impact on minority language use and also social movements internationally (see sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2), provided a theoretical understanding for the data analysis presented below.

### **5.5.1 Independence and the Catalan language**

To begin with, some of the informants discussed how they were tired of the independence process in general, stressing that an independent Catalan state was long overdue. For example:

But I'm telling you I've had it up to here with the whole 'being pro-independence' thing! (FG AN M3)

In another example, the following informant stated that:

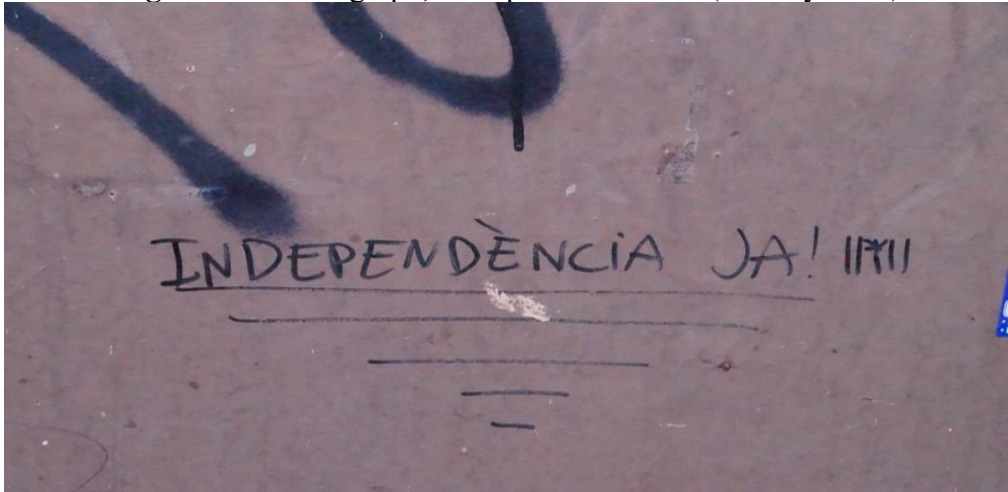
It's [Catalan] not a symbol, it's the language of the country! And that's all there is to it! I am tired of being pro-independence! I wish I didn't have to be! I do not know any French people who need to be in favour of their own independence. (FG AN M4)

When discussing the Catalan language and the independence process interviewees expressed a variety of different opinions. For example, when asked about the role of the Catalan language in the independence movement, one informant had the following response:

The thing is here everything is linked, you've seen it. I guess that with the other interviews you've seen that language, nationalism and the independence process are intertwined. Everything ends up in the same place because the current situation is really complicated. Everything ends up being related to politics or society because all these have been used as tools in both areas. It's very difficult to talk only about language without mentioning the rest. (NI AT24 R5)

In the excerpt above, the speaker attempts to explain the complexity of the situation in Catalonia, stating that it is difficult to separate the components when discussing the independence movement. This complexity is most evident in relation to the changing role of the Catalan language in the independence process. Figure 5.5 below, was employed to prompt discussion in the focus groups.

**Figure 5.5:** Photograph, 'Independence now! (January 2017).



When discussing Catalan and the independence process, respondents were keen to stress there had been a change in recent years with a movement away from the Catalan language as a fundamental aspect of the independence discourse. The participants below stated the following:

There is still a relationship between identity and the language in the process, although surely this relationship is not as strong as it was a couple of years ago. (FG ER M1)

It [Catalan] is not a key factor, in my opinion. The language is not a key factor in the [independence] process. (FG ER F1)

Another informant discussed the changing role of the Catalan language in the process:

It is an important factor because many people identify the Catalan language with *Catalanism* [Catalan nationalism], and the next step is independence. But what we are saying is that they are not mutually exclusive, there is an important part of Catalan society that is not Catalan speaking but they are in favour of independence. In fact, there are groups, such as *Súmate*, who call themselves independentists, Spanish speaking independentists. So, then the Catalan language is not even the most important factor when it comes to identifying as a pro-independence organisation. (FG ER M3)

While historically there had been an association between the language and the independence movement, respondents claimed language choice and views on Catalan independence were no longer mutually exclusive. Another informant stated the following:

I also think that it is an issue of identity. I guess this happens with all nations, with all nationalities there are a number of common attributes. Yes, it is true that especially now as a result of the independence process, it's clear that there are many forms of being Catalan. So, the typical Catalan figure that we have, is the Catalan from Girona or from Vic, but there are many different types of Catalans, and so, sometimes it is difficult to put your finger on these attributes, and with time there will be more, because we are developing into an increasingly multicultural society. So, I suppose it would be somewhat difficult to identify the core elements that we have in common as a community. (FG ER M2)

The data seemed to reveal that Catalan nationalism had adapted to the multilingual and multicultural environment or 'linguistic and cultural patchwork' of modern Catalonia (Bernaus *et al.* 2007), an approach labelled 'demographic pragmatism' by Woolard (2016). Participants frequently expressed the belief that previously there had been an overemphasis on the role of the Catalan language in the independence project and this had resulted in elements of Catalan society being excluded from the debate, primarily those who did not speak the language. However, according to the informants, this issue had been addressed to the overall benefit of Catalan society and the independence movement. Discussing this one interviewee said:

Well, it [the Catalan language] is one of the cultural features of what Catalan identity, *Catalanità*, would be. However, I believe that it is not exclusive and it probably doesn't need to be so at a political level. Nonetheless, I think that, for many years, Catalan nationalism has defended the Catalan language as a symbol of Catalonia and as a symbol of Catalan nationalism. But when the time has come to sell the country or make speeches about Catalonia as a nation, there might have been an excessive focus on the language aspect, leaving out some other aspects and maybe not being aware of the changes that Catalan society has undergone. But I think that, for example, this has changed due to the independence process, this is clear with organisations such as *Súmate* and others. In my opinion, the pro-independence people who used to have a strong militant attitude toward the language could not have understood the project of a country without the Catalan language as a central element of it. In the end, a compromise has been reached amongst ourselves and we say, 'let's see how we do this?', and acknowledged that this society is more than just the language. (FG CU M2)

Another participant discussed the shifting role of the language in the movement in response to the changes in Catalan society (see section 2.2), stating the following:

Here, in the independence process, there has been a radical change in the culture in relation to the language used by Catalan people. However, Catalan nationalism has historically based its culture on the language. With the creation of nationalism, there are two different types of nationalism, you either differentiate yourself by race or by culture. Here we were lucky and we differentiated ourselves at a cultural level. Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, other countries chose to differentiate themselves by race. Here, however, the main characteristic was the language and the culture, and this has lasted until now. But it's true that in the independence process there has been a change of mentality and we don't give that much importance to it [Catalan] anymore. (FG CU M4)

The comments above echo Conversi (2000, 2002) and Olivieri's (2015) argument that Catalonia tends to be more inclusionary, with language, not race, the major factor of integration for the region's multicultural society. The quote below examines the changing role of the language further:

[Catalan] is a key factor for Catalan identity, but for the independence process, as I said, it has lost importance. 15 or 20 years ago, when pro-independence people were a minority, the mentality was more Catalan nationalist and the movement was led by Catalan people, so the language was more of an important factor. One thing is whether you consider the language to be more or less important, but as we can see, it has lost importance. (NI AT24 R5)

As a result of the reduced emphasis on the language spoken and views on independence, many of the respondents maintained that you did not necessarily need to speak Catalan to be for an independent Catalonia.

If you go to some metropolitan areas, there are many people who speak Spanish and who are also for Catalan independence, I am an example of this. I come from a Spanish family and most of my family believes in the independence process, and we are not Catalan speakers. We know about it, we talk about it, but we are not Catalan speakers. (FG ER F1)

To conclude, the data indicated that those calling for an independent Catalonia had adapted to the shifting linguistic and cultural reality of 21<sup>st</sup> century Catalonia and as such, the Catalan language did not seem to be as prominent or important in the discourse of those campaigning for an independent Catalonia.

## **5.5.2 Embracing Linguistic Diversity**

We are dependent on those who are not Catalan speakers, who mostly speak Spanish and who are in favour of independence. (FG ER M3)

In response to contemporary multilingual and multicultural Catalonia, informants stressed the importance of Spanish speakers and other linguistic groups to the success of the independence movement. This echoes Trenchs-Parera and Newman's (2009) recommendation that in order to make Catalan more appealing to newcomers, Catalan should be constructed as a symbol of inclusion and openness and not assimilation for those new to Catalonia. The data demonstrated that there were positive attitudes toward Spanish speakers and there was an emphasis placed on incorporating this community into the independence movement. For example:

In the last elections we [ERC] brought in more Spanish speakers, like we said, to continue expanding not only the party, to fulfil the vision of creating a more hegemonic party in the future Republic, but also to take advantage and expand our base and win the referendum. Because without Spanish speakers we will never gain independence from Spain because Catalans are not a majority in Catalonia (FG ER M4)

The excerpt below provides another example of the changing role of linguistic choice in Catalan society and independence organisations.

In the independence movement, there has indeed been a change in recent years in the sense that 10 or 15 years ago it was unthinkable meeting a pro-independence person who didn't speak Catalan or who didn't dedicate themselves to the language. And as the independence movement has become more widespread and popular, we have come to know that there are many pro-independence people who don't have Catalan as their main vehicular language. These people obviously don't have an aversion to Catalan because otherwise, it would be all very strange, but they don't have this high sensibility towards the language that is so special for people who have been pro-independence all their lives. (FG CU M3)

Another participant discussed the changing role of Spanish speakers in Catalonia and the independence movement.

There are many people here who came as children and now feel as much Catalan as any Catalan speaker, even though they speak in Spanish or speak in Catalan despite the fact that Spanish is their mother tongue and later on they joined the independence movement. There are some that are even members of the Catalan Parliament, such as Gabriel Rufián and Eduardo Reyes. For example, Eduardo Reyes comes from a Cordovan family with seven or eight siblings who arrived here when they were little. He always says, 'If my father saw that I'm a member of the Catalan Parliament'. And he only became a member of the Parliament because he believed in the struggle for the independence of Catalonia. (NI AN R9)

In another discussion, the following informant delineated the importance of including Spanish speakers into the independence project:

Girona might be the exception, but when you go out you can see that there's a whole community of Spanish speakers who are also for Catalan independence (...) what we want is to include them, not exclude them, because there're many of them. And if there are others that need convincing, it's better and easier if Spanish speakers do it instead of us because they are closer to them. Depending on what neighbourhood you go to, you can feel like a foreigner. If you go to *El Raval* [a neighbourhood in Barcelona] for example, there are people like them. And they believe in independence because they think we'll be better if we're independent. This situation educates you and makes people realise this social reality exists. (NI AT24 R5)

The above excerpts illustrate the importance of embracing the linguistic reality of modern Catalonia and incorporating Spanish speakers into the process and ensuring that they vote, a stance in line with Ruiz's (1984, 2010) concept of *language-as-a-resource*. For example, one participant discussed how she and others have campaigned in Spanish speaking neighbourhoods to alleviate any fears that people living there may have in terms of Catalan independence.

There are some volunteers, including me, that what we do, we did it for the elections to the Congress, the Catalan Parliament, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of September 2015, is prepare a bit and go out onto the streets with outsider groups. On that occasion we joined *Súmate*, which is an association for Spanish speakers. We visited Spanish speaking neighbourhoods and we tried to address their concerns and worries, as well as make them understand that they shouldn't fear anything and that they'd be welcome in an

independent Catalonia. And, of course, in a new Catalan state we told them the Spanish language wouldn't be left out. (NI CU R3)

Overall, the data revealed the importance of recruiting or incorporating the Spanish speaking community into the independence process in the region, an issue potentially best represented by the organisation *Súmate*.

### **5.5.3 Súmate**

There are pro-independence people who speak Spanish and want to keep speaking Spanish if we become independent. So, you can't tell them that when we become independent they will only be able to speak Catalan. There're people who live their lives using Spanish. (NI AT24 R5)

Set up in 2013, the role of *Súmate* was frequently mentioned when discussing immigrant origin and Spanish speaking residents of Catalonia (see section 4.7.1 for more). For many, *Súmate* embodied the new linguistic situation in Catalonia and the diminishing importance of the Catalan language as one of the central pillars of Catalan independence. In this sense, *Súmate* was founded to bring an important demographic, namely Spanish speakers (a demographic that was vital for the success of the independence movement), into the wider discussion. As one interviewee stated:

I think that *Súmate* is an organisation that was created to complement the others that there are, like *ANC* or *Òmnium*, which are strictly Catalan, for Catalan speaking people. To explain the independence project an organisation was required to attract Spanish speaking people, there were Spanish speakers who were independentists but needed a group, this group was growing also. Because Spanish speakers found that they were not being represented, I believe that this organisation was founded to attract more people, as I understand it, toward the project of independence. (FG SÚ M6)

For the informant above, *Súmate* had emerged as an organisation in response to the number of Spanish speakers who were in favour of an independent Catalonia. Similarly, another interviewee stated that:

There are organisations such as *Súmate* that are for Spanish speakers but are in favour of Catalan independence. Before, this was unthinkable. Catalan nationalism

used to be pure, owned by the ones wearing a *barretina* and such. Because of that, a whole demographic that was interested in becoming involved was lost. I read an article that talked about ‘new Catalans’. Before, ‘new Catalans’ were one thing and now it’s another [laughs]. Before it was Spanish immigration, and now it relates to immigrants who come from outside Spain. So, if we’re very demanding with the language, we lose a whole demographic that is in favour of Catalan independence. But what do you say to them? That we won’t allow them to speak Spanish? That’s why I think that bilingualism is interesting because it means cultural richness. (NI AT24 R5)

The previous narrative demonstrates the importance of migrants to the Catalan independence project or what the informant above labels ‘new Catalans’. For him, the independence movement had historically made the mistake of associating ‘Catalanness’ with symbols such as the *barretina*, (a traditional Catalan hat and a symbol of Catalan identity), such an approach had resulted in a demographic being excluded from the movement, a fact that perhaps hindered the chances of success for the independence project in the region. Another informant stated the following:

From *CUP* I am one of these people who get a bit annoyed in the sense that I think that the independence process should also be explained in Spanish, that’s because before becoming a member of *CUP* I took part in some *Súmate* campaigns. So, *CUP* should also speak in Spanish. I mean, there should be political rallies in which *CUP* communicates in Spanish or in both languages. It’d be an elegant, sweet and tender way of accessing the hearts of Spanish speakers. This is one of the ideas we used a lot with *Súmate*, the children of Spanish immigrants have all studied here, have received an education and have a decent level of Catalan. However, and unfortunately, all their parents, grandparents, uncles and aunts who came here couldn’t study and this created a high percentage of people that couldn’t understand Catalan. What happens? If you explain the independence process in Catalan, maybe they don’t get the message. (NI CU R3)

Referring again to Catalonia’s long history of inward migration, the informant above argues that communicating in Spanish can serve as a means to reach those that may not be engaged in the independence project and as such communicate with those who may not understand Catalan. To conclude, *Súmate* represented two realities of modern Catalonia. Firstly, that speakers of Spanish could identify with the Catalan independence project. And secondly, that

Catalonia would recognise the cultural and linguistic realities of a complex region (Kraus 2015; Dowling 2018).

### **5.5.4 Independence and Language Relations**

Considering that the mobilisation of symbols is of vital importance for social movements (Tarrow 2011), the treatment of the Catalan language by Spanish bodies seemed to play a central role in shaping the attitudes of the informants toward languages in the region and also the independence process. When queried about the treatment of the Catalan language by various state bodies and institutions, one participant argued the following:

Like I was taking about before, so you can understand me. Let's see, it's what we were talking about before. If they had treated a turd better there wouldn't be such a large pro-independence base. (NI SÚ R7)

Another interviewee argued that the historical treatment of the Catalan language had contributed to the current situation in the region:

Why does the independence movement exist? It exists because historically we have always had to defend our culture and our language from attacks. We can go back a long time. Historically, I don't know why, our language has been persecuted and forbidden. It is obvious that some people are not bothered by this. We have a language and a culture that has been persecuted for more than 50 years. But historically, for many years before this, with the *Decrets de Nova Planta* [The Nueva Planta decrees], it was explicitly prohibited to speak Catalan. All of this over the course of different generations has resulted in a pro-independence movement that is now at its peak. (NI AT24 R6)

While the interviewee above states that Catalan has been historically persecuted, it is perhaps the following excerpt that best demonstrates the general feeling that was present among informants:

Let's start with the language. They would like that in Spain only one language was spoken. And starting from here, we don't understand each other. And if we don't understand each other we need to get a divorce. The problem is that Spain, to them, Catalonia is a part of Spain, but for us we believe that we're two different organisms that are married and we want to get a divorce. And they don't understand it, they

can't seem to get it into their heads that we don't understand each other and we want to get separated. They can't get this into their heads. But there are many people who want independence for economic matters. I want independence more for cultural reasons rather than economic ones. Better if it's also economic, you know? But the main reason is for the survival of the Catalan language. Language is culture. (NI AD R2)

The above response is of interest in that it illustrates Ruiz's (1984, 2010) *language-as-a-problem* orientation. In this regard, the Spanish states attitude is seen as the problem, where the propagation of Spanish monolingualism and the creation of a linguistically heterogeneous state is valued. Adding to this another informant stated the following:

They [the language and sovereignty process] are associated with each other. You start by defending the language and then you think that the political status of Catalonia has to be change because there is linguistic conflict. I'll explain it another way, so you will understand it. If you find that Madrid does not respect your language, your first reaction is to protect the language, but the next immediate step is to think about a different political status that will protect your collective linguistic rights. Then, I think that, in the Catalan case, you get to politics through the language. I mean, you start with the language, with culture and you finish with politics, that is what is happening. (NI SÚ R7)

To sum up, the data revealed that the Spanish states perceived negative treatment of, and ambivalence toward the Catalan language both in a historical and contemporary sense, were key factors in shaping the interviewees views of the Catalan independence movement and the role of Catalan and Spanish in this process.

## **5.6 Independence and the Future**

When asked about the potential future linguistic situation in Catalonia after the referendum on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 2017, there was a variety of responses. According to the research participants, the future direction of language use in Catalonia was dependent on the outcome of the referendum. Informants argued that a 'no' vote in the October 2017 referendum would be disastrous for Catalonia and for the Catalan language, with one interviewee stating the following:

It [the future of the language] depends on many things. I hope the language will finally get normalised and will be used by everyone who lives here. This is what I hope for [laughs]. I don't have a crystal ball in order to find out! I guess it will depend on how the political situation develops. If we remain in Spain and we keep receiving constant attacks against the linguistic immersion programme in schools or against any law that asks for more rights for the Catalan language or for our culture. If we continue like that, Catalan will continue to diminish. But we need to make sure this doesn't happen. (NI AD R1)

When asked about the result of the referendum and the future of the Catalan language, another respondent added that:

If the result is 'no' and we're truly democratic, we'll have to hold elections and swallow this dream. And we'll continue fighting. Let's brace ourselves and be ready for Franco dictatorship 2.0. (NI CU R3)

In another narrative interview, one research participant again used the education system as the point of reference when discussing the potential outcome of the vote on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October and its impact on the Catalan language.

They'll try to repress it a lot. In the school system (...) if we don't get independence, the first thing they'll do is stick their noses in education, where the language is. To them, homogeneity means power acquisition. And if they could they would make us wear a striped uniform. Yes, that's how I feel about it. (NI AN R9)

The comments above paint a bleak future for Catalan if Catalonia did not become an independent state, with references to Francoism and 'striped pyjamas'. In contrast, some informants expressed the view that if the outcome for the independence referendum was successful the future of the Catalan language would be guaranteed in the region.

I'll tell you in October once there's the referendum for independence. I think that if we get our own state, I hope and wish that the Catalan language will be better than now. Healthier, much healthier. In other words, that the Catalan language becomes, what we call, normalised. (NI SÚ R7)

Another respondent elaborates on this point further, adding that:

If we are independent, I see it [the future of Catalan] being in a really good situation [laughs]. If we are independent, I see the language being completely safe and assured. Totally. If we are not, we will have to do what we have always done. What I mean to say is, to defend ourselves against the attacks that our language may face. And we would just have to keep speaking, keep reading, keep listening and that's it really. (NI AT24 R6)

The data suggested that the future vitality of the Catalan language was closely linked to the result of the referendum that was due to take place on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 2017. According to the respondents, an outcome that called for an independent Catalonia could only benefit the Catalan language, whereas a negative result, or 'no' vote, would prove harmful for the future of the language.

### **5.6.1 Future Catalan Use**

Linked to the discussion above, this section examines the respondents' attitudes toward both Catalan and Spanish and their future role in a hypothetically independent Catalonia. While views on Spanish were located across a spectrum (see section 5.3), attitudes toward the future of Catalan in the region were considerably more positive. For example, the respondent below stated that she was sympathetic to a form of positive discrimination toward the Catalan language if Catalonia were to become independent.

As soon as the state is formed and the Republic is established, I think that, as I mentioned before, the situation with the Catalan language, which we know is a language that is known but not used as a vehicular language, will obviously start changing. I don't think we should leave the Spanish language out. The more languages we speak, the better. However, the Catalan language is the language of Catalonia. This is clear. I don't really know (...) but for the first five years, for as long as the older generation, who don't speak Catalan is alive, it'd be good if we tried to accommodate them and wait until the following generation to make Catalan mandatory or create a transition period, if this was legally possible. I don't know, I think this would be interesting. (NI CU R3)

During a wider discussion on the independence movement and the Catalan language, another informant mentioned his preference for positive discrimination toward the Catalan language in the region.

And it [Catalan] needs to be protected because Spanish is a stronger language and has many speakers. So, if we don't support a form of positive discrimination, it [Catalan] will be in an inferior position. (NI AT24 R5)

The concept of a transition period was frequently mentioned during the data collection procedures. In this situation, the Spanish language would be accommodated in Catalonia until a stage was reached whereby Catalan could become the main vehicular language of the region. For example:

Another debate that's going on and that's very important is that if in a Catalan Republic the official languages would be both Catalan and Spanish. I think there should be a time to adapt, so all the Spanish speakers have time to reinvent themselves, this period of time should be decided by experts. But I think that the official language in Catalonia should be Catalan. (NI AN R9)

The comments below also demonstrate the preference for Catalan to become the primary and official language of communication in an independent Catalonia. However, the interviewees also acknowledged the linguistic diversity of the region and state that a slow transition needed to be made.

If we get independence, it'll be necessary to have a transition and make Catalan the only language. But right now (...) if we are independent, I don't think the following day everything has to be in Catalan or oblige everyone to know the Catalan language, not being able to use Spanish in official institutions, or yes, but as a foreign language because we wouldn't be obliged to learn it, or stop teaching the Spanish language (...) we need a period of transition to make the Catalan language the only language in Catalonia. (NI AT24 R5)

I think that the most logical thing to do would be that the Catalan Republic was built slowly so things could be well created and established. The only thing I believe is that only one language should be official, the Catalan language. (FG CU F1)

Given the composition of the region (see section 2.2.1), interviewees stressed that perhaps there should be a period of transition, where Spanish speakers were accommodated and also a period where Catalan is given the institutional and social support required to make it the dominant language of the region. In conclusion, through a form of positive discrimination and a period

of transition, there was a clear preference for Catalan to be the official and dominant language in a hypothetically independent Catalonia.

### **5.6.2 Future Spanish Use**

Another issue that came up during the data collection was the future role of Spanish in Catalonia. Several of the informants presented overtly negative attitudes toward Spanish, advocating that the language should not be spoken in an independent Catalonia. For example:

But hey, in the near future, if there's a Republic, what solution will we find to coexist comfortably altogether and with different cultural backgrounds? Well, that remains to be seen. I am an advocate that we should stop speaking Spanish, at least during the first few years. But, of course, this is politically complicated. (FG CU F2)

Another interviewee stated the following:

In terms of the referendum, to win over the Spanish speakers and obtain the votes we need, *ANC* now also uses Spanish in order to get more people to participate in the vote, it's like a stab in the back! Some say that Spanish must also be an official language in the new Republic of Catalonia, which could be very damaging. And those saying it are in favour of independence, so you must keep that in mind. (FG AN F1)

The excerpts above are illustrative of negative attitudes toward Spanish and its role in a possible Catalan state. These views were not shared by all, and the majority of the respondents were of the opinion that in the future a more appropriate path to follow would be to have some form of linguistic accommodation, one which reflected the linguistic reality of the territory. As one interviewee put it:

One thing is the political use of the language and the other one is its social use. But it won't be possible that, at a bureaucratic or political level, to take Spanish out completely because at the social level it will continue to be spoken. No, because that would not be of benefit. The moment you use the firm hand people will keep speaking it, which is what happened with the Catalan language. So, we should try to integrate both languages without forcing Spanish out. That both languages could coexist and that we shouldn't defend one or the other. More power to Catalan, that's

for sure, but I think that the Spanish language should be kept as a second language.  
(NI AT24 R5)

Or as another participant stated:

I think that Spanish is a language that is here and we can't kick it out. We have to take care of the Catalan language, of course, and when we have our own state we'll obviously make Catalan official. However, if it should be co-official, or well I don't know (NI CU R3)

The data indicated that research participants favoured a territory where Catalan and Spanish were co-official albeit with a preference for Catalan. However, stronger views were also expressed by the informants. For example, as has been demonstrated above, a number of the participants favoured a Catalonia where the daily use of the Spanish language was not widespread.

## **5.7 Conclusion**

This chapter analysed the research participants' attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish with a view to understanding how the languages were, in Ruiz's (1984, 2010) typology, framed *as-a-resource* and/or *as-a-problem*. In addition, this chapter examined how these language attitudes intersected with views on the Catalan independence movement. The data revealed the coexistence and articulation of different, and sometimes contradictory attitudes toward Spanish and Catalan, representing dimensions of globalisation, such as mobility, integration, hybridity and cosmopolitanism. Adding to this, the data describes how informants engage and deal with the changes, challenges and opportunities that globalisation and its associated processes have brought to Catalonia and the impact of these developments on the languages in the region. Understanding the complexity of attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish and their role in society present in this research is not straightforward. Rather, the informants' attitudes toward languages were complex, multifaceted and dynamic and must be framed in terms of larger historical and contemporary social and political developments within wider Catalan and Spanish society (see chapter three).

The preceding sections have described how the participant's linguistic, national or ethnic identities can vary and how they can develop and change over time. Consequently, the data

displayed a complexity of attitudes toward the role of Catalan and Spanish in present-day Catalonia. In this sense, the data indicated that the shift from ethnolinguistic identity to an anti-essentialist approach to language(s) in Catalonia is a less than a linear progression. Considering this, the manner in which the research participant's constructed their attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish was not predictable, but rather it was nuanced and shaped by a wide variety of different factors, such as, familial background, educational experience etc.

Informants sense of Catalan identity was found, to various degrees, to be embodied in the Catalan language, reflecting Atkinson's assertion that Catalan has yet to fully transform from an ethnic voice into a civic one (Atkinson 2018). In this respect, the current research contradicts Woolard's (2016) findings and demonstrate that, to varying degrees, essentialist views of ethnic identity still persist. However, there were other discourses that challenge this ideology through the construction of fluid and hybrid sociocultural identities. In this respect, the language was not the only marker of identity, with informants frequently stating that Catalonia constituted more than just the Catalan language. Nonetheless, the defence of the Catalan culture and language was a dominant theme to emerge throughout the data.

This chapter also examined the informants' attitudes toward the Spanish language and its role in a globalised Catalonia. On the one hand, a particular upbringing and individual history seemed to influence individual perspectives. For example, informants who claimed to have grandparents that migrated to Catalonia maintained positive attitudes toward the Spanish language and its value in Catalonia. On the other hand, not all the informants interviewed constructed or wanted to construct the Spanish language positively. Some problematised the role of the language in wider Catalan society and the perceived interference of Spanish in Catalonia was considered a problem. The legacy of the Francoist ideology of 'one state-one language' and the respondents own personal experiences of the state school system, seemed to influence how they viewed Spanish, and in particular the Spanish state. In this sense, the informants' negative estimations had more to do with the perceived forced linguistic homogenisation of Catalonia by the Spanish state rather than the Spanish language itself.

The changing cultural and social reality of 21<sup>st</sup> century Catalonia became most visible when the informants discussed the push for independence in the region. The data indicated that in response to the socio-cultural and socio-political changes that the globalisation process has brought to Catalonia, the independence movement has become more inclusive with a loosening of the links between nationalist sentiment and the Catalan language. From this perspective,

informants noted that since the turn of the century Spanish (speakers) and the wider immigrant community in the territory have increasingly been constructed *as-a-resource* (Ruiz 1984, 2010) for the sovereignty movement in the territory.

Considering the above, the focus groups and narrative interviews seem to confirm the findings of previous studies, but also provide further insights into the research participants' perceptions of languages. The changing views of languages in Catalonia, along paths of migration and identity in a rapidly changing sociolinguistic/socio-political environment, underpinned the respondents' language attitudes and as such provided an insight into the importance attached to individual repertoires of language and how they can be constructed as *language-as-a-resource* and/or *language-as-a-problem* (Ruiz 1984, 2010). The next chapter provides a more exhaustive discussion of the results of this investigation.

## **Chapter Six: Discussion**

What we think about language will be related to how we perceive ourselves and eventually how others perceive us. On a collective level, language is found to be a more crucial core value to some cultural/ethnic groups than to others.

(Lanza and Svenden 2007, p. 291)

### **6.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, the data are discussed in relation to the research questions and interpreted in light of previous research. Given the continuous strength and current appeal of Catalan nationalism (see e.g., Woolard 2016; Dowling 2018), contemporary theories focusing on globalisation were discussed in chapter two. It was evident that the language attitudes of the research participants were highly related to globalisation and its accompanying processes, macro-level political structures, migration pressures and national language policies (Canagarajah 2008; Curdt-Christiansen 2013). This study was interested in ways in which attitudes to Catalan and Spanish might relate to Ruiz's (1984, 2010) language orientations. This literature was used to form a theoretical understanding of the situation in 21<sup>st</sup> century Catalonia where the social, cultural and linguistic spaces of the region are continuously being reformulated. The *language-as-a-problem* and *language-as-a-resource* orientations existed simultaneously for those who contributed to this study.

The following sections present the informants' descriptions of the role of Catalan and Spanish in Catalonia today. The first section discusses the Catalan language and its function in constructing a modern Catalan identity as it was described by the research informants. The following section focuses on the respondents' positive and negative evaluations of the Spanish language and its role in Catalonia. As language choice is inseparable from political arrangements and relations of power, the next section is dedicated to an evaluation of the meaning of code-switching as described by the research participants. The final section of this chapter looks at the role of both Catalan and Spanish in the modern sovereignty process in Catalonia as described by the informants. The positioning of both languages in a hypothetically independent Catalonia is also explored in this section.

To understand the significance of present-day discourses about languages and independence in Girona, Catalonia, a brief recap of the phenomena analysed from a geographic and political perspective is provided. In short, the city of Girona has a population of 100,266 inhabitants, with the immigrant population at approximately 18% of this number (IDESCAT 2017, 2018). In terms of language use, 89,279 (90.16%) of the population of Girona claim to understand the language and 74,991 (75.73%) claim to speak it daily (IDESCAT 2017). In the controversial 2017 self-determination referendum, 94.97% (28,965 people) of those who cast a vote in Girona, voted for an independent Catalonia (Generalitat de Catalunya 2017a). These figures seemingly confirm Lepič's (2017) previously mentioned claim that the city is 'the heartland of Catalan nationalism'.

## **6.2 21<sup>st</sup> Century Constructions of Catalan**

One of the main results of this study was that the research participants held more positive attitudes toward the Catalan language and less positive attitudes toward the Spanish language. Catalan, as the minority language, seemed to be symbolic of tensions between the Catalan periphery and the Spanish core. These findings coincide with previous studies that found positive attitudes toward Catalan across a range of demographics and geographical locations in Catalonia (Janés-Carulla 2006a, b; Lapresta-Rey *et al.* 2010; Lapresta-Rey *et al.* 2018; Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009; Querol and Huguet 2010; Pujolar and González 2013; Madariaga *et al.* 2013; Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015; Hamilton and Serrano 2015; Woolard 2016; Fukuda 2017; Ianos *et al.* 2017a, b; Codó 2018).

### **6.2.1 Identity Relations: A Fluid Dynamic**

Languages are a fundamental component of personal and group identities and in Catalonia, the Catalan language has long been cited as a core part of national identity or the main emblem of identity embodied in its speakers (Woolard 1989; Conversi 1990; Pujolar and González 2013; Franco-Guillén and Zapata-Barrero 2014; Rodon and Franco-Guillén 2014). This corresponds with the broader sociolinguistic research where language is frequently cited as one of the most important symbols of group membership (see e.g., Fishman 1972; Anderson 1983; Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Edwards 2009). While scholars maintain that there continues to be a reformulation of the interrelated concepts of language, nation and identity in Catalonia (Pujolar and González 2013; Woolard and Frekko 2013; Woolard 2016), the data presented in the

previous chapter indicates a heterogeneity of views, with the interviewees constructing and negotiating a diverse range of linguistic and national identities that were fluid and context bound. These issues are explored in further depth in the following paragraphs.

Although it seems that Catalan society is not moving lockstep toward a loss of ethnolinguistic divisions, globalisation has made it necessary to provide local communities with mechanisms to ensure their cultural/social cohesion and community identity (Blommaert 2010; Heller 2010a, b; Pujolar *et al.* 2011; Canagarajah 2013; Carbonell 2019). The findings of this research point toward the de-ethnicization, or ‘de-traditionalisation’ of Catalan (Ianos *et al.* 2017a, b). Although the degree to which this de-ethnicization of Catalan has reached all areas in Catalonia is uncertain. Therefore, while it may be the case that there continues to be a relaxation of what are considered Catalans ‘authentic’ features with a shift toward ‘anonymity’, the current study suggests that this evolution may be more transitional and fluid in nature rather than a completed process (Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009; Pujolar and González 2013; Codó and Patiño-Santos 2014; Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015).

Here, authenticity locates the value of a language in its relationship to a particular community and is viewed as the genuine expression of such a community. An authentic language is very much ‘from somewhere’ in speakers’ minds and thus its meaning is constituted as profoundly local. Woolard (2008, 2016), drawing from Nagel (1986), defines anonymity as ‘a view from nowhere’, where a language is unmarked and a ‘neutral public variety’, that can be used equally by everyone in a society precisely because the language belongs to no-one-in-particular. Woolard (2016) adds that:

Under autonomy and particularly in the 21<sup>st</sup> century there has been a turn-unsteady and sometimes unconvincing, but still a turn-away from traditional authenticity-based discourses of language at both the public and personal level in Catalonia. [A turn] toward anonymity and allied concepts such as cosmopolitanism.

(Woolard 2016, p. 8)

From this perspective, brought on by the advent of globalisation, views of languages and identities in this study were constructed as hybrid, multiple and fluid (Williams and Morris 2000; Heller 2003; Duchêne and Heller 2007; Pujolar 2007a, b; Woolard and Frekko 2013; Torbisco-Casals 2017; Gamper-Sachse 2018). In this regard, the *language-as-a-resource* perspective was widely discussed by the informants (Ruiz 1984, 2010), where Catalan was

constructed *as-a-resource* to bind a heterogeneous society together through democratic linguistic practices, promoting the multilingual and multicultural composition of Catalan society (de Jong *et al.* 2016).

In the current study, one informant called for Catalonia to be based on what he labelled ‘civic ideals’ rather than just the Catalan language as a marker of ‘Catalanness’ (see section 5.2.1). In this sense, the Catalan language cemented a shared civic sense and a cultural affectiveness to Catalan identity (Woolard 2016; Mulcahy 2017), or what Heller (2006) calls, ‘a common language of civic participation’. Here, Catalan identity is based on the concept of *ius linguae*, whereby anyone speaking Catalan is considered to be Catalan, in contrast to a primordial *ius sanguinis*, based on descent and ancestry (Boix-Fuster 2014). This formulation of Catalan, from ethnic to civic language, attempts to remove its class, gender and other indexicalities in order for it to be able to function as an anonymous ‘voice from nowhere’ (Pujolar 2001; Frekko 2009; Woolard 2016; Atkinson 2018). Such a conceptualisation mirrors wider Catalan government policy and political rhetoric which promotes the idea of a collective nation in an attempt to erase the apparent linguistic and cultural divisions in the region (Woolard 1989; Franco-Guillén and Zapata-Barrero 2014).

This formulation of Catalan as a ‘civic language’ is a good illustration of Roudometof’s (2005) conceptualisation of glocalisation, one that firstly permits for ‘situational openness’ within local contexts and, secondly, a degree of detachment from local ties (see section 2.2.2). A positive evaluation of this linguistic cosmopolitanism has contributed to reducing both in-group solidarity and out-group rejection in Catalonia, prompting the removal of language boundaries (Woolard and Gahng 1990; Newman *et al.* 2008; Pujolar and González 2013; Woolard and Frekko 2013). In addition, cosmopolitan-minded individuals are also likely to be more accepting of immigrants or newcomers to a region (Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009; Newman *et al.* 2013), an issue that was commonly discussed by the informants (see section 6.2.3). However, the conceptualisation of Catalonia as a civic nation was more prominent when the informants discussed the role of Catalan and Spanish in the independence project in Catalonia (see section 6.5.1).

The data also indicated that the informants were not a homogenous group and their language attitudes and evaluations did not always converge with Catalan government policy or the national ideology. From this perspective, the current study indicates that Catalan society may not be moving lockstep toward a loss of ethnolinguistic divisions. Considering this, the data

indicated that the Catalan language still ‘identifies the territory’ (Boix-Fuster 2014) for many of those who contributed to this investigation. As such, some of the research findings presented in the previous chapter contradict Woolard’s (2016) claim that Catalan is becoming an increasingly anonymous language. Considering this, the idea that Catalan was a civic language was not shared by all of the informants. At various stages research participants detailed the importance of Catalan to them and the role that it played in shaping a unique Catalan identity, perhaps confirming the assertion that the ‘ethnonational paradigm’ still lingers for some in Catalonia (Frekko 2011; Pujolar and González 2013; Woolard 2013; Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015) (see section 5.2.1). These findings coincide with Lapresta-Rey *et al.* (2010), who also noted that attitudes of autochthonous speakers remained, to some degree, anchored in their identity. From this perspective, what Ianos *et al.* (2017a, b) identifies as the ‘de-traditionalisation’ of Catalan, located in its nucleus in Barcelona, may be less prominent in areas like Girona (where this study was conducted) and further afield.

Nevertheless, as in many post-national, cosmopolitan regions elsewhere, speakers’ choices in Catalonia are increasingly tied to a flexible mobilisation of their linguistic resources (Duchêne and Heller 2012; Soler-Carbonell *et al.* 2017). The ongoing reformulation of the Catalan languages role in society has, almost paradoxically, enabled Catalan to be used *as-a-resource* in more places and spaces, especially in the public sphere (Ruiz 1984, 2010; Frekko 2013; Soler-Carbonell 2013). This change is unsurprising given the fact that Catalonia has long been portrayed as a *terra de pas*, a land of passage or frontier zone, where co-occurring and non-oppositional identity practices are common (Conversi 2000; Marshall 2006; Hawkey 2018). This dynamic was further amplified by the forces of globalisation and the contemporary demographic changes in the territory (Garzón 2012; Block 2016; Woolard 2016). In this regard, the findings of this investigation are in line with Lapresta-Rey *et al.* (2010, 2018), who note that the more recent waves of migration to Catalonia have generated a multilingual and multicultural discourse, one that promotes inter-group relations in the territory.

To summarise, the processes of globalisation have presented a unique set of circumstances in Catalonia, which in turn have resulted in new opportunities for the development of a local ethnolinguistic community (Heller 2003). With increasing mobility and interconnectivity at the global level, languages and cultures have been able to free themselves from the territorial ties of yore (Pujolar *et al.* 2011). Woolard (2016) concludes that whilst Catalan maintains its position as a language of prestige, there continues to be a reformulation of the relationship

between language and national identity in Catalonia, with a shift from Catalan as an authentic to an anonymous language. However, the current findings echo Iveson's (2018) research, insofar as that for some research participants, Catalan acted as a language of civic participation while for others the language was rooted in a linguistic and cultural national narrative (Heller 2006; Soler-Carbonell 2013; Mulcahy 2017). Considering this, the strengthening of ideological borders could potentially be perceived as a reaction not only to Spanish/Catalan government tensions but also to the transnationalisation of the Catalan national space (Balibar 2004; Zappettini 2016; Iveson 2018) (see section 3.3).

### **6.2.2 Catalonia is not Spain: Language and National Identity**

Jenkins (1996) argues that "(...) similarities cannot be recognised without delineating differences" (Jenkins 1996, p. 80), and one of the elements that a particular group has in common is their difference from others. Adding to this, sub-state nations often regard the state or states containing them as alien and uphold a separate sense of national identity (Erickson 2011; Hepburn 2011; Guibernau 2013a; Jeram 2013; Conversi and Jeram 2017). In this study, Catalan was understood as the vehicle for an anti-Spanish counterpublic.

Positive evaluations of Catalan were framed around the language's role in constructing what Castells (2010a) calls a unique 'refuge of identifiable meaning', with Catalan serving as a means to distinguish Catalonia from Spain and resist Spanish hegemony (Gore 2002; Nagy 2012; Ucelay-Da Cal 2013; Illas 2014; Iveson 2017, 2018; Hawkey 2018). When discussing language and culture, respondents often referred to Catalonia as a self-contained entity, which served to underscore linguistic and cultural differences correlated to geographical distance. From this perspective, Catalan acted as a symbolic resource in the construction of a 'differentiated identity' between Catalonia and Spain, serving not only to provide a sense of 'who we are' but perhaps more importantly 'who we are not' (Blackledge and Creese 2012). This reflects Vila *et al.*'s (2018) claim that many of Catalonia's citizens identify with a Catalan identity which is different from a Spanish one.

The many facets of globalisation, one of which is the unprecedented number of new migrants, has created a new 'superdiverse' Catalonia (Blommaert 2010; Rodríguez-García *et al.* 2018). According to Jeram *et al.* (2016), migrants may be portrayed by sub-state nations either as 'foes', threatening the cultural and linguistic unity or as 'friends', boosting an economy and integrating into the group's language and culture. In this study, it was clear that migrants or

‘new Catalans’ were placed within the ‘friends’ category of Jeram *et al.*’s (2016) typology and the assimilation of migrants into Catalan society was seen as a way to further emphasise the territory as a separate cultural and political unit distinct from the larger nation-state of Spain (see e.g., Gore 2002; Erickson 2011; Franco-Guillén 2011; Rodon and Franco-Guillén 2014; Woolard 2016; Conversi and Jeram 2017; Wilson-Daily *et al.* 2018).

The presence of a ‘us-the nation’ and ‘them-the foreigners’ discourse (Billig 1995; van Dijk 1995; Hall and Du Gay 1996), is frequently found in contexts of minoritised languages (see e.g., Heller 1999b; Kelly-Holmes 2011; Walsh and O’Rourke 2014; Atkinson and Kelly-Holmes 2016). Respondents frequently constructed Spaniards and Catalans as separate national and homogeneous groups. As Lepič (2017) notes:

The commemorated legacy of attempts to coercively homogenize Catalan ethnicity/culture by the Spanish state serves as a means of group definition and delimitation with the ‘us and them’ division as a rhetorical tool that utilises past grievances against centralizing tendencies to awaken Catalan national identity.

(Lepič 2017, p. 193)

In this study, through constructing two dichotomous groups, with the language at the centre of this distinction, the informants actively created distance between the two groups, namely Catalans and Spaniards.

The data echoed Guibernau’s (2007) claim that by promoting their own distinctive identities, national minorities challenge the state-created myth of a culturally homogeneous population. Such a point of view reflects the tactic of adequation/distinction, foregrounding the in-group similarities and rejecting any similarities with Spain or Spanish culture (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). In this respect, Catalan had a multifaceted role in a modern society. The language was not only constructed *as-a-resource* to distinguish the region from Spain but also acted as a facilitator of social cohesion within a linguistically and culturally heterogeneous Catalonia (Ruiz 1984, 2010; Pujolar 2010; Newman *et al.* 2013; Ianos *et al.* 2017a, b).

Furthermore, the political climate that propagated an anti-Catalan discourse at the time of the data collection (see section 3.4), seemed to intensify the prioritisation of Catalan identity over Spanish identity. In this regard, various forms of an anti-Catalanism discourse seemed to result in strong feelings of injustice amongst those who contributed to this research. Respondents saw

themselves as unfairly targeted by an anti-Catalanist Spain, and for some, this mistreatment was further proof of the region's fundamental incompatibility with Spain (Crameri 2015). These findings reflect the wider literature insofar as language attitudes and their evolution are closely associated with social, political and cultural developments (Woolard 1989; Baker 1992; Garrett 2010; Schwartz and Verschik 2013; Tódor and Dégi 2016).

### **6.2.3 Unitary Bond**

May (2012) suggests that the symbolic link between language and culture is growing in an increasingly globalised world. From this perspective, language and culture come to stand for, or symbolically represent, the particular ethnic and/or national collectivities that speak them. Edwards (2009) adds that “it is the symbolic charge that language carries that makes it such an important component in individual and group identity” (Edwards 2009, p. 5). In line with this, informants regularly stressed the importance of the Catalan language in wider Catalan culture. For example, informants described the language as a ‘core’ or ‘key factor’, uniting Catalonia and Catalan culture (see section 5.2.2). In addition, Smolicz (1979) underscored the importance of language as a ‘core cultural value’ with the potential to engender solidarity between speakers, thus reinforcing in-group links (see section 6.2.2). In line with Hawkey's (2018) findings, the current data support the centrality of language to minority culture, with the Catalan language retaining a powerful indexical value among the respondents in this study. As such, the symbolic valuing of Catalan was evident and the language was thought to continue to form part of Catalan national identity.

Scholars note that what binds us together as humans (beyond social distinctions) is a key feature of some definitions of cosmopolitanism (Vertovec and Cohen 2002; Appiah 2005, 2007). This investigation revealed that a rhetoric of multilingualism, cosmopolitanism and globalisation was drawn upon by the research participants to create new fluid sociolinguistic meanings (Pujolar 2007a, b). For example, one respondent described the Catalan language as a mechanism of cohesion in Catalan society (see section 5.2.1.1). In addition, another research participant described the language as more than just a means of communication but rather as a force to unite or a ‘link among people with different cultural backgrounds’ (see section 5.2.2); implying that the Catalan language could potentially foster social cohesion in a Catalonia that is becoming increasingly diverse, with the language serving to bind groups together as collectives or communities (Conversi 2000, 2002; Ianos *et al.* 2017a, b; Lasagabaster 2017).

This reformulation of the language as a unifying mechanism was also mirrored in its role in the Catalan independence movement (Pujolar 2010) (see section 6.5.2).

Reflecting the literature, this study found that knowledge of Catalan was certainly advantageous academically, professionally and for granting equality of opportunities as it permits one to function and be accepted in certain sectors of Catalan society (Pieras-Guasp 2002; Marshall 2006; Newman 2011; Corona *et al.* 2013). The integrative value of Catalan is particularly pertinent in smaller towns and villages in Catalonia where the language is often the main language in daily life (Alarcón and Garzón 2011). From this perspective, Catalan was viewed as a significant resource and knowledge of Catalan and its use were perceived as symbols of a willingness to integrate into Catalan society (Gore 2002; Marshall 2006; Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009; Lapresta-Rey *et al.* 2010; Pujolar 2010; Woolard 2016; Ianos *et al.* 2017a, b; Lapresta-Rey *et al.* 2018). Given the fact that this study was conducted in Girona, where the use of Catalan is widespread (see section 1.2.2), it was unsurprising that the research participants stressed the benefits of knowing and using the regional language. This was because, as described above, knowledge of Catalan represents a catalyst for social integration into society, both professionally and socially at the local level. From this perspective, informants showed positive attitudes toward Catalan and it was located within the *language-as-a-resource* paradigm of Ruiz's (1984, 2010) language orientations.

## **6.3 Spanish: From Resource to Problem**

When discussing their attitudes toward the Spanish language, interviewees showed the key characteristics of Ruiz's (1984, 2010) orientations toward languages introduced in section 2.3.1. Ruiz (1984) notes that language orientations should not be seen as mutually exclusive, and may be, "(...) competing but not incompatible approaches" (Ruiz 1984, p. 18). Catalonia serves as a good example of the coexistence of the *language-as-a-resource* and *language-as-a-problem* orientations within a particular context. The findings are examined below, with the discussion focusing on the more positive evaluations of Spanish before exploring the more negative estimations of the language.

### **6.3.1 Multilingualism as a Resource**

Globalisation increasingly requires languages for international communication (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003; Dörnyei *et al.* 2006; Amorós-Negre 2017). Given the centrality of multilingual realities around the world today, the notion of multilingualism *as-a-resource* was a prominent theme to emerge from the data (de Jong *et al.* 2016). Adding to the construction of a cosmopolitan identity, research participants articulated a respect for the Spanish language and the cultural practices of Spain. Revealing the cognitive component of an attitude (see section 2.3.2), Spanish was appreciated for its pragmatic value factor and the language was placed in the *language-as-a-resource* orientation by those who contributed to this study (Ruiz 1984, 2010).

As the second most spoken language worldwide and the national language of Spain, Spanish seemed to be considered a useful communicative tool and had an instrumental value attached to it (Doyle 1996; Pieras-Guasp 2002; Bernaus *et al.* 2004; Heller 2008; Huguet and Janés-Carulla 2008; Ibarraran *et al.* 2008; Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009; Newman 2011; Madariaga *et al.* 2013; Ethnologue 2018). This instrumental value associated with Spanish, both commercially and in terms of number of speakers, is consistent with previous research conducted in Catalonia (see e.g., Janés-Carulla 2006a, b; Bernaus *et al.* 2007; Lapresta-Rey *et al.* 2010; Ianos *et al.* 2017a, b; Ianos *et al.* 2018). Informants believed that Spanish was a useful language to know and could lead to increased possibilities of employability, both nationally and globally (Woolard 1989, 2016; Ferrer 2000; Rendon 2007; Pujolar 2010; Soto 2011; Martínez and Blas Arroyo 2012).

Positive attitudes toward Spanish were rooted in the languages ability to act *as-a-resource* to integrate into Spanish society. This was especially relevant in areas of Catalonia where Catalan may not be widely spoken, such as Barcelona, where mass transnational migration has brought hundreds of thousands of ‘new’ speakers of Catalan. These findings correspond with Fukuda (2017), who found that learning Spanish was deemed more necessary, useful and attractive for immigrants than learning Catalan. This was because knowledge of the national language may present more economic (globalisation) opportunities (albeit in poorly paid roles), geographic mobility and it assists with integrating into society (Gore 2002; Kymlicka 2006; Woehrling 2008). In this respect, knowledge of Spanish was understood *as-a-resource* because it could potentially assist in the process of integration in a multilingual and multicultural domain (Ruiz 1984, 2010; Cummins *et al.* 2006).

Informants acknowledged that it may be more pragmatic or beneficial to learn Spanish if you were newly arrived to Catalonia, as reflected in comments such as, ‘[when a foreigner] comes here and learns Spanish first, because it is a strong language. Well, I can adapt to this situation. Yes, because this person will have more opportunities’ (see section 5.3.1). However, respondents were also keen to stress that if you were a long-term resident of the territory then you should be willing to learn and communicate in Catalan. Fukuda (2017) found that Catalan was learned mainly by long-term residents, especially by those who employed it as the main language in their daily lives. Here Catalan was regarded as a vehicle of upward social mobility, progress and socio-economic improvement (Mollà 2006; Pujolar 2007a, b; Newman 2011; Soto 2011; Corona *et al.* 2013; Ianos *et al.* 2017a, b), or what Blommaert (2010) labels a, ‘high-mobility resource’, which unlocks and allows ‘mobility across situations’ within Catalonia. Similar to the findings in this research, Østergaard-Nielsen (2009) found that in the case of Moroccan migrants if their objective was to settle permanently in Catalonia they seemed to be driven by the instrumental and integrative values of learning Catalan.

In addition, informants seemed to be consciously (or unconsciously) aware that the future of Catalan hinged on immigrants’ willingness to adopt the language as their own (Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015; Lasagabaster 2017). As previous studies have reported, Spanish serves as the host language or language of communication amongst newcomers to Catalonia, while Catalan continues to be the language learned only by those who wish to settle down in the region (Aguilera 2001; Beltrán Antolín and Sáiz López 2001; Ros 2006; Soto 2011). In this sense, the findings of this investigation align with Soler-Carbonell (2013), who suggests that in the era of

globalisation, attitudes about minority languages (in this case Catalan) may shift from identity-based values toward more pragmatic and instrumental ones over time.

### **6.3.2 Spanish as a Problem**

When the informants discussed the Spanish language, their negative attitudes rarely focused directly on the language itself but rather on a range of attitudinal related topics. Dragojevic *et al.* (2013) argue that “Language attitudes are not only a product of the present times, but also a reflection of complex histories of domination and sub-ordination that, in some cases, can be traced back hundreds of years” (Dragojevic *et al.* 2013, p. 20). In this study, informants associated the Spanish language with repression, Francoism and a retrograde Spanish state (Nagel 2009). Here, the Spanish language was far from being ‘anonymous’ or a ‘voice from nowhere’, but the language was seen as being very much from somewhere specific, that was, a state that the informants clearly did not identify with (Woolard 2008). As such, the *language-as-a-problem* discourse dominated the debate on the role of the Spanish language in modern Catalan society (Ruiz 1984, 2010).

Negative attitudes toward Spanish were evident when the current linguistic situation in Catalonia was discussed. Informants stated that the Spanish language and culture was being imposed on Catalan society. What was perceived as the previously mentioned forced linguistic homogenisation of Catalonia had become a key force in shaping the respondents’ attitudes toward Spanish. The data revealed that due to the perceived intolerance toward Catalan by the Spanish state, both in a historical and also in a more contemporary sense, Spanish was seen as a symbol of a repressive state, a view that seemed to have fortified significantly over the last number of years (Doyle 1996; May 2012; Crameri 2014; Franco-Guillén and Zapata-Barrero 2014; Colomer 2017). The analysis also revealed that the perceived aggressive pro-Spanish approach was aimed at undermining plurinationality in Catalonia and subduing secessionist sentiment, with the objective being to reinforce a culturally homogeneous state (Roller 2002; Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009; Amorós-Negre 2017).

The public use of language in Catalonia was frequently a source of debate during the data collection procedures. The view that Spanish was being imposed in Catalonia was particularly prevalent when the informants discussed the use of Spanish in public domains and spaces, as is evident in comments such as, ‘Public use of [Catalan] is unequal’ (see section 5.3.2.1). In terms of a linguistic hierarchy, Shohamy (2006) posits that the presence (or absence) of a

language, “(...) sends direct and indirect messages with regard to the centrality versus the marginality of certain languages in society” (Shohamy 2006, p. 10). Furthermore, including minority languages in the public space makes a statement about the validity and vitality of the language in question (Marten *et al.* 2011; Moriarty 2011). In this respect, the research participants expressed their dissatisfaction that, as they perceived it, Spanish was becoming more prominent and widespread in Catalonia to the detriment of Catalan. It was clear that the continued use of Spanish in public domains marked which language was dominant and which language was not, with Spanish currently occupying the more dominant role according to the informants.

The marginalisation of Catalan in the public arena also seemed to upgrade the symbolic status of Catalan as a language that was threatened and required defending (Shohamy 2006). This is in line with, Landry and Bourhis (1997), who observe that in specific domains the presence or absence of rival languages can come to symbolise the strength or weakness of competing groups. De Klerk and Wiley (2010) also argue that the minority status of a language, in this case Catalan, means its limited visibility assumes an even greater symbolic value, as it becomes a mark of resistance for minority groups. The desire for increased visibility of the Catalan language across domains seemed to be in response to the sense that Catalan continued to suffer from a process of political subordination in the region. This was combined with the perceived hegemonic imposition of the Spanish language in Catalonia (Boix-Fuster and Sanz 2008).

To summarise, the current findings support Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006) and Donitsa-Schmidt’s (2017) assertion that languages define the ‘symbolic construction of the public space’, which reflect sociological hierarchies, hegemonic power relations, political agendas, the marginality of certain languages and groups, as well as attempts for power resistance. In this study, at a local level, generally Spanish was viewed *as-a-problem*; however, it was seen as a valuable economic resource in other geographical contexts, for example, in Barcelona. In addition, the perceived over-representation of Spanish, and subsequent under-representation of Catalan in the linguistic landscape of Girona added to the symbolic value and status of the language for the research participants.

## **6.4 Societal bilingualism: A Contested Landscape**

(...) the study of language choice [and code-switching] can shed light on the ways in which groups struggle over resources, and on the ways in which individual members of a community contribute to that struggle by creatively and strategically exploiting their linguistic resources in key interactions.

(Heller 1992, p. 139)

Cases of societal bilingualism offer complex configurations of language attitudes and previous studies have provided evidence for the claim that self-reported language use correlates closely with language attitudes (Woolard and Gahng 1990; Wölck 2004; Schilling 2014; Hawkey 2018). Therefore, this section continues to focus on the language attitudes (toward Catalan and Spanish) of the research participants through the lens of their language choice with a view to understanding how language operated *as-a-resource* and/or *as-a-problem* for the research participants. However, Baker (1992) highlights that behaviour does not necessarily give a true picture of social reality and as such, “we need to be careful not to confuse people’s claims about their behaviour with their actual behaviour” (Romaine 1995, p. 317). For example, every particular instance of human action is determined by a unique set of factors and any change in circumstances (context, time and occasion), be it ever so slight, might produce a different reaction (Ajzen 2005; Gross 2015).

In the current study, the data indicated that language choice was, “(...) inseparable from political arrangements, relations of power, language ideologies [or attitudes], and interlocutors’ views of their own and others’ identities” (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004, p. 1). As such, language choice was not random and when choosing to use one language over another, respondents seemed to base their decision on their wish to negotiate their position in interpersonal relations or to identify themselves with a certain group, be it an ethnic group, national group, peer group or ideological group (García *et al.* 2006; Mabule 2015). Taking this into consideration, this study demonstrated a complex set of attitudes toward language with a multiplicity of existing language attitudes that positioned bilingualism both *as-a-problem* and *as-a-resource* (Ruiz 1984, 2010; Martínez *et al.* 2015), a factor that seemed to be dependent on the perceived ethnolinguistic identity of the inoculator. Given this, a preference for choosing to communicate in a certain language can provide a window into the affective component of language attitudes (Hawkey 2018) (see section 2.3.2).

### **6.4.1 A Fractured Process**

Switching between languages or converging toward Spanish was a contentious issue in this study. The *language-as-a-problem* (Ruiz 1984, 2010) discourse dominated the debate when the informants discussed occasions when Spanish speakers showed an unwillingness to engage in accommodative practice. Historically in Catalonia, the sociolinguistic norm was that language choice favoured linguistic convergence towards Spanish (Boix-Fuster 1993; Bastardas-Boada 2012; Woolard 2016). In other words, Catalan speakers were the ones who overwhelmingly switched language to Spanish when necessary. Adding to this, Woolard (2008) points out that while some scholars argue that given the multilingual composition of Catalonia, it may be almost impossible to carry out all the activities of everyday life in a language like Catalan naturally, this may not be entirely true for first-language speakers in areas outside the capital city (Barcelona), especially in an area like Girona, the city that was the focus of this research (see section 1.2.2).

According to Woolard's (1989) typology, code-switching patterns can be determined by the following traits; interlocutor choice, location, physical cues and accent. In the current study, research participants frequently blamed themselves for switching to Spanish in the past and displayed a refusal or resistance to accommodate Spanish speakers in the future. This reflects Woolard's (2008, 2016) finding that some Catalans have stopped the practice of the 'accommodation norm', whereby Catalans switch language to 'accommodate' Spanish speakers. The data analysis also reflects Pujolar and González's (2013) work, who found that between, "(...) a third and a half of the native speakers of Catalan expect Castilian speakers to accommodate and either refuse or resist accommodating to Castilian in the traditional way" (Pujolar and González 2013, p. 149). As such, old patterns of language choice based on ethnic ascription were only followed by a minority in this research. For example, one respondent stated that having a conversation with one person speaking Catalan and the other person speaking Spanish is now 'a normal practice' in Catalonia (see section 5.4.2). In line with Iveson (2018), this practice of not switching languages, as evidenced in the data, could be interpreted as a strategy to make a stand against the alleged continued provocation from the Spanish government (see section 3.3).

As illustrated in chapter two, the rapid increase in immigration is fracturing existing norms of practice (and associated identities), across domains in Catalonia (Oller and Vila 2010; Oller *et*

al. 2011; Frekko 2011; May 2012; Rodríguez-García *et al.* 2018). In the region, there seems to be a standard practice of speaking Spanish rather than Catalan to those sometimes mistakenly perceived, based on the presence of L2 features or even physical appearance, as non-proficient Catalan speaking. This is because Spanish is frequently viewed as the neutral code, one that everyone understands and speaks, and so, it is the language that offers more guarantees for success in interpersonal communication (Pujolar 2007a, b; Codó 2008; Galindo-Solé 2008; Codó and Garrido 2010; Marshall 2012; Alarcón and Garzón 2013; Pujolar and González 2013). Considering this, the negative attitudes toward convergence were not only confined to interpersonal communications between Catalan speakers and Spanish speakers resident in Catalonia, but informants' negative attitudes toward linguistic convergence also extended to the practice of speaking Spanish whenever interlocutors were not perceived as being from Catalonia. It was in this regard that the *language-as-a-problem* discourse dominated the debate (Ruiz 1984, 2010). As has been demonstrated (see section 5.2.2), respondents argued that Catalans should now show more pride for their language. Related to this, the data indicated that individuals should now communicate in Catalan, not Spanish if the interlocutor was deemed not to be from Catalonia.

Interestingly, in multilingual societies, languages, as well as being markers of identity, can also potentially serve as, “(...) sites of resistance, empowerment, solidarity or discrimination” (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004, p. 4). In this study, it was apparent that choosing to speak in Catalan was used as a form of resistance to counter the perceived attacks on the language by the Spanish government and to resist the Spanish language as it represented a mechanism of state power.

#### **6.4.2 Linguistic Cosmopolitanism**

In a region where about 300 languages are spoken (see section 1.2.1), a *lingua franca* is often needed to be able to communicate in Catalonia. In this research Spanish was the language that was most commonly used for this purpose. The analysis demonstrates that Spanish functioned not only as a powerful *lingua franca* between speakers of Catalan and newcomers but also between people of communities that did not share a common repertoire (Alarcón and Garzón 2011; Llurda 2013; Newman *et al.* 2013; Codó and Patiño-Santos 2014).

The current study indicated that there continues to be a change in attitudes toward language use and convergence in Catalonia and there is now an openness to accommodating other

groups' linguistic preferences and an emphasis is placed on getting along across ethnolinguistic boundaries (Boix-Fuster 1993; Woolard and Gahng 1990; Newman *et al.* 2008; Pujolar and González 2013; Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015). As such, the assumption of Catalan as an intrinsic part of the respondents' identities was not necessarily in contradiction with their use of Spanish in certain situations (Newman *et al.* 2008; Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009). Reflecting a fundamental aspect of the *language-as-a-resource* orientation, linguistic diversity societal multilingualism and cultural diversity were viewed as a social asset that should be maintained and nurtured by those who contributed to this research (Ruiz 1984, 2010; Hornberger 2002). For example, one research participant stated that, 'of course I can switch language[s]'. Another informant expressed the following in reference to communicating to newcomers to Catalonia, 'obviously you will answer him in Spanish without any problem at all' (see section 5.4.2).

As Catalonia is a context characterised by fluid and ever-changing patterns of mobility and contact, particularly in urban areas, it was clear that language choice was often a secondary concern to that of the communicative function of speaking Catalan or Spanish (Pujolar and González 2013; Woolard and Frekko 2013). Language choice was primarily a matter of style and personal preference rather than ethnic affiliation (Pujolar and González 2013; Woolard 2016). The data analysis also reflected Newman *et al.*'s (2008) work, who found that Catalan speakers who demonstrated a willingness to converge to Spanish can be seen as individuals who are more linguistically cosmopolitan; where attitudes favouring accommodation, bilingualism and diversity are prominent (Newman *et al.* 2008; Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009; Newman 2011; Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015). This embracement of a form of linguistic cosmopolitanism can possibly be viewed as one of several possible constructions of living in present-day Catalonia.

For the new Spanish speaking migrant groups to Catalonia, the existence of Catalan is often an unexpected surprise, and frequently results in an additional problem for migrants (Calavita 2005; Huguet and Janés-Carulla 2008; Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009; Newman *et al.* 2013; Poggeschi 2015; Ianos *et al.* 2017a, b; Patiño-Santos 2018). The majority of those who contributed to this study were only open to having bilingual conversations or converging toward Spanish if, at some stage in the future, the entire discussion could take place in Catalan. Such an attitude reflects the argument that Catalans who converge to Spanish, do not lose their ethnolinguistic identity and concurrent primary language loyalty but show that they are open

to the other ethnolinguistic communities (Newman *et al.* 2008; Woolard and Frekko 2013; Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015). Here, convergence toward Spanish was seen as an instrument, or resource, to introduce potential new speakers to the Catalan language.

Informants recognised the power of bilingualism as an asset for communicating across communities in Catalonia. However, the perceived continued spread of Spanish in the territory was viewed as problematic. The data affirm the need of a complex view of ‘resource’ that recognises the multidimensionality of the *language-as-a-resource* orientation itself, i.e., different languages can be simultaneously positioned differently as resources within the same context (de Jong *et al.* 2016).

## **6.5 Calls for Independence: The Role of Catalan and Spanish**

The previous section revealed how in response to the forces of globalisation and migration there continues to be a dynamic and ongoing refashioning of the ties between language and identity in Catalonia. Such a sentiment was also interwoven into the sovereignty process in the region. The independence movement, and by extension Catalonia, was presented as modern, outward-looking and European, in contrast to a (pen)insular, hidebound and anti-modernist Spain (Nagel 2009; Woolard 2016). The space that Catalan and Spanish occupied in the independence project was embedded in a form of ‘cosmopolitan nationalism’ or ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’ (Appiah 2005; Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009; Woolard 2016) (see section 2.2.1), whereby individuals can adhere to both a national identity and global identity, universal values are displayed and language becomes ‘anonymous’. In this sense, the data revealed globally positive attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish (speakers) when discussing their roles in the modern independence process and the linguistic diversity in the territory was framed *as-a-resource* (Ruiz 1984, 2010).

The discussion below first explores the research participants’ views on the role of the Catalan language in the independence movement. The role of Spanish speakers, the Spanish language and *Súmate* in the sovereigntist discourse is then examined. The mobilisation of the Catalan language in response to its treatment by the Spanish state is also explored. This section then concludes with a discussion pertaining to the independence movement and the future of Catalan and Spanish in Catalonia according to the research participants.

### **6.5.1 21<sup>st</sup> Century Catalanisme**

The data analysis revealed that the independence movement in Catalonia had historically made the error of associating ‘Catalanness’ with exclusively speaking Catalan (Pujolar and González 2013; Soler-Carbonell 2013). Interviewees were keen to stress that such an approach was a mistake, as it had only resulted in certain demographics being excluded from the community. In this investigation, there was evidence to suggest that a form of linguistic nationalism was still present in Catalonia albeit dissociated in many ways from the internal forms of ethnic classification found in earlier studies in the region (Pujolar and González 2013). Section 6.2.1 revealed that while Catalan remained an important aspect of self-identity, the data indicated

that within the discourse of the sovereignty movement in the region the relationship between language and independence had been reframed in recent years.

The removal of ethnolinguistic divisions was prominent when the informants discussed the sovereignty movement in Catalonia, whereby the right to decide on the region's future was presented as an inclusive broad-based (transversal) civic rather than ethnic movement (May 2012; Urla 2012b; Woolard 2016; Cetrà 2019). Reflecting this, the data indicated that the role of Catalan in the independence process had shifted in recent years and now embodied a type of 'integrative' or 'civic' nationalism, one with a reduced focus on linguistic criteria (Clua-Fainé 2011, 2012; Woolard and Frekko 2013; Soler-Carbonell *et al.* 2016; Woolard 2016). For example, as one research participant put it, 'they are [the Catalan language and the independence process] not mutually exclusive, there is an important part of Catalan society that is not Catalan speaking but they are in favour of independence' (see section 5.5.1).

With this change, della Porta *et al.* (2017) note that the independence movement in Catalonia has increasingly tried to incorporate people not exposed to Catalan-centric cultural frames of reference, principally second-generation immigrants who were traditionally outside the scope of Catalan nationalism. The current study reflects Illas's (2014) work, who found that:

Separatism is no longer explicitly tied to the central identity mark of the language. The movement is composed of Catalan speaking and Spanish speaking militants, and has the support of multiple collectives of non-European immigrants with no historical links to the Catalan structures of feeling.

(Illas 2014, p. 6)

The cosmopolitan orientations displayed throughout the data seemed to have permitted for the opening of the independence project to an ethnolinguistically heterogeneous Catalan society (Newman 2011). The data revealed that choosing to communicate in Spanish or Catalan had little impact on the research participants' views on the Catalan independence movement. In this regard, the sovereignty process seemed to hinge less and less on the value of the Catalan language as an index of 'authenticity' and more on its value for articulating an open public sphere and a cosmopolitan community (Woolard 2008, 2016).

To sum up, the data suggested that the Catalan language has become disinvested from the heart of the sovereignty movement. Drawing on Ruiz's (1984, 2010) language orientations,

multilingualism in Catalonia and more precisely in the independence process was not seen *as-a-problem*. Rather, the loosening of the link between the Catalan language and Catalan independence was constructed *as-a-resource* that was being used to recruit more non-native speakers of Catalan into the movement and increase the overall support base for an independent Catalonia. It was clear that if the Catalan language remained at the heart of the process (as it once did) this would only serve to alienate a large section of Catalan society and undermine the opportunity for Catalonia to become an independent state.

## **6.5.2 Beyond Linguistic Nationalism**

In short order, associated with globalisation, Catalonia has experienced major social changes following successive waves of immigration from other regions in Spain during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Since the turn of the century, these numbers have increased with the arrival of newcomers from different parts of the world, such as North and West Africa, Asia and Latin America (see e.g., Guibernau 1997; Conversi 2000, 2002; Escandell and Ceobanu 2009; Pujolar *et al.* 2011; Władyka and Morén-Alegret 2013; Poggeschi 2015; Cortès-Colomé *et al.* 2016; Conversi and Jeram 2017; Ianos *et al.* 2017a, b; Rodríguez-García *et al.* 2018). Today approximately 13.6% of the population in Catalonia are of foreign origin. In addition, the region has almost 3 million residents who are ‘new speakers’ of Catalan (Ledgeway and Maiden 2016; Puigdevall *et al.* 2018; Carbonell 2019). These large-scale and intense migratory movements have created increasingly diverse communities at the local level, communities that the independence movement and wider Catalan society has had to interact with (Pujolar *et al.* 2011; Alarcón and Garzón 2013).

While some scholars have criticised regionalist movements as pre-modern, closed and exclusivist (Hobsbawm 1992), others contend that such movements can be equally forward-looking and progressive (Keating 1996; Guibernau 1999; Hepburn 2011). Catalonia has long been constructed as a *terra d’acollida*, or a land of welcome, that seeks to accommodate immigrants from different origins into a society that has been built by a mixture of different cultures (Kleiner-Liebau 2009; May 2012; Franco-Guillén and Zapata-Barrero 2014). The long-standing rhetoric of the region being an open, welcoming and tolerant society (Gore 2002; Rodon and Franco-Guillén 2014), which are dominant in the public and political discourse, was a common theme to emerge from the data. This was particularly evident when the research participants discussed the role of migrants in the Catalan independence project. Considering

the above, Giudici (2012) argues (through the case of Wales) that stateless nations aiming to gain increasing autonomy (or independence) use their immigration history to construct and disseminate a tolerant and inclusive national image, one that aims to foster both indigenous peoples and migrants sense of national belonging. In addition, the findings of this investigation mirror those of Hepburn (2009) and Rodon and Franco-Guillén (2014), who suggest that sub-state nations may try to distinguish themselves from the nation-state by pursuing liberal or multicultural policies.

The data illustrated that the Catalan language was an instrument of inclusion rather than exclusion in the independence movement for migrants in the region. This mirrors Jeram's (2013) argument that in Catalonia the nationalist movement has attempted to fluidly absorb immigrants by emphasising the Catalan language as a unifying symbol of Catalan identity. Carbonell (2019) adds that:

To avoid the creation of two divided communities in Catalonia, there is a need for a new agreement about the civil unity of the country. In the face of the isolationist temptations to set Catalan identity against Spanish identity, pro-independence sectors must not ignore the social composition of Catalonia and the origins of a large part of the population, or fail to take into account the statistics regarding citizens' sense of identity (...)

(Carbonell 2019, p. 803)

Adding to the above, Coupland (2003) notes that, "(...) under globalization, communities interface with and impact upon one another, and [...] language is both a medium and a marker of new forms of interdependence (Coupland 2003, p. 467). Epitomising this community interdependence, informants frequently echoed Carbonell's (2019) assertion that "(...) the Catalan community has again and again been one of the most able to integrate new cultures and values from other parts of the planet" (Carbonell 2019, p. 803). Although informants in the current investigation shared a strong sense of territory, Catalonia is effectively a nation without a state with a large population of Spaniards and foreigners who do not share the same, grounded sense of belonging (Mercado 2015). Citizenship divorced from ethnolinguistic identity, therefore, becomes a useful concept when addressing immigration within, as Holston and Appadurai (1996) put it, a 'heterogeneous lived space'.

Respondents emphasised the importance of recruitment of immigrant descent citizens (and other immigrant linguistic groups) into the national project (Vila 2004a; Appiah 2005; Heller 2006; Newman *et al.* 2008; Siqués 2008; Pujolar 2010; May 2012; Urla 2012b; Boix-Fuster 2015). This mirrors Conversi and Jeram's (2017) argument that sub-state nations have an active interest in making immigrants into allies in their struggle against the central state. Other scholars have also noted an openness of Catalans to immigration and immigrants whom they may see as allies in their quest for independence and/or cultural perpetuation (see e.g., Vila 2004a; Erickson 2011; Boix-Fuster 2015; Woolard 2016; Triviño-Salazar 2018). Within the independence process, group boundaries were not exclusionary but rather permeable and facilitated the integration of recent arrivals to Catalonia (Wilson-Daily *et al.* 2018).

The change in attitude toward languages and views on the independence process, in response to the rapid changes in the region, was constructed as a positive development by the research participants. This was true, not only for both the independence movement but also the overall maintenance of the Catalan language, which depends on recruiting new speakers among immigrant groups (Strubell 2001; Erickson 2011; Woolard 2016; Ianos *et al.* 2017a, b; Triviño-Salazar 2018). This finding supports Serrano's (2013) claim that although Catalans of immigrant origin are far less likely to support independence, the gap between ethnic Catalans and immigrants is narrowing.

The relaxation of the link between language and independence is perhaps unsurprising given the sociolinguistic and socio-political diversity of modern Catalan society. From this perspective, the informants attitudes perhaps converge with government policies that promote the idea of a collective nation and the removal of linguistic and cultural divisions, in contrast to familiar nationalist political rhetoric (Corona *et al.* 2013; Newman *et al.* 2013; Pujolar and González 2013; Woolard and Frekko 2013; Woolard 2016). Given this, Newman and Trenchs-Parera (2015) note that immigrants are, "(...) welcomed into the Catalan national project and encouraged, but not coerced, into Catalan language loyalty" (Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015, p. 291). In this regard, the language and its role in the independence project was to cultivate a sense of coherence in the community (Woolard and Frekko 2013), and choosing to speak, or not speak Catalan and/or Spanish, is no longer indexical of strongly politicised static 'either-or' local ethnolinguistic identities but of more fluid 'both-and' post-national subjects (Woolard 1998; Beck and Grande 2007; Woolard and Frekko 2013; Esteban-Guitart and Vila 2015; Codó 2018; Sabaté-Dalmau 2018). However, there are researchers who have questioned

whether the independence project and wider Catalan society have been as ‘integrative’ as they claim (see e.g., Kleiner-Liebau 2009; Clua-Fainé 2011, 2012).

### **6.5.2.1 Spanish Speakers**

Dowling (2018) points out that no monolingual project for independence can ever attain a social majority in Catalonia. Considering this, the following paragraphs discuss the respondents’ attitudes toward Spanish speakers and their role in the modern independence project. Traditionally, Spanish speakers in Catalonia (usually descendants of families that arrived in the region from different regions in Spain during the 50s and 60s) had been excluded from the debate surrounding an independent Catalonia (Conversi 2000, 2002; Marshall 2006; Kleiner-Liebau 2009). Aramburu (2018) adds that until relatively recently, “(...) the traditional profile of independence supporters of immigrant origin was that of ‘boundary crossers’ who attempted to pass unnoticed among the natives, downplaying the possible marks of their different origins as much as possible” (Aramburu 2018, p. 11). However, as Siqués (2008) and Pujolar (2010) note, the new social composition of Catalonia has reframed the public discourse regarding Catalan and Spanish within the independence project. Aramburu (2018) offers a summary, stating that:

In the 2012 election, the independence movement realised that to secure a majority it had to attract a larger percentage of Castilian speakers. Since then, appeals to Catalans ‘regardless of where they come from and of the language they speak’ have been a constant in the impassioned speeches of pro-independence leaders, and that very fact implies a greater degree of recognition of the diversity of Catalan society than what had been customary in the official narrative until then.

(Aramburu 2018, p. 10)

Reflecting the comments above, the data analysis revealed that there were positive attitudes toward speakers of Spanish and there was an emphasis placed on incorporating Spanish speakers into the independence movement. As Ruiz (1984, 2010) maintains, a resource-oriented approach has the potential to alleviate tensions between majority and minority communities, to enhance the status of subordinate languages and to, “(...) reshape attitudes about language and language groups” (Ruiz 1984, p. 27). Through adopting a resource-oriented approach to Spanish speakers, the status of what had been historically the minority language within the independence community seemed to have been reshaped in recent years with more

positive attitudes being displayed. Here, speakers of Spanish were now viewed *as-a-resource* by the research participants; a resource that could be employed to increase the support base and probability of success for the independence project.

Jeram *et al.* (2016) argue that sub-state nationalist movements in Quebec, Catalonia, and Flanders are often referred to as linguistic nationalisms because of the defining role language plays in demarcating the sub-state from the nation-state. Such a conceptualisation is partly true of the data presented here. While Catalan did play a symbolic role in the construction of difference between Catalonia and Spain (see section 6.2.2), there was also evidence of a reduced focus on the language within the independence process. *Súmate* perhaps best represented the nature of, and changing role of languages, in the modern independence movement in Catalonia. *Súmate* is a Spanish speaking explicitly pro-independence organisation that broke with the traditional anti-Spanish cliché associated with Catalan nationalism, promoting tolerance and cooperation between different linguistic groups, elements that are the key attributes of the *language-as-a-resource* orientation (Ruiz 1984, 2010; Baker 2011; della Porta *et al.* 2017; Minder 2017).

With only around a third of Catalans using the Catalan language as an everyday means of communication (see section 1.2.1), *Súmate* embodied the linguistic reality of Catalan society. Aramburu (2018) states that “*Súmate’s* brand of Catalanism is what has been referred to as ‘destination-oriented Catalanism’-a form of nationalism that does not search for legitimacy by appealing to the past, but rather to a project for the future” (Aramburu 2018, p. 12). The group’s slogan is, ‘origins do not matter, it’s the objective that matters’, and the organisation aims to incorporate all people who share democratic values in order to build a new country (Súmate 2019). In addition, *Súmate* have campaigned successfully in places where nationalism had previously low levels of penetration, such as neighbourhoods and towns with high levels of immigration from other parts of Spain in the 1960s-1980s, such as the outskirts of Barcelona (della Porta *et al.* 2017).

For the interviewees, *Súmate* represented the ‘de-traditionalising’ properties of globalisation, as it provided a platform for Spanish speakers to identify with the independence project. This indicated that separatism is transforming into a hegemonic movement that has traversed linguistic divisions (Illas 2014; Woolard 2016; Minder 2017; Aramburu 2018; Dowling 2018). For the research participants, *Súmate* was founded as an organisation to facilitate Spanish immigrant descent and Spanish speaking citizens who supported the independence process in

Catalonia. In this sense, the organisation had emerged as a response to the number of transnational immigrants living in Catalonia as well as earlier immigration from other parts of Spain.

In summary, dominant Spanish discourses hostile to Catalan nationalism depict it and wider Catalan linguistic policies as illiberal and oppressive to Spanish speakers (Woolard 2016). However, the data presented in this research reveal an alternative portrait of Spanish speakers in the independence project. In brief, Spanish speakers were openly welcomed into the project and deemed critical if the push for an independent Catalonia was to be successful. The more recently arrived linguistic groups to Catalonia from Northern Africa, South America and Asia were also constructed as vital to the success of the independence project. From this perspective, the Catalan language now seemed to occupy a less prominent role in the independence movement, with a movement toward anonymity as described by Woolard (2016).

### **6.5.3 Madrid: The Impact of the Present**

Globalisation has added a potent means for independence projects to promote their own languages and cultures, denounce unfair situations and defend the right of peoples to decide upon their own political destiny (Conversi 2000; Guibernau 2004, 2007). Scott (1990) adds that the level of ethnic mobilisation can be directly proportional to the degree of perceived repression:

The greater the opposition-economic, political, social, religious, or some combination thereof-perceived by an ethnic group, the greater the degree to which its historical sense of distinctiveness will be aroused, and hence the greater its solidarity or the more intense its movement towards redress.

(Scott 1990, p. 164)

In this investigation, the subversion of the Catalan language by state bodies seemed to amplify the situation in the region. Respondents frequently cited the Spanish states poor treatment of the Catalan language and linguistic diversity in Spain in general, as a key factor in the growing calls for an independent Catalonia (see section 3.3 for more on the factors cited for the revival of nationalism in Catalonia).

Historically when the Catalan language was attacked by the Franco dictatorship its political importance increased (Conversi 2000; Balfour and Quiroga 2007). Similarly, the research participants argued that the current attitude of the Spanish state toward Catalan was as severe as the strict repression endured under Francoism. Here, Catalan had become a ‘trench of cultural resistance’ (Castells 2004) (see section 2.2.2), not only from the linguistic and cultural homogenising forces of globalisation (Duchêne and Heller 2012; Conversi 2013; Amorós-Negre 2017), but also a symbol of resistance to Spain’s propagation of monolingual ideals. The data indicated that the treatment of the Catalan language by Spain was closely interwoven with views on the independence process in Catalonia and, as such, fits Heller’s (2003) category of an ethnolinguistic minority who has long been organised around political, nationalist discourses centred on rights and boundaries. In this regard, the data suggested that the subversion of the language had become a rallying point for the research participants, reaffirming the idea that Catalan nationalists have consistently focussed on the issue of linguistic rights (Conversi 2000; Muñoz and Tormos 2015; Cetrà 2019).

The data indicated that the negative treatment of the language had served to consolidate and increase the calls for an independence referendum in the territory. This finding is consistent with Dowling (2018), who argues that as a symbol, the Catalan language is repeatedly perceived as being marginalised or persecuted by the Spanish state. This has provided a renewed capacity to pressure existing state orders with the defence of the language becoming a project of nation-building in itself (Keating 2006, 2009; Dowling 2018). Adding to this, Crameri (2015) notes that when speaking about growing support for independence in Catalonia, one of the most common factors mentioned by Catalans is the increasingly intolerant attitude towards them, and the Catalan language, from other Spaniards and the Spanish government. Such a sentiment was omnipresent in the data gathered for this research, as evinced in comments such as, ‘If they had treated a turd better there wouldn’t be such a large pro-independence base’ or ‘All of this [poor Catalan Spanish relations] over the course of different generations has resulted in a pro-independence movement that is now at its peak’ (see section 5.5.4).

To conclude, Conversi (2000) notes that in a pattern that has been recurrent throughout Catalan history, what started as a reaction against an attack on Catalan culture and language, has turned into an increasingly political movement. The discussion presented here supports Woolard’s (2016) claim that Madrid’s response, or lack of response, to the independence movement

combined with the linguistic subversion of Catalan in the region has acted as a “factory for independentists” (Woolard 2016, p. 6), producing an indignant backlash and increasing the numbers who support it.

#### **6.5.4 Catalan and Spanish: Moving Forward**

Exploring inclinations, intentions, commitments and future actions can assist in examining the conative or behavioural dimensions of language attitudes (Ajzen 2005) (see section 2.3.2). Thus, it was assumed that through exploring the informants’ attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish this research could provide a useful barometer for the future use of the languages as ultimately it is the views of the speakers which determine the direction that changes will take in the near future (Woolard and Gahng 1990; Baker 1992). In this regard, examining language attitudes can provide a window into the potential future mobilisation of languages either *as-a-problem* or *as-a-resource* (Ruiz 1984, 2010).

The data analysis exemplified the diversity of ways in which the centrality and officiality of languages (Catalan and Spanish) in a hypothetically independent Catalonia were discussed by the informants. The fact that Catalan was highly valued in this study *as-a-resource* provides an indication of the direction for the future use of the language. At the same time however, positive attitudes towards Catalan seemed to be accompanied by a general sense of pessimism amongst the interviewees about the future of the language. The analysis implies that the future of both Catalan and Spanish in the region would be determined by the outcome of the 2017 referendum.

Contrary to Jungbluth’s (2007) claim that in Catalonia, the struggle for the Catalan language is over and there is no danger for the future use of it, the informants maintained that Catalan was in danger and the future vitality of the language in the territory was largely unsecure. The data indicated that the future of Catalan was dependent on a successful ‘yes’ vote in the October 1<sup>st</sup> referendum in 2017. In this regard, a ‘yes’ vote could only serve to benefit the health of the language, whereas a ‘no’ vote could prove to be detrimental for the future of the language in the region. Respondents suggested that if a Catalan Republic was to be formed there should be some form of positive discrimination toward the Catalan language. Reflecting an awareness of the linguistic composition of the region, respondents also maintained that there should be some form of a transition period, whereby Spanish speakers would be accommodated until a stage was reached where Catalan was the primary language across the majority of domains in the territory. The question of whether Spanish should enjoy some sort of officiality in an

independent Catalonia was a more contentious issue. This echoes Frekko (2009a), Woolard (2016) and Atkinson's (2018) argument that neither Catalan nor Spanish is currently able to fulfil unambiguously the functions of a 'voice from somewhere' or a 'voice from nowhere'.

Olivieri (2015) argues that the construction and reconstruction of sub-state nationalism in a world of globalisation and migration can be a difficult balancing act between maintaining national identity and accepting cultural diversity. It is within this framework that sub-state nationalisms can be both exclusionary and inclusionary. On the one hand, the data indicated that there were positive attitudes toward Spanish speakers, as their support was vital for the success of the independence project in Catalonia. On the other hand, interviewees also argued that if a Catalan Republic was to be formed, then the Spanish language should be slowly phased out in the territory. In this respect, the data echoes Conversi and Jeram's (2017) argument that "(...) if the dialectic relationship between Spain and Catalonia were to be broken through secession, the successor Catalan state may reconsider the relationship between majority and minority cultures [or languages] as has occurred in other historical instances of secession" (Conversi and Jeram 2017, p. 63). In this regard, the views and attitudes expressed about the future of the Spanish language and Spanish speakers in Catalonia seemed to take an ethnonationalist approach, albeit amongst a minority of the respondents. This was in contrast to the frequently mentioned principles of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism that were present throughout the data.

In this respect, the data echoes Atkinson's (2018) assertion that the question of whether (some variety of) Spanish should enjoy some sort of officiality in an independent Catalonia remains a 'vexing' question, as evinced in comments such as, 'if it [Spanish] should be co-official, or well I don't know' (see section 5.6.2). Adding to this, the data indicated that anonymity was not just desirable but a prerequisite of survival of Catalan. However, informants did not see independence as guaranteeing the 'normalisation' and anonymity of Catalan. While acknowledging that the Spanish speaking community was vital to the success of the independence project, the data analysis suggests that any degree of officiality for Spanish in an independent Catalonia was more problematic; where there was a preference displayed for a Catalonia where Catalan was the sole language in the region. Such a discourse reflects elements of erasure, described by Irvine and Gal (2000) as "the process in which ideology, in simplifying the sociolinguistic field, renders some persons or activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) invisible. Facts that are inconsistent with the ideological scheme either go unnoticed or get

explained away” (Irvine and Gal 2000, pp. 38-39). As such, the findings reveal a complex divergence/convergence of issues surrounding the future of the Spanish language in Catalonia that are difficult to reconcile with the official political discourse of interculturalism and tolerance in Catalonia (see e.g., Kleiner-Liebau 2009; Clua-Fainé 2011, 2012; Cetrà 2019).

## **6.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has reviewed the results in relation to previous research, confirming the findings of previous investigations and also providing further insights. The discussion revealed that the relationship between individuals’ social and political positions and their views on language were not straightforward, rather these connections were complex and multifaceted (Jaffe 2013; Woolard 2016). Keeping in mind all the necessary caveats associated with any attitudinal, self-reported data, this small-scale, qualitative study revealed a wide diversity of language attitudes and perspectives on the sociolinguistic situation in 21<sup>st</sup> century Catalonia. The literature suggests that language attitudes in Catalonia are adhering to a trajectory, in that there continues to be a shift in ethnolinguistic identity to an anti-essentialist approach to the language with greater equanimity to language choice in general (Woolard 2008, 2016). However, some of the findings in the present study contradict this. The data suggest the presence of a diversity of language attitudes present along a complex spectrum where the dual ideologies of authenticity and anonymity are constantly shifting and in a state of flux.

However, indicating more cosmopolitan attitudes toward language and identity, the data indicated that the authentic features of Catalan are beginning not to be so salient or important anymore within the discourse of the independence project in the region. This echoes Kymlicka’s (2001) description of a ‘thin’ national identity, whereby:

in order to make it possible for people from different ethnocultural backgrounds to become full and equal members of the nation, and in order to allow for the widest possible range of individual diversity and dissent, the terms of admission are relatively thin-e.g. learning the language, participation in common public institutions, and perhaps expressing a commitment to the long-term survival of the nation.

(Kymlicka 2001, p. 40)

From this perspective, Spanish speakers and newly arrived linguistic groups were constructed as vital to the success of the project. In this regard, the sovereignty movement was now open to the wide range of linguistic communities that lived in Catalonia. Adding to this, informants reported that Catalan acted *as-a-resource* for social cohesion and integration in 21<sup>st</sup> century Catalonia. The following concluding chapter focuses on the various implications of this study for the exploration of language attitudes, Ruiz's (1984, 2010) language orientations and social movements in Catalonia and further afield. The limitations of this research and areas for further investigation are also discussed.

## **Chapter Seven: Conclusion**

Bilingualism and increasingly polylingualism are lived and viewed in a variety of ways in Catalonia, ways not well reflected in the perennially recurring policy debates. In contrast to the repetition of conflicts at the policy level, different research projects conducted in various settings among varying groups, find that not only the linguistic practices of many residents of Catalonia but also the ideological and attitudinal grounding of these practices has shifted noticeably in the opening decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Woolard and Frekko 2013).

### **7.1 Introduction**

This study investigated how a complex socio-political and socio-cultural situation in Catalonia was reflected in what speakers thought about the Catalan and Spanish languages against the backdrop of the Catalan independence movement. This final chapter draws together the principal findings presented in the previous chapters and aims to provide a synthesis of the key findings in respect of the overarching research questions initially outlined in section 1.1.2. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to bring this thesis to a close by weaving together its various threads to highlight the core findings and contributions of this work to the field of sociolinguistic research. This chapter also considers the limitations of this investigation and suggests directions for future research.

At a time when the Catalan and Spanish languages are at the centre of current political and social issues, studying what speakers think about languages and how they perceive them is of central importance for our understanding of the linguistic situation in Catalonia (Gillespie and Gray 2015; Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015; Woolard 2016; Minder 2017; Dowling 2018; Cetrà 2019). Despite this, the level of knowledge about the linguistic, social, cultural, historical and political changes occurring in Catalonia at an important time period is limited. This study sought to address the gaps in the extant literature and empirical knowledge in the field of sociolinguistic research in Catalonia. Thus, this work offers a representation of the language orientations present toward the Catalan and Spanish languages, explored through the lens of the informants' language attitudes, in a period of great significance for Catalonia. The data analysis revealed a heterogeneity of views related to Catalan and Spanish where there is a fluid

and continuing refashioning of the relationship between language and identity in modern Catalonia. These issues are discussed further in the following sections.

## **7.2 Summary of Central Findings**

The framework employed in this study centred around Ruiz's (1984, 2010) language orientations. The socio-political situation in Catalonia at the time of the data collection introduced a complexity and coexistence of the *language-as-a-problem* and the *language-as-a-resource* orientations (Ruiz 1984, 2010; Spolsky 2004; Hornberger and Johnson 2007; Martínez *et al.* 2015). The themes identified during the data analysis were all interconnected in several ways. Attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish, and how either language was constructed *as-a-resource* and/or *as-a-problem*, could not be detached from the historic repression experienced by Catalans, the present-day context of state and regional government tensions, or the impact of transnational migration. These themes were all interrelated and revealed the complexities of 21<sup>st</sup> century Catalan society. Nevertheless, the data suggest that Catalan, as well as Spanish, continue to be mobilised in diverse and varied combinations for a wide range of purposes in daily life in Catalonia (Woolard and Frekko 2013). As argued in the first part of this dissertation (see chapter two), the phenomenon of globalisation has had important consequences on the way in which individuals construct and negotiate their identity. The data showed the coexistence and articulation of different attitudes toward languages in Catalonia, representing different dimensions of globalisation, namely mobility, migration, fluidity and hybridity (Torbisco-Casals 2017).

Shohamy (2007) argues that "(...) the real meaning of globalization is multilingualism [...] it is about diversities, options and possibilities where a variety of languages are used in many shapes and forms" (Shohamy 2007, p. 128). The processes of language mobility in globalised environments have provided new opportunities for the use of linguistic resources in unexpected ways. In this regard, globalisation, although frequently cited as a threat to minority languages, has seemingly reframed the ecolinguistic context in Catalonia, opening new avenues and possibilities for languages in the region (Appaduari 1996; Heller 2007a; Moriarty and Pietikäinen 2011; Soler-Carbonell 2013; Moriarty 2014a, b, 2015). Through conducting a thematic analysis of the focus groups and narrative interviews the data demonstrates a diverse array of language attitudes at a time of transition and sociolinguistic change in the region. This complexity of attitudes reflects the discursive practices of multilinguals and the processes of

social change, language change and new conditions for the practice of minority languages in globalising spaces (see e.g., Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009; Pennycook 2010; Pujolar and González 2013; Woolard and Frekko 2013; Moriarty 2015; Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015; Dowling 2018; Ianos *et al.* 2018; Puigdevall *et al.* 2018; Rodríguez-García *et al.* 2018).

Recent research concludes that Catalonia is at a turning point, shifting away from a discourse of exclusion between the Catalan and Spanish languages to a discourse of complementarity between the languages (Woolard 2011, 2016; Woolard and Frekko 2013). Considering this, the data revealed diverse constructions of national and transnational identities that were both fluid and context-bound. Similar to García (2010) and Miley (2013), who argue that ethnolinguistic divisions persist in present-day Catalonia, the data analysis uncovered discourses of a Catalan ethnolinguistic identity by those who contributed to this research. However, the analysis also indicates that many bilingual and polylingual speakers in Catalonia now invoke universalistic and/or cosmopolitan frameworks for interpreting their own language choice, where transnational and hybrid cultural identities are formulated in an attempt to deconstruct the notion that ‘being Catalan’ is a homogeneous or fixed category. Such a construction of languages was prominent when the informants discussed the independence movement in Catalonia. Tied to this was a transitional and ongoing reformulation of the interrelated concepts of language, nation and identity (Woolard and Frekko 2013; Rodríguez-García *et al.* 2018). Nonetheless, this study suggests that the languages of autochthonous provincial speakers remain, to varying degrees, rooted in their identity (Lapresta-Rey *et al.* 2010; Ianos *et al.* 2017a, b; Hawkey 2018).

Political, ethnic and linguistic allegiances were most closely related to the ideal of Catalonia as opposed to a Spanish national identity and as such, positive evaluations of Catalan were centred in its ability to act as a marker of differentiation from Spain and Spanish culture. As Barbieri (2012) points out, Catalan acts as, “(...) a core differentiating element, an identity and a national specificity of Catalonia” (Barbieri 2012, p. 18). From this perspective, Catalan served as the principal and most tangible means to resist Spain’s perceived attempts to impose a monocentric ideology and aggressively centralist policies in Catalonia. The research also revealed that positive evaluations of Catalan were prevalent when the respondents discussed the need to defend the language. This is perhaps unsurprising given that the defence and promotion of the language has been one of the most persistent features of Catalan nationalism (Comellas-Casanova 2016; Dowling 2018).

Migration fluxes have had a significant impact on the sociolinguistic make-up of Catalonia and have presented a challenge for the productive and reproductive capacity of Catalan (Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015). Here, knowledge of the Catalan language served to integrate the region's growing migrant population into society (Pujolar 2007a, b; Zuber 2014; Poggheschi 2015). The findings of this investigation reflect Villarroya's (2012) assertion that Catalan acts as a means for creating a common bond among Catalan citizens of diverse backgrounds. The ascribed role for Catalan as a unifying linguistic element aligns the language with cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism or a 'global' identity (Rodríguez-García *et al.* 2018). Considering this, Catalan was viewed positively, or in Ruiz's (1984, 2010) terminology *as-a-resource*. In this respect, linguistic diversity was framed as a positive for integration purposes in multilingual and multicultural Catalonia (Cummins *et al.* 2006).

Mirroring Hawkey's (2018) findings, this investigation found that the portrayal of minority community members as unsupportive of the use of the majority language is fallacious. Positive evaluations of Spanish were rooted in its instrumental value (Gardner and Lambert 1972), and its ability to act *as-a-resource* at a national and international level. In this regard, the data suggested that the Spanish language was considered important in professional areas but less relevant for social interaction especially outside of larger metropolitan areas like Barcelona. Similarly, Trench-Parera and Tristán Jiménez (2014) found that their respondents valued Spanish higher than Catalan due to its international dimension. However, this is not to say that for some of the informants Catalan did not potentially offer a form of Bourdieusian cultural capital as a tool of social advancement (see e.g., Corona *et al.* 2013; Corona 2016; Hawkey 2018). As Pujolar (2007c) points out, "Catalan embodies not only national identity, but also the type of cultural capital that ensures access to powerful networks and prestigious employment" (Pujolar 2007c, p. 123).

The analysis revealed a discourse of continued repression and provocation from the Spanish central government in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, where language played a central role in the nationalistic tensions between Spain and Catalonia. Furthermore, the linguistic subjugation of Catalan, according to the informants, seemed to have intensified in recent years as calls for an independent Catalonia became more prominent. As such, to a large degree Spanish was not constructed as a 'voice from nowhere', but rather the language was associated with a state that repressed Catalan culture, heritage and the Catalan language. In this sense, there was a *language-as-a-problem* orientation evident in the discourse of the informants when discussing

the Spanish language (Ruiz 1984, 2010). Negative attitudes toward Spanish were also embedded in the increased visibility of the language across a wide range of domains in Catalonia and the public use of the language was a highly contentious issue.

Catalan was the preferred language of use by most of the respondents in almost every situation of daily interaction. This was perhaps to be expected given the sociolinguistic profile of Girona (see section 1.2.2). In the current study, there was evidence to suggest that some Catalans no longer switch languages to ‘accommodate’ Spanish speakers (Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2013; Woolard 2016). The informants argued that they should no longer accommodate Spanish speakers, with some of the participants stating that they have completely stopped this practice. This refusal to switch languages could be interpreted as a strategy to make a stand against the alleged continued provocation from the Spanish government or as a form of ‘othering’, marking the distinction between Catalan and Spaniards.

May (2012) argues that linguistic identities and social and cultural identities, do not need to be constructed as irredeemably oppositional. In response to a multicultural and multilingual Girona, the data suggested that there was now an emphasis placed on getting along across ethnolinguistic boundaries and embracing a form of linguistic cosmopolitanism which manifested in a willingness to converge to Spanish when required (Newman *et al.* 2008). However, this readiness to converge toward Spanish was primarily employed as an instrument to introduce potential new speakers to the Catalan language. In line with Juarros-Daussà and Lanz (2009), local functionality, or having a practical use and purpose, seemed to be crucial when it came to language choice and ethnolinguistic identity. From this perspective, the data suggests that “(...) the inclination towards Catalan or Spanish has more to do with the respondents’ immediate sociolinguistic environment” (Comajoan-Colomé *et al.* 2013, p. 66), rather than ethnolinguistic identity.

This research has uncovered a dynamic relationship between the research participants’ language attitudes and how these attitudes intersected with their views on the Catalan independence project. The data reflects Kraus and Vergés-Gifra’s (2017) argument that, “(...) the sovereigntist discourse has become hegemonic in present-day Catalonia in “soft” ways, i.e. in ways that evade block thinking and strong polarization along national (“Spanish” vs. “Catalan”) identity lines” (Kraus and Vergés-Gifra 2017, p. 24). As such, the data indicated that the Catalan language seemed to occupy a diminished position in the modern independence process, whereby you did not necessarily have to be a speaker of Catalan to be in favour of the

independence project (see e.g., May 2012; Urla 2012b; Boix-Fuster 2015; Woolard 2016). This corroborates the findings from previous studies which have found that bilingualism and multilingualism have become highly valued in Catalonia (Newman *et al.* 2008; Woolard 2008; Frekko 2009a, b; Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009; Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015).

Transnational migration has impacted the cultural, linguistic and social characteristics of Catalonia, questioning the region's conceptualisation of national identity (Oller and Vila 2010; Pujolar 2010; Oller *et al.* 2011; Rodríguez-García *et al.* 2018). This was evident when the informants discussed the Catalan independence movement. It seemed that the forces of globalisation and the sociolinguistic agencies of new migrants have accentuated the need for the sovereignty project in Catalonia to undergo a process of re-imagination to consolidate itself in its current form (May 2012; Cramer 2014, 2015; Bel 2015; Boylan 2015; Woolard 2016; Colomer 2017). Pujolar (2007a, b) argues that, in migrant-receiving bilingual or multilingual nation-states, foreigners become the target of diverse nation-state or regional governmental language policies and campaigns compete to attract new speakers into their language projects. This approach was evident in the discourse of the informants in this study. To open up the independence project and increase potential support beyond those who have Catalan as their first language, there was now an emphasis placed on incorporating Spanish speakers, and other linguistic groups, into the wider discussion. Accordingly, the independence movement was now more aware of the diverse nature of Catalonia and, as such, now had a reduced focus on linguistic criteria.

Woolard (2016) notes that both state authorities and social science, in general, demonise nationalist movements of minoritised speech communities as illiberal and regressive. However, the data reflects the Catalan tradition of linguistic and cultural nationalism. This approach encourages a more open, assimilationist and inclusive Catalan nationalism, one that is far more respectful to immigrants (Brubaker 1992; Conversi 2000; Gore 2002; Rodon and Franco-Guillén 2014; Woolard 2016; Aramburu 2018). As such, the data analysis points toward a continuation in the shifting trend of Catalan nationalistic discourse from an ethnic to a civic nationalism with an emphasis placed on an inclusive 'Catalanism', with no ethnic, religious or racialised distinctions (Pujolar 2007a, b; May 2012; Woolard 2016). This reflects the wider argument that to gain international recognition, the independence project in Catalonia has attempted to erase any nationalistic motivations from its discourses of justification, presenting itself as a civic nationalism, namely, neither xenophobic nor closed, but pro-European and open

(Vergés-Gifra, cited in Gamper-Sachse 2018). In these circumstances there seemed to be an attempt to maintain the Catalan language as a national symbol for newcomers to the region. This helped to preserve the relationship between Catalan identity and the Catalan language while allowing the many Spanish speakers, as well as new foreign immigrants, to join the national representation of Catalonia. This formulation seemed to be closely aligned with the mobilisation of Catalan as a crucial element in the construction of Catalan as a differentiator between Catalonia and Spain, distinguishing ‘us’ from ‘them’ (see section 6.2.2). Nevertheless, language affiliations were no longer solely based on fixed place-of-origin social categorisations, but on pluralised, fluid and cosmopolitan identities (Makoni and Pennycook 2012; De Fina 2016).

In some contexts, national identity is also linked to the preservation of a ‘traditional’ identity, whereas, in others, it is related to the building of an inter-cultural society (Esses *et al.* 1998; Rodon and Franco-Guillén 2014). The data suggested that the construction of national identity in Catalonia falls into the latter category when discussing the role of languages in the independence movement. In this regard, the processes associated with globalisation seem to offer an opportunity of a break with the past and for the evolution of new values and functions for the Catalan language and points to the importance of so-called ‘new speakers’ (Walsh and O’Rourke 2014; Moriarty 2015; Puigdevall *et al.* 2018), particularly in the context of the independence process in the region. In general, the findings of this investigation mirror May’s (2014a) point that minority languages should not only be considered useful as carriers of tradition or ethnic identity, but they can also serve as vehicles for wider social and economic mobility in a society.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) add that conceiving individuals as homogeneous, uniform and bounded ethnolinguistic communities obscures, “(...) hybrid identities and complex linguistic repertoires of bi- and multilinguals living in a contemporary global world” (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004, p. 5). Torbisco-Casals (2017) adds that the secessionist movement in Catalonia takes the intrinsic interdependence of individuals and peoples in a globalised world into account, where identities are usually hybrid and permanently under construction. In conclusion, the data analysis reflects the suggestion that globalisation produces a variety of possibilities and new positions of identification, where identities become more positional, more political, more plural and diverse and less fixed, unified or trans-historical (Hall 1992; Torbisco-Casals 2017).

## **7.3 Contributions to Knowledge**

The aims of this investigation were modest, and given the relatively broad scope of this research, many issues discussed in the previous chapters deserve further attention and investigation. Despite this, the study is an important contribution to scarce sociolinguistic studies conducted in Girona. This project offers a comprehensive and up-to-date view of the sociolinguistic situation in Girona thanks to its focus on language attitudes, language orientations and socio-political movements, as well as the adoption of a multi-method qualitative approach to data collection.

In recent years, there has been a heightened hostility between the region of Catalonia and Spain. This study offers a temporal glimpse of the language attitudes present in the months that preceded the controversial independence referendum in Catalonia in October 2017. Therefore, it was the time-period of the data collection that made this project unique. It was evident that the intensity of Catalonia's pursuit of independence from Spain at the time of the data collection (March-July 2017) was reflected in the participants' attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish and how language was constructed *as-a-resource* and/or *as-a-problem* (Ruiz 1984, 2010). Similar to Sant and Davies (2018), the findings of this investigation cannot claim to be representative of what might have been revealed at other less turbulent times and the discourse of the informants may very well be different given the reaction of the Spanish state to the referendum that was conducted in 2017 (see section 3.4).

Most language attitude studies from the Catalan context have been conducted using either large-scale quantitative methodologies or the MGT (see section 4.2). As such, there is a lack of qualitative data in this area of research (see e.g., Pujolar 1997b, 2001; Gore 2002; Woolard 2009; Lapresta-Rey *et al.* 2010; Newman *et al.* 2013). This study provides clearer qualitative insights for sociolinguists who are interested in this area. Furthermore, the majority of empirical research in this field has been carried out, with few exceptions (see e.g., Pujolar 2007b; Bretxa *et al.* 2008; Iveson 2018), in Barcelona or outlying larger towns. As such, this research expands the current literature and provides new empirical findings.

Analyses of the qualitative data yielded several valuable insights regarding the sociolinguistic situation of Catalan and Spanish in Catalonia. Although the results of the investigation are not generalisable, this study is useful for those who would like to know more about language

attitudes, the Catalan independence movement, globalisation and the transformation of linguistic systems. In line with this, this investigation suggested that because of new emerging practices involved in global mobility and ‘glocalised’ practices, hybridity and fluidity have become widespread in Catalonia (Blommaert 2010; Corona *et al.* 2013; Torbisco-Casals 2017; Nogué and Wilbrand 2018).

To conclude, this analysis of individuals discourse about Catalan and Spanish through the dual lens of language attitudes and Ruiz’s (1984, 2010) language orientations is an important contribution to the field of sociolinguistic research. The current study reveals that a dynamic use of the orientations, *language-as-a-resource* and *language-as-a-problem*, can illuminate the complexity and multiplicity of discourses within and across diverse contexts. Finally, as multilingualism becomes the norm around the world as a product of globalisation, migration and technology, Ruiz’s (1984, 2010) framework perhaps needs to move away from a language *as-a-resource/problem* to bilingualism or multilingualism *as-a-resource/problem*. The *multilingualism-as-a-resource* orientation can begin to shift from competitive notions of resource to cooperative, inclusive policies and practices in multilingual societies (de Jong *et al.* 2016).

## **7.4 Limitations**

This qualitative investigation has raised several thought-provoking issues for future research not only in Catalonia but also for regional and minority languages elsewhere in Spain and further afield. As with all research, this project has some limitations that, if altered, could possibly provide more representative data.

The findings of this investigation are limited by the scope of the chosen sample of research participants. The small sample size of the study and its focus on one city (Girona), limits the generalisability of the findings to other contexts. In addition, no description of a particular society at a particular time can be more than a snapshot. Considering this, the findings cannot claim to be representative of individuals living in different parts of Catalonia. Nonetheless, there was a high degree of corroboration from one group to another in relation to some issues, which gives confidence that these views were shared by many. Another possible limitation of this research relates to the sampling strategy. A purposeful sampling strategy was employed in this study (see section 4.4.1), a technique that cannot guarantee the representativeness of the

sample regarding the population it is selected from (Bogdan and Biklen 2007; Aurini *et al.* 2016; Bryman 2016).

In addition, qualitative research is necessarily interpretive, a fact that is true both on the part of the researcher and of the research participants. This means that qualitative research is open to questions of dependability, credibility and criticisms of researcher bias (Denscombe 2014). Nonetheless, as mentioned in chapter four, a qualitative methodology does allow for the researcher to produce nuanced and in-depth conceptual descriptions that allow for people's experiences to be heard in rapidly changing circumstances (Vargas-Silva 2012; Geraghty and Conacher 2014; Bhattacharya 2015; Atkinson and Kelly-Holmes 2016).

Another factor that could limit the research findings relates to the data elicitation method. The data for this study were collected by means of a direct method of data elicitation (see section 4.2), with the focus groups and narrative interviews proving to be particularly illuminating in identifying the language attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish. However, employing indirect methods or a combination of both direct and indirect methods of attitude elicitation may have provided deeper insights or more hidden prejudices toward a certain language (Garrett 2010). For example, through employing an indirect approach, like the MGT, more covert (latent) attitudes, or those related hidden prejudices toward a certain language may have been revealed (Garrett 2010).

There were also limitations in the current study that have to do with the nature of focus groups and narrative interviews when measuring language attitudes (Henerson *et al.* 1987). Socially desired responses and problems related to the dependability of self-reporting in terms of the accuracy of attitudinal data are also of concern when employing the aforementioned research procedures. However, once these limitations are acknowledged, it should be noted that the methodological procedures employed in this study are an efficient way of assessing language attitudes and gaining an insight into participants' general view of language(s), personal attitude to them and personal commitment to using them (Baker 1992).

Another limitation of this study concerns the gender distribution of the informants. Most of the respondents who contributed to this research were male (see Appendix B). Only 12 females were involved in this study and therefore any conclusions drawn are less generalisable because they pertain to a large extent only to males. However, gender is just one piece of the picture (Pujolar 2001; Bryman 2016; Chan 2018). In addition, the majority of the research participants

were older (40+ years old). This is perhaps because older people demonstrate a proclivity to become involved in social/civic and socio-political movements (Goerres 2009; Duncan 2012; Serrat *et al.* 2016). As a result, an understanding of the perceptions of younger people, a generation that would have completed their entire education in Catalan, is limited in the data presented here. This is a cohort that may be beneficial to research as they will likely determine the future of the language (Baker 1992; Chambers 2008). Nevertheless, the limitations discussed above do not disregard the importance of the current investigation, rather they indicate possible paths for future research.

## **7.5 Future Research**

Although attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish have already been extensively examined from various perspectives and several findings in this study confirm those of previous investigations, it is the contention of this research that the monitoring of these language attitudes constitutes an ongoing endeavour. Therefore, limitations within research can open opportunities for future academic exploration. During the current investigation, several potential avenues of further research have emerged.

To test the ‘dependability’ and ‘credibility’ of the findings, more research in this area is necessary. Ideally, future studies would involve a larger number of participants in focus groups and an increased number of interviewees for narrative interviews. In addition, as many scholars in the area of attitudinal research have argued (see e.g., Tragant 2006; Bernaus *et al.* 2007; Ianos *et al.* 2017a, b), it would be useful to conduct a study over a longer period of time to investigate if, and how, respondents’ language attitudes change. Such studies can help to further understand the process of attitudinal change itself, as well as the social conditions under which such changes occur, for example at different life-stages or socio-political contexts. This would be a particularly interesting approach, given that the relationship between Catalonia and Spain is constantly evolving and in a state of flux. Considering this, it may be beneficial for future research to focus more on the second research question examined in this study (see section 1.1.2), as it could potentially provide richer data about the changing role of Catalan and Spanish in Catalonia against a backdrop of a rapidly changing socio-political situation. In addition, perceptions of languages can vary greatly depending on geographical location (May 2014b; Britain 2016; Evans 2016). This is also true in relation to views on socio-political movements (Featherstone 2003, 2005; Nicholls 2007). Taking this into consideration, the

present study could be extended to include cities or towns in different areas of Catalonia where the linguistic situation may differ. This may offer a more holistic overview of how people perceive Catalan, Spanish and the independence process in the territory.

Given the importance attributed to immigration in Catalonia, there is a need for further research into the attitudes and perceptions of the array of different socio-cultural and sociolinguistic communities that now live in the region. This would allow for the analysis of perceptions towards linguistic varieties spoken in Catalonia by some of the members of the most recent immigration to the region. In this respect, the study lacks representation from newly arrived immigrants to the territory. Furthermore, it would be a fruitful endeavour to explore the language attitudes of individuals against the backdrop of the independence project in Catalonia in a variety of contexts, such as more metropolitan areas like Barcelona for example. Additionally, research in Catalonia outside the confines of independence organisations may provide some rich insights into the future of the languages in question along with the mechanisms behind their shifting roles in society.

## **7.6 Concluding Remarks**

The aim of this thesis was to investigate the complex issue of language attitudes of members of independence organisations in Girona and to explore how these language attitudes intersected with views on the Catalan independence movement. The overarching aims of this thesis were accomplished through employing a qualitative approach (focus groups and narrative interviews) to gather relevant data. The data presented in the preceding sections provided an indication of the language orientations present amongst a cohort of members of independence organisations. Globalisation and the mass movement of people has undoubtedly had an impact on minority languages (Sabanadze 2010; Moriarty 2015). The response of some minority nations to globalising forces has been to resist change in an effort to return to a mythical ‘golden age’ of the nation. However, Catalonia is an example of a minority nation that has opened up to the processes of globalisation, more so than its respective state (Jeram 2013). Thus, the findings of this study seem to align with Woolard and Frekko’s (2013) argument as stated at the start of this chapter; that brought on by globalisation from both above and below, “(...) not only the linguistic practices of many residents of Catalonia but also the ideological [or attitudinal] grounding of these practices [has] shifted noticeably in the opening decade of the twenty-first century” (Woolard and Frekko 2013, p. 132). However, the findings

demonstrate that the research participants are not a homogenous group and their attitudes toward both Catalan and Spanish were complex, nuanced and multifaceted. The situation in Catalonia, as elsewhere, has never been static. Linked to this is the issue of change over time, as Martin-Jones (1989) points out, are the questions of context and power. Considering this, language attitudes are not static and respondents evaluations were, and will likely continue to be, shaped by broader social and cultural ideals in the future. Therefore, this research maintains that the exploration of the dynamics of language in Catalan society is an ongoing endeavour.

In this investigation, Catalan served as a potent marker of a counter Spanish identity; where the informant's stressed importance of protecting the Catalan language and culture from outside interference. This construction seemed to stem from four decades of repression and more recent linguistic subjugation. The findings of this study are the antithesis of May's (2006) argument that majority languages are associated with 'modernity and progress', while minority languages index 'tradition and obsolescence'. In this regard, the data generated has provided important insights into the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia at a critical point in the history of the autonomous region. It is difficult to predict how the situation in Catalonia will play itself out in the future but it does seem that the potential for an independent Catalan state looks much more remote in light of recent events (see section 3.4.1). Nevertheless, it does seem that global processes of change will continue to have a major influence over the linguistic makeup of the region and the subsequent formulations of languages in the territory. The strength or weakness of Catalan and Spanish in Catalonia into the future remains to be seen. Whatever happens, Catalonia will remain an important object for study in the field of nationalism, secession movements and minority language studies.

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## **Appendices**

## **Appendix A: Contact Email (English/Catalan)**



### **FACULTY OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE**

#### **Letter/Email Seeking Access**

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Steven Byrne and I am a Ph.D. student from the University of Limerick (UL) in Ireland, where I am under the joint-supervision of Dr. Mairead Moriarty and Dr. David Atkinson. I would kindly ask whether (name of organisation) would be open to participating in a research project entitled: *Exploring the language attitudes of independence organisations in contemporary Catalonia*.

The purpose of this study is to examine attitudes towards the Catalan/Spanish languages and whether they intersect with views on the Catalan independence movement. I would like to discuss these issues with members of your organisation, especially in light of the current socio-political situation in Catalonia.

#### **Procedure**

If your organisation agrees to participate in this research, it will involve a number of members:

- Coming together for a single focus group meeting. In this meeting we will discuss questions relating to the Catalan/Spanish languages, views on Catalan independence and what they think about the future of the language. Visual prompts will also be used in this discussion.
- The focus group will involve 6-8 people.
- The focus group will take about one hour.

- The research will take place in your premises at an agreed time.
- A follow-up interview will also be conducted with willing participants

If you are willing to participate in this project, I (Steven Byrne) will come to visit your organisation to discuss the project further. Your organisation will be asked to identify one of your members as a gatekeeper. This person should be neutral and have the trust of many other members and will act as a spokesperson for the group of participants. An information meeting will then be organised with potential participants. During this meeting I will fully inform the participants about the implications of the research and the data collection stages. An information sheet has been attached. This information sheet details the information that will be given to the participants. It concerns the participants' rights, implications of the research and matters of anonymity and confidentiality.

I, (Steven Byrne), will be the person holding the information meeting, the focus group and the potential narrative interview. If you have any queries or concerns please do not hesitate to contact me at [steven.byrne@ul.ie](mailto:steven.byrne@ul.ie) or my supervisors Dr. Mairead Moriarty at [mairiad.moriarty@ul.ie](mailto:mairiad.moriarty@ul.ie) or Dr. David Atkinson at [david.atkinson@ul.ie](mailto:david.atkinson@ul.ie).

This research study has received ethical approval from the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee in UL (2017-02-03-AHSS). If you have any concerns about this study and wish to contact an independent authority, you may contact:

Chairperson Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee  
AHSS Faculty Office  
University of Limerick  
Tel: +353 61 202286  
Email: [fahssethics@ul.ie](mailto:fahssethics@ul.ie)

Date:



## FACULTAT D'ARTS, HUMANITATS I CIÈNCIES SOCIALS

### COMITÈ DE RECERCA ÈTICA

#### **Carta/correu electrònic per a sol·licitar accés a les organitzacions**

Benvolguda senyora, benvolgut senyor,

Em dic Steven Byrne i sóc estudiant de doctorat a la Universitat de Limerick (Irlanda) sota la supervisió conjunta de la Dra. Mairead Moriarty i del Dr. David Atkinson. Em preguntava si (nom de l'organització) estaria interessat/da a participar en el projecte d'investigació que es titula: *Explorant les actituds lingüístiques de les organitzacions independentistes en la Catalunya contemporània*.

L'objectiu d'aquest estudi és analitzar les actituds vers la llengua catalana (i castellà) i descobrir si estan relacionades amb les opinions sobre el moviment independentista català. M'agradaria debatre aquests temes amb alguns membres d'aquesta organització, sobretot amb relació a la situació sociopolítica actual a Catalunya.

#### **Procediment**

Si l'organització accedeix a participar en aquest projecte, ha de tenir en compte que:

- Involucrarà membres d'aquesta organització que s'hauran de reunir per dur a terme un grup de discussió on es debatran temes relacionats amb la llengua catalana (i castellà), les opinions sobre la independència de Catalunya i les visions de futur sobre la llengua. Es faran servir recursos de suport visuals.
- El grup de discussió serà un grup d'entre 6 i 8 membres.
- Durarà aproximadament una hora.
- Es durà a terme a la vostra seu en una dia i hora convinguts.

- Tothom qui ho vulgui també podrà participar en una entrevista narrativa que es realitzarà més endavant.

Si aquesta organització està interessada a participar en aquest projecte, jo, Steven Byrne, vindré al vostre local a discutir-ne els detalls. Primer, demanaré que s'esculli un dels membres per fer d'intermediari, que tindrà un paper neutral, serà una persona de confiança i actuarà de portaveu del grup de participants. Llavors organitzaré una reunió informativa amb tots els participants que vulguin formar part de la investigació. Durant la reunió es parlarà sobre la naturalesa d'aquesta investigació i es descriuran les etapes de recopilació de dades. Adjunto una carta informativa que detalla la informació que es donarà als participants, com per exemple els drets que tenen, quines implicacions abasta el projecte i altres assumptes relacionats amb l'anonimat i la confidencialitat.

Jo, Steven Byrne, seré l'encarregat d'organitzar la reunió informativa i de liderar el grup de discussió i la possible entrevista narrativa. Si té qualsevol pregunta o preocupació, si us plau no dubti a contactar-me a l'adreça electrònica [steven.byrne@ul.ie](mailto:steven.byrne@ul.ie) o contactar els meus supervisors, la Dra. Mairead Moriarty a [mairread.moriarty@ul.ie](mailto:mairread.moriarty@ul.ie) o al Dr. David Atkinson a [david.atkinson@ul.ie](mailto:david.atkinson@ul.ie).

Aquest projecte d'investigació ha rebut l'aprovació ètica del Comitè de Recerca Ètica de la Facultat d'Arts, Humanitats i Ciències Socials de la Universitat de Limerick (2017-02-03-AHSS). Si té cap dubte sobre el projecte i desitja contactar amb una autoritat independent, pot escriure a:

Chairperson Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee  
AHSS Faculty Office  
University of Limerick  
Tel: +353 61 202286  
Correu electrònic: [fahssethics@ul.ie](mailto:fahssethics@ul.ie)

Data:

## **Appendix B: Focus Group Participants**

Name	Participants	Gender
<b>ADAC (FG AD)</b>	<b>Aleix*</b>	Male 1
	<b>Pere*</b>	Male 2
	Feliu	Male 3
	Sibil·la	Female 1
<b>CUP (FG CU)</b>	<b>Neus*</b>	Female 1
	<b>Meritxell*</b>	Female 2
	Miquel	Male 1
	Oriol	Male 2
	Guillem	Male 3
	Narcís	Male 4
<b>Ateneu 24 de Juny (FG AT24)</b>	<b>Pau*</b>	Male 1
	<b>Josep*</b>	Male 2
	Emili	Male 3
	Arnau	Male 4
	Núria	Female 1

continued below

<b>Súmate</b> <b>(FG SÚ)</b>	<b>Èric*</b>	Male 1
	Rosa	Female 1
	Sílvia	Female 2
	Estel	Female 3
	Xavi	Male 2
	Víctor	Male 3
	Roger	Male 4
	Roc	Male 5
Bernat	Male 6	
<b>ANC</b> <b>(FG AN)</b>	<b>Alba*</b>	Female 1
	<b>Flor*</b>	Female 2
	Martína	Female 3
	Josefina	Female 4
	Nicolau	Male 1
	Iker	Male 2
	Lluc	Male 3
	Tomau	Male 4
<b>ERC</b> <b>(FG ER)</b>	<b>Pol*</b>	Male 1
	Sergi	Male 2
	Tomàs	Male 3
	Sofia	Female 1

A: I note gender because this may not be obvious from participants' names (which are pseudonyms). Gender does not figure into this analysis.

\*Those names marked above indicate the focus group members who contributed to the narrative interviews. For more information on each individual interviewee see section 4.7.2.

# **Appendix C: Information Sheet Focus groups** **(English/Catalan)**



## **FACULTY OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE INFORMATION LETTER**

### **Participant Information Letter (Focus Group)**

Dear Participant,

My name is Steven Byrne and I am a Ph.D. student from the University of Limerick (UL) in Ireland. I would like to kindly invite you to participate in a research project as part of my doctoral studies. The project is entitled: *Exploring the language attitudes of independence organisations in contemporary Catalonia.*

#### **Purpose of this study**

The purpose of this study is to investigate the attitudes held toward the Catalan/Spanish languages and regional and linguistic identities in the city of Girona. In addition, this project will explore the relationship between the aforementioned factors and the political views of research participants.

#### **Potential Benefits**

You will be able to reflect on your own views and opinions relating to the Catalan/Spanish languages and the push for independence in the region.

#### **Procedures**

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to discuss questions about your views on Catalan independence, what you think about the Catalan/Spanish language and if your views and opinions on these topics have changed over time. The focus groups will use visual prompts to promote discussion. The focus group will involve between 6-8 members. The discussion will take about one hour. The research will take place in your organisation's venue at a convenient time. The discussion will take place in the language that the group is most comfortable with.

With your permission I will audio-record the group discussion. The audio recorder will be there to help me remember everything that is said in the focus group. The recordings will not be used for any other purpose. If you choose not to be audio-recorded, I will take notes instead. You are free to take a break at any time or to withdraw completely from the group discussion at any stage if you feel uncomfortable.

After the focus group some participants may be asked to take part in a narrative interview at a later date. If you wish to take part in this interview, an information sheet will be provided to you detailing the procedure and your rights. Taking part in the focus group **does not** mean that

you are obligated to take part in the narrative interview. The narrative interview is also completely voluntary.

### **Your Rights**

- Your participation in the focus group is completely **voluntary**. You are free to withdraw from the focus group at any time without consequence.
- Focus group participants should be aware that they might divulge sensitive information about themselves. A written agreement will be sought so that participants will not speak of the content of the focus groups with anyone else.
- You will not be pushed to answer questions. If you don't feel like speaking at any point, you can just sit and listen.
- You have the right not to answer questions and to contact the Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee in UL (see details below) if you have any concerns about participating in the research.

### **Confidentiality**

- The information and data gathered during the research and that can be identified with you will be treated confidentially.
- The gathered data will be anonymised and securely stored.
- Only I (Steven Byrne) will have access to the data collected during the focus groups. My doctoral supervisors, Dr. Mairead Moriarty and Dr. David Atkinson, will have access to written reports throughout the research process.
- No identifying material will be included in the results of this research or discussed in future conferences or publications.

I will be the person holding the focus group. I will also be conducting the interview, if you choose to participate. If you have any queries or concerns please do not hesitate to contact me at [steven.byrne@ul.ie](mailto:steven.byrne@ul.ie) or my supervisors Dr. Mairead Moriarty at [mairiad.moriarty@ul.ie](mailto:mairiad.moriarty@ul.ie) or Dr. David Atkinson at [david.atkinson@ul.ie](mailto:david.atkinson@ul.ie).

This research study has received Ethics approval from the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee in UL (2017-02-03-AHSS). If you have any concerns about this study and wish to contact an independent authority, you may contact:

Chairperson Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee  
AHSS Faculty Office  
University of Limerick  
Tel: +353 61 202286  
Email: [fahssethics@ul.ie](mailto:fahssethics@ul.ie)

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_



**FACULTAT D'ARTS, HUMANITATS I CIÈNCIES SOCIALS  
COMITÈ DE RECERCA ÈTICA  
CARTA INFORMATIVA**

**Carta informativa per al participant (grup de discussió)**

Estimat participant,

Em dic Steven Byrne i sóc estudiant de doctorat a la Universitat de Limerick (Irlanda). M'agradaria convidar-lo a participar en el projecte d'investigació que estic duent a terme i que es titula: *Explorant les actituds lingüístiques de les organitzacions independentistes en la Catalunya contemporània*.

**Objectiu de la investigació**

L'objectiu d'aquest projecte és investigar les actituds lingüístiques vers el català i les identitats regionals i lingüístiques a la ciutat de Girona. En aquesta investigació també s'exploraran les relacions entre els factors mencionats anteriorment i les opinions polítiques dels participants d'aquest projecte.

**Possibles beneficis**

Podrà reflexionar sobre les seves opinions i punts de vista relacionades amb la llengua catalana (i castellà) i l'auge de la independència a Catalunya.

**Procediment**

Si accedeix a participar en el grup de discussió, li demanaré que argumenti preguntes de les opinions que té sobre la llengua catalana (i castellà) i si han canviat al llarg del temps. Es faran servir recursos de suport visual per fomentar el debat. Al grup de discussió hi participaran entre 6 i 8 membres. Durarà aproximadament una hora, tindrà lloc a la seu de la vostra organització a l'hora que més convingui i es desenvoluparà en la llengua amb la qual el grup se senti més còmode.

Amb el seu permís, gravaré l'entrevista. Gràcies a la gravadora de so, l'investigador podrà enregistrar i recordar tot el que es diu durant la discussió. Les gravacions no seran utilitzades amb cap altra finalitat. Si no vol que el gravin, l'investigador prendrà notes del que explica. Pot fer una pausa o fins i tot retirar-se completament de l'entrevista si en algun moment se sent incòmode.

Després del grup de discussió, pot ser que demani a alguns participants si volen formar part d'una entrevista narrativa que tindrà lloc més endavant. Si vol participar en l'entrevista, li donaré un document informatiu on s'expliquen els detalls del procediment a seguir i els drets que té. El fet de participar en el grup de discussió **no** significa que estigui obligat a participar en l'entrevista narrativa, ja que és una participació de caràcter voluntari.

### **Els seus drets**

- Participar en la entrevista és completament voluntari. Pot retirar-se'n en qualsevol moment sense cap mena de conseqüència.
- Els participants del grup de discussió han de tenir en compte que hi ha la possibilitat que divulguin informació personal. Abans de començar el debat es durà a terme un pacte verbal amb tots els participants per evitar que parlin sobre el contingut del debat amb tercers.
- No el pressionarem perquè contesti totes les preguntes. Si en algun moment no li ve de gust parlar, pot romandre assegut i escoltar els altres participants.
- Té dret a no respondre les preguntes. Si té dubtes sobre la participació en aquest projecte, pot contactar amb el Comitè de Recerca Ètica de la Facultat d'Arts, Humanitats i Ciències Socials de la Universitat de Limerick (vegeu els detalls al final d'aquest document).

### **Confidencialitat**

- La informació i les dades que s'obtinguin de la investigació i que puguin identificar l'entrevistat es tractaran amb confidencialitat.
- Es garanteix l'anonimat de les dades enregistrades, que es guardaran en un lloc segur.
- Només l'investigador, Steven Byrne, tindrà accés a la informació obtinguda durant l'entrevista narrativa. Els seus supervisors doctorals, la Dra. Mairead Moriarty i el Dr. David Atkinson, tindran accés als informes escrits durant la investigació.
- El material que el pugui identificar no s'inclourà en els resultats del projecte ni es debatran en futures conferències o publicacions.

Si decideix participar, jo, Steven Byrne, seré l'encarregat de fer l'entrevista narrativa. Si té qualsevol pregunta o preocupació, si us plau no dubti a contactar-me a l'adreça electrònica [steven.byrne@ul.ie](mailto:steven.byrne@ul.ie) o contactar als meus supervisors, la Dra. Mairead Moriarty a [mairiad.moriarty@ul.ie](mailto:mairiad.moriarty@ul.ie) o al Dr. David Atkinson a [david.atkinson@ul.ie](mailto:david.atkinson@ul.ie).

Aquest projecte d'investigació ha rebut l'aprovació ètica del Comitè de Recerca Ètica de la Facultat d'Arts, Humanitats i Ciències Socials de la Universitat de Limerick (2017-02-03-AHSS). Si té cap dubte sobre el projecte i desitja contactar amb una autoritat independent, pot escriure a:

Chairperson Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee  
AHSS Faculty Office  
University of Limerick  
Tel: +353 61 202286  
Correu electrònic: [fahssethics@ul.ie](mailto:fahssethics@ul.ie)

Signatura: \_\_\_\_\_

Data: \_\_\_\_\_

# **Appendix D: Information sheet Narrative interviews** **(English/Catalan)**



## **FACULTY OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE INFORMATION LETTER**

### **Participant Information Letter (Narrative interview)**

Dear Participant,

My name is Steven Byrne and I am a Ph.D. student from the University of Limerick (UL) in Ireland. I would like to kindly invite you to participate in the second stage of this research project, the narrative interview. The project is entitled: *Exploring the language attitudes of independence organisations in contemporary Catalonia*.

#### **Purpose of this study**

The purpose of this study is to investigate the attitudes held toward the Catalan/Spanish languages and regional and linguistic identities in the city of Girona. In addition, this project will explore the relationship between the aforementioned factors and the political views of the research participant.

#### **Potential Benefits**

You will be able to reflect on your own views and also expand on topics that were discussed in the first stage of this research, the focus group.

#### **Procedures**

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to discuss questions about your views on Catalan independence, what you think about the Catalan/Spanish languages and if your views and opinions on these topics have changed over time. The interview will be lightly structured. You will be free to talk about what you feel is important with minimal intervention from me. Several topics to be discussed will be chosen before the interview. The interview should take no more than one hour and will be conducted at a time and location that is most convenient for you. The discussion will take place in the language that you are most comfortable with.

With your permission I will audio-record the interview. The audio recorder will be there to help me remember everything that is said. The recordings will not be used for any other purpose. You are free to take a break at any time or to withdraw completely from the interview at any stage if you feel uncomfortable.

## Your Rights

- Your participation in the interview is completely **voluntary**. You are free to withdraw from the interview at any time without consequence.
- You will not be pushed to answer questions.
- You have the right not to answer questions and to contact the Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee in UL (see details below) if you have any concerns about participating in the research.

## Confidentiality

- The information and data gathered during the research and that can be identified with you will be treated confidentially.
- The gathered data will be anonymised and securely stored.
- Only I (Steven Byrne) will have access to the data collected during the interview. My doctoral supervisors, Dr. Mairead Moriarty and Dr. David Atkinson, will have access to written reports throughout the research process.
- No identifying material will be included in the results of this research or discussed in future conferences or publications.

If you choose to participate, I will be the person conducting the interview. If you have any queries or concerns please do not hesitate to contact me at [steven.byrne@ul.ie](mailto:steven.byrne@ul.ie) or my supervisors Dr. Mairead Moriarty at [mairiad.moriarty@ul.ie](mailto:mairiad.moriarty@ul.ie) or Dr. David Atkinson at [david.atkinson@ul.ie](mailto:david.atkinson@ul.ie).

This research study has received Ethics approval from the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee in UL (2017-02-03-AHSS). If you have any concerns about this study and wish to contact an independent authority, you may contact:

Chairperson Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee  
AHSS Faculty Office  
University of Limerick  
Tel: +353 61 202286  
Email: [fahssethics@ul.ie](mailto:fahssethics@ul.ie)

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_



## FACULTAT D'ARTS, HUMANITATS I CIÈNCIES SOCIALS COMITÈ DE RECERCA ÈTICA CARTA INFORMATIVA

### Carta informativa per al participant (entrevista narrativa)

Estimat participant,

Em dic Steven Byrne i sóc estudiant de doctorat a la Universitat de Limerick (Irlanda). M'agradaria convidar-lo a participar en la segona etapa del projecte d'investigació que estic duent a terme: l'entrevista narrativa. La tesi es titula: *Explorant les actituds lingüístiques de les organitzacions independentistes en la Catalunya contemporània*.

#### Objectiu de la investigació

L'objectiu d'aquest projecte és investigar les actituds lingüístiques vers el català i les identitats regionals i lingüístiques a la ciutat de Girona. En aquesta investigació també s'exploraran les relacions entre els factors mencionats anteriorment i les opinions polítiques dels participants d'aquest projecte.

#### Possibles beneficis

Podrà reflexionar sobre les seves opinions i podrà ampliar els temes de debat que van formar part del grup de discussió, la primera fase d'aquest projecte.

#### Procediment

Si accedeix a participar en l'entrevista narrativa, li demanaré que argumenti preguntes de les opinions que té sobre la llengua catalana (i castellà) i si han canviat al llarg del temps. L'entrevista narrativa tindrà una estructura molt flexible. Serà lliure de parlar sobre el que vostè pensa que és important amb molt poca intervenció per part de l'investigador. Tanmateix, abans de l'entrevista s'escolliran els temes de debat. L'entrevista no hauria de durar més d'una hora, tindrà lloc en la data i indret que millor li convingui i es desenvoluparà en la llengua amb la qual vostè se sent més còmode.

Amb el seu permís, gravaré l'entrevista. Gràcies a la gravadora de so, l'investigador podrà enregistrar i recordar tot el que es diu durant l'entrevista. Les gravacions no seran utilitzades amb cap altra finalitat. Pot fer una pausa o fins i tot retirar-se completament de l'entrevista si en algun moment se sent incòmode.

#### Els seus drets

- Participar en la entrevista és completament **voluntari**. Pot retirar-se'n en qualsevol moment sense cap mena de conseqüència.
- No el pressionarem perquè contesti totes les preguntes.

- Té dret a no respondre les preguntes. Si té dubtes sobre la participació en aquest projecte, pot contactar amb el Comitè de Recerca Ètica de la Facultat d'Arts, Humanitats i Ciències Socials de la Universitat de Limerick (vegeu els detalls al final d'aquest document).

### **Confidencialitat**

- La informació i les dades que s'obtinguin de la investigació i que puguin identificar l'entrevistat es tractaran amb confidencialitat.
- Es garanteix l'anonimat de les dades enregistrades, que es guardaran en un lloc segur.
- Només l'investigador, Steven Byrne, tindrà accés a la informació obtinguda durant l'entrevista narrativa. Els seus supervisors doctorals, la Dra. Mairead Moriarty i el Dr. David Atkinson, tindran accés als informes escrits durant la investigació.
- El material que el pugui identificar no s'inclourà en els resultats del projecte ni es debatran en futures conferències o publicacions.

Si decideix participar, jo, Steven Byrne, seré l'encarregat de fer l'entrevista narrativa. Si té qualsevol pregunta o preocupació, si us plau no dubti a contactar-me a l'adreça electrònica [steven.byrne@ul.ie](mailto:steven.byrne@ul.ie) o contactar als meus supervisors, la Dra. Mairead Moriarty a [mairread.moriarty@ul.ie](mailto:mairread.moriarty@ul.ie) o al Dr. David Atkinson a [david.atkinson@ul.ie](mailto:david.atkinson@ul.ie).

Aquest projecte d'investigació ha rebut l'aprovació ètica del Comitè de Recerca Ètica de la Facultat d'Arts, Humanitats i Ciències Socials de la Universitat de Limerick (2017-02-03-AHSS). Si té cap dubte sobre el projecte i desitja contactar amb una autoritat independent, pot escriure a:

Chairperson Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee  
AHSS Faculty Office  
University of Limerick  
Tel: +353 61 202286  
Correu electrònic: [fahssethics@ul.ie](mailto:fahssethics@ul.ie)

Signatura: \_\_\_\_\_

Data: \_\_\_\_\_

# Appendix E: Consent form Focus Group

## (English/Catalan)



### FACULTY OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

#### CONSENT FORM (Focus Groups)

I, \_\_\_\_\_, declare that I am willing to take part in a focus group for the project entitled: *Exploring the language attitudes of independence organisations in contemporary Catalonia.*

I agree that	Please Tick
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>I have been fully informed about the nature of this study and my role in it and have been given the opportunity to ask questions before agreeing to participate.</li> </ul>	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The nature of my participation has been explained to me and I have full knowledge of how the information collected will be used.</li> </ul>	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>I am aware that my participation in this study will be audio-recorded and I agree to this.</li> </ul>	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
<p>However, should I feel uncomfortable at any time I can request that the audio recorder is switched-off. I am fully informed as to what will happen with the recordings once the study is completed.</p>	

- I fully understand that there is no obligation on me to participate in this study and that there are no consequences from participating or if I decide not to participate. Yes  No
- I fully understand that I am free to withdraw my participation at any time without having to explain or give a reason. Yes  No
- I have been made aware of the issues surrounding confidentiality in terms of my participation in this focus group. Yes  No
- I undertake not to speak of the issues discussed in this focus group to any other person. Yes  No
- I understand that full anonymity cannot be guaranteed when participating in a focus group. Yes  No
- I understand that all identifying data will be anonymised in the reporting of the data collected. Yes  No

---

Signature of participant

---

Date



**FACULTAT D'ARTS, HUMANITATS I CIÈNCIES SOCIALS  
COMITÈ DE RECERCA ÈTICA**

**Formulari de consentiment (grup de discussió)**

Jo, \_\_\_\_\_, declaro que estic conforme a participar en el grup de discussió que forma part del projecte de doctorat anomenat: *Explorant les actituds lingüístiques de les organitzacions independentistes en la Catalunya contemporània*.

<b>Acordo que</b>	<b>Marca amb una X</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Se m'ha informat clarament de la naturalesa d'aquest estudi i el paper que hi faré. He tingut l'oportunitat de fer preguntes abans d'accedir a participar-hi.</li></ul>	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Se m'ha explicat per què participo en aquest estudi i sé perfectament com s'utilitzarà la informació reunida.</li></ul>	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Estic assabentat/da sobre l'enregistrament de la meva participació en aquest estudi i en dono el consentiment.</li></ul> <p>Tanmateix, si en qualsevol moment em sento incòmode puc demanar que s'apagui la gravadora. He estat clarament informat sobre el que passarà amb les gravacions un cop finalitzat l'estudi.</p>	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Entenc perfectament que no estic obligat a participar en aquest estudi i que no hi haurà conseqüències tant si decideixo formar-ne part com si no.</li></ul>	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>

- Entenc perfectament que puc retirar-me del projecte sempre que vulgui i sense donar explicacions. Sí  No
- He estat assabentat/da de les qüestions sobre confidencialitat en relació amb la meva participació en el grup de discussió. Sí  No
- Em comprometo a no parlar amb ningú sobre els temes tractats en el grup de discussió. Sí  No
- Entenc que no es pot garantir el total anonimat quan participi en el grup de discussió. Sí  No
- També entenc que totes les meves dades personals es faran anònimes durant l'elaboració del projecte d'investigació. Sí  No

---

Signatura del participant

---

Data

# Appendix F: Consent form Narrative Interviews

## (English/Catalan)



### FACULTY OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

#### CONSENT FORM (Narrative Interview)

I, \_\_\_\_\_, declare that I am willing to take part in a narrative interview for the project entitled: *Exploring the language attitudes of independence organisations in contemporary Catalonia*.

I agree that	Please Tick
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>I have been fully informed about the nature of this study and my role in it and have been given the opportunity to ask questions before agreeing to participate.</li></ul>	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>The nature of my participation has been explained to me and I have full knowledge of how the information collected will be used.</li></ul>	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>I am aware that my participation in this study will be audio-recorded and I agree to this.</li></ul>	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
<p>However, should I feel uncomfortable at any time I can request that the audio recorder is switched-off. I am fully informed as to what will happen with the recordings once the study is completed.</p>	

- I fully understand that there is no obligation on me to participate in this study and that there are no consequences from participating or if I decide not to participate.

Yes  No

- I fully understand that I am free to withdraw my participation at any time without having to explain or give a reason.

Yes  No

- I also understand that I am entitled to full confidentiality and anonymity in terms of my participation and personal details.

Yes  No

---

Signature of participant

---

Date



**FACULTAT D'ARTS, HUMANITATS I CIÈNCIES SOCIALS  
COMITÈ DE RECERCA ÈTICA**

**Formulari de consentiment (entrevista narrativa)**

Jo, \_\_\_\_\_, declaro que estic conforme a participar en una entrevista narrativa que forma part del projecte anomenat: *Explorant les actituds lingüístiques de les organitzacions independentistes en la Catalunya contemporània.*

<b>Acordo que</b>	<b>Marca amb una X</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Se m'ha informat clarament de la naturalesa d'aquest estudi i del paper que hi faré. He tingut l'oportunitat de fer preguntes abans d'accedir a participar-hi.</li></ul>	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Se m'ha explicat per què participo en aquest estudi i sé perfectament com s'utilitzarà la informació reunida.</li></ul>	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Estic assabentat sobre l'enregistrament de la meva participació en aquest estudi i en dono el consentiment.</li></ul>	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
<p>Tanmateix, si en qualsevol moment em sento incòmode puc demanar que s'apagui la gravadora. He estat clarament informat sobre el que passarà amb les gravacions un cop finalitzat l'estudi.</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Entenc perfectament que no estic obligat a participar en aquest estudi i que no hi haurà conseqüències tant si decideixo formar-ne part com si no.</li></ul>	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>

- Entenc perfectament que puc retirar-me del projecte sempre que vulgui i sense donar explicacions.

Sí  No

- També entenc que tinc dret a complet anonimats pel que fa a la meua participació i a les meves dades personals.

Sí  No

---

Signatura del participant

---

Data

# **Appendix G: Focus Groups Schedule (English/ Catalan)**

## **Introduction:**

Once again thank you all very much for participating in this focus group. I understand that you are giving up your free time and I am very grateful to you for this. This study is part of my doctoral studies at the University of Limerick (UL) in Ireland. It is not a test so there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers. I am interested in your personal opinion. Please give your answers sincerely as only this will guarantee the success of the investigation. The contents of this discussion are absolutely confidential. Information identifying the respondent will not be disclosed under any circumstance.

**PUT THE TAPE RECORDER ON**

## **General questions about Catalan independence and the Catalan/Spanish languages**

What is usually your vehicular language?

Is it important to speak Catalan/Spanish?

Is Catalan a symbol of Catalonia?

When did you join this organisation?

What motivated you to join this organisation?

What role does the Catalan/Spanish language play in this organisation?

## **Visual prompts**

The visual prompts will then be introduced into the focus groups. Between eight and ten prompts will be used (time dependent). The participants will be asked to discuss what associations the prompts have for them. For a complete list of prompts that will be used see the Appendix H.

## **Conclusion**

Overall, how important is the Catalan/Spanish language to you?

Is there anything else that you would like to add?

Thank you very much for your time.

**TURN THE TAPE RECORDER OFF**

Participants will then be reminded of the opportunity to take part in a narrative interview. Participants who are willing to take part will be presented with an information sheet detailing the procedure.

## **Programa del grup de discussió**

### **Introducció:**

Una vegada més, moltes gràcies a tots i a totes per participar en el grup de discussió. Entenc que esteu renunciant al vostre temps lliure per participar-hi, per la qual cosa us n'estic molt agraït. Aquest projecte forma part dels estudis de doctorat que estic cursant a la Universitat de Limerick, a Irlanda. Recordeu que no és un examen, per la qual cosa no hi ha respostes correctes ni incorrectes. El meu interès rau en les vostres opinions personals, per tant us demano si us plau que em respongueu tan sincerament com pugueu per tal de garantir l'èxit d'aquesta investigació. Els continguts d'aquest debat són estrictament confidencials. La informació que us identifica no es revelarà sota cap circumstància.

## **ENGEGAR LA GRAVADORA**

### **Preguntes generals sobre la independència de Catalunya i la llengua catalana (i castellà)**

Quina és la seva llengua vehicular?

És important parlar català/castellà?

Creu que el català és un símbol de Catalunya?

Quan es va unir a aquesta organització?

Quins van ser els motius que el van portar a unir-s'hi?

Quin paper té el català en aquesta organització?

### **Recursos de suport visuals**

Aquí s'introduiran els recursos de suport visual. Depenent del temps disponible, n'utilitzarem entre deu i dotze. Llavors es preguntarà als participants quin tipus d'associacions fan quan els veuen o els llegeixen. Dirigiu-vos a l'apèndix per una llista completa dels recursos que es faran servir.

### **Conclusió**

En general, com d'important és per vostè la llengua catalana (i castellà)?

Li agradaria afegir res més?

Moltes gràcies pel seu temps.

## **APAGAR LA GRAVADORA**

Llavors es recordarà als participants que tindran l'oportunitat de formar part d'una entrevista narrativa individual. Es presentarà un document informatiu amb els detalls del procediment a tots aquells que estiguin interessats a participar-hi.

## Appendix H: Focus Groups Visual Prompts

Figure 1:



Figure 2:



Figure 3:



Figure 4:



Figure 5:



Figure 6:



Figure 7:



Figure 8:



Figure 9:



Figure 10:



**Two prompts that were removed (post pilot study):**

Figure 11:



Figure 12:



# **Appendix I: Narrative Interview Schedule**

## **(English/Catalan)**

Before the interview begins I need to check a few things with you.

1. Explain the interview style (what the interviewee can expect):

- Narrative interviewing;
- Not like traditional research interview;
- I have a list of topics to be covered;
- I will just ask a few questions and I would like you to answer them in whatever way you choose;
- You can give as much or as little detail as you would like;
- There is no right or wrong way-there are no answers I am expecting or hoping for;
- However, I may take some notes as you are speaking and may ask for further details;
- You may find this easy or difficult-if you are finding it hard I can provide some prompts to get you going!

2. Explain the format of the interview:

- Please feel free to take a break at any point.
- You are free to withdraw from the interview at any point if you do not wish to continue with the conversation.

3. Do you have any questions?

4. I remind you that I will be tape recording the session – nobody will hear this except me.

**PUT THE TAPE RECORDER ON**

### **Opening Question**

The conversation we are about to have is part of a study of individuals attitudes toward the Catalan/Spanish languages and about being a member of an independence organisation. I am interested in your views on the Catalan/Spanish languages, if these views may have changed over time, how you have made sense of being a member of an independence group. Perhaps, to begin with, you could tell me something about your experience of being a memeber of an independence organisation.

**Narrative interview: Broad questions about the topic of inquiry.**

### **Topic: Meaning to self and changes over time**

What does being Catalan mean to you?

What languages do you hear spoken in Girona? (Is it important to speak Catalan/Spanish?)

Do you think your attitude toward the Catalan/Spanish languages has changed over time? (Why/Why not?)

What factors, if any, have had an impact on your attitude toward Catalan/Spanish?

Do you think your attitude may change in the future?

**Topic: Attitudes towards Catalan:**

Is it important for you to speak Catalan/Spanish? (Why/Why not?)

Has this changed over time?

In what situations do you speak Catalan/Spanish?

Do you think there have been any particular experiences that have led to a change in your attitudes toward the Catalan language?

Is Catalan a healthy/strong language?

How do you see the language in 20 to 50 years?

**Topic: Being member of an independence organisation**

When did you join this organisation?

What motivated you to join this organisation?

What role does the Catalan/Spanish language play in this organisation?

What are the objectives of this organisation?

How much time do you spend taking part in the organisation's activities?

What are your hopes for the future of Catalonia?

**Topic: Reflection/Evaluation**

Do you think your views on the Catalan/Spanish language would be different if you were not a member of this independence organisation?

**Topic: Ending**

Was there anything more that you wanted to say which you feel you haven't had time to say?

**TURN THE TAPE RECORDER OFF**

## **Debriefing**

- Thank you!
- What will happen now?
- Any questions?
- Would you like an end of project report ?

## **Estructura de l'entrevista narrativa**

Abans no comenci l'entrevista, necessito verificar un parell de coses amb vostè:

1. Explicació de l'estil de l'entrevista (què pot esperar-ne l'entrevistat):
  - Entrevista narrativa;
  - No és com una entrevista d'investigació tradicional;
  - Tinc una sèrie de temes sobre els quals vull parlar;
  - Jo tan sols formularé algunes preguntes i m'agradaria que vostè les contestés lliurement;
  - Pot entrar en tan (o tan poc) detall com vulgui;
  - No hi ha respostes correctes ni incorrectes. Tampoc no estic esperant cap resposta en concret;
  - Tanmateix, podria ser que en algun moment donat comencés a prendre nota del que vostè està dient per més endavant demanar-li informació al respecte;
  - Pot ser que trobi aquesta entrevista fàcil o difícil. Si la troba difícil, puc facilitar-li algunes preguntes de suport per començar a escalfar motors.
2. Explicació del format de l'entrevista:
  - Si ho desitja, pot fer una pausa en qualsevol moment.
  - Si en algun moment no vol continuar amb la conversa, pot renunciar a participar-hi.
3. Té alguna pregunta?
4. Li recordo que gravaré la sessió però que ningú no hi tindrà accés excepte jo.

## **ENGEGAR LA GRAVADORA**

### **Pregunta introductòria**

La conversa que estem a punt de començar forma part d'un estudi doctoral que tracta sobre les actituds individuals cap a la llengua catalana (i castellà) i sobre l'experiència de ser un membre d'una organització independentista. Estic interessat en la seva opinió sobre la llengua catalana (i castellà) i si aquesta visió ha canviat al llarg del temps, a més de voler saber quins motius l'han portat a formar part d'un grup independentista. Per començar, per exemple, em podria explicar alguna cosa sobre l'experiència de ser membre d'una organització independentista.

### **Entrevista narrativa: preguntes generals sobre el tema d'estudi.**

#### **Tema: Significat individual i canvis al llarg del temps**

Què significa per vostè ser català?

Quins idiomes sent parlar a Girona? (Considera que és important el fet de parlar català?)

Creu que l'actitud que té vers el català ha canviat amb el temps? (Per què? Per què no?)

Quins factors, si és que n'hi ha cap, han contribuït a formar la seva actitud vers el català?

Creu que aquesta actitud pot canviar en un futur?

### **Tema: Actituds vers el català**

És important per vostè parlar català? (Per què? Per què no?)

Aquesta percepció ha canviat amb el temps?

En quines situacions parla català?

Creu que ha hi ha cap experiència en concret que l'ha portat a un canvi d'actitud vers la llengua catalana (i castellà)?

El català és una llengua saludable i/o forta?

Com veu el català d'aquí 20 a 50 anys?

### **Tema: Ser membre d'una organització independentista**

Quan va entrar a formar part d'aquesta organització?

Quins van ser els motius que el van portar a fer-ho?

Quin paper té el català en aquesta organització?

Quins són els objectius d'aquesta organització?

Quant de temps passa participant en les activitats d'aquesta organització?

Què n'espera del futur de Catalunya?

### **Tema: Reflexió/valoració**

Creu que la seva visió i opinió sobre la llengua catalana (i castellà) seria diferent si no formés part d'aquesta organització independentista?

### **Tema: Conclusió**

Li agradaria afegir alguna cosa que no ha tingut temps a dir?

**APAGAR LA GRAVADORA**

### **Informe**

- Gràcies!
- Què passarà a partir d'ara?
- Alguna pregunta?
- Vol un informe de final de projecte?

## **Appendix J: Narrative Interview Probes and Prompts (English/Catalan)**

### **English**

Can you tell me more about that?

How did you understand this/that?

What was the experience like for you?

Could you please tell more about...?

Could you expand on...?

What do you mean by...?

You mentioned how....Could you tell me that part of your story in a little more detail?

### **Catalan**

M'en podria dir més coses sobre aquest tema?

Com ho va entendre això? Com s'ho vas prendre?

Com va ser l'experiència?

Em podria parlar més sobre...?

Podria entrar en detalls?

Què vol dir amb...?

Ha explicat com... Podria explicar-me aquesta part de la història amb una mica més de detall, si us plau?