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ORIGINAL PAPER

Critical LPP and the intersection of class, race and language policy and practice in twenty first century Catalonia

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Abstract

Language policy and planning (LPP) has always drawn on research and scholarship in education as well as the social sciences in general (in particular sociology). Social theory has also figured as an important source of ideas and concepts, and critical LPP has arisen as a distinct strand of inquiry since the 1980s (Tollefson, in Planning language, planning inequality: language policy in the community. Longman, London, 1991; Tollefson (ed) Language policies in education: critical issues. Routledge, London, 2013). More recently, critical LPP researchers have begun to turn to political economy, as a source discipline, and neoliberalism, as a baseline concept, in the study of LPP-related phenomena and practices in a range of contexts (Ricento 2015; Tollefson & Pérez-Milans 2018). This paper examines how a critical political economy-oriented approach may be applied in a specific context, that of Catalonia, where most would agree that there has been a relatively successful recovery of a minority language situated in a larger nation-state structure traditionally dominated by a monolingual (Spanish) polity. This critical approach explores, on the one hand, how political economy—which examines the power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources and the class relations that emerge within these processes—may be brought to bear on issues arising in the ongoing development of LPP in Catalonia. In addition, this critical approach is attentive to issues around race and ethnicity which inevitably arise in societies experiencing high levels of immigration, as has been the case in Catalonia over the past 25 years. This paper aims to bring these two strands together, examining how two key matters of interest in political economy today– inequality and class—intersect with race and ethnicity in the ongoing development of language policy in Catalonia, focussing specifically on the Barcelona metropolitan area. And further to this, it aims to understand how this intersectionality is, at the same time, intersected by the nexus of a Catalan national, cultural and linguistic identity emerging from the aforementioned relatively successful recovery of Catalan over the past several decades.

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Keywords Critical language policy · Intersectionality · Class · Race · Catalan language and culture

Introduction

Since the *Llei de Normalització Lingüística* (Language Normalization Act) was passed in the parliament of Catalonia in 1983, and through its subsequent extensions and reform with the 1998 *Llei de Política Lingüística* (Language Policy Act) and the 2006 *Estatut d'Autonomia de Catalunya* (Catalan Autonomy Statute),[1] the Catalan language has extended its presence in a wide range of social settings (the media, politics, education, sports, etc.) over the past four decades (Generalitat de Catalunya 2015). These developments, at the heart of Catalan/Spanish bilingualism in Catalonia, have been the focus of a great deal of research falling under the heading of language policy and planning (hereafter, LPP). Catalonia has often been seen as model case of LPP in contemporary Europe, prompting Urla (2012: 177) to call it 'one of the most successful and longstanding language movements in Europe' and 'a living laboratory for exploring the social dynamics and ideological transformations set in motion by language normalization projects'. However we might perhaps want to be cautious and insert the qualifier 'relative' in front of success, as surveys of the state of play (e.g. Hawkey 2014; Miller and Miller 1996; Newman and Trenchs-Paerera 2015a, b; Newman et al. 2008; Pujolar et al. 2010; Strubell 2001; Webber and Strubell 1991; Vila 2008; Woolard and Frekko 2013) have always stressed that while great inroads have been made with regard to the standardization of Catalan and its implantation in key institutions (especially education), there is always the prospect that sudden political changes could have a negative impact on ongoing efforts to *normalize* Catalan completely.

Given the particularities of the history and sociology of Catalan, the three major LPP concerns dealt with in the aforementioned publications have been language and identity (Catalan language and one's sense of self), language attitudes (e.g. Is Catalan a prestige language?) and language use (e.g. What percentage of the population uses Catalan regularly, in what contexts, with whom and how?). This paper is about the first of these concerns, language and identity, but with a twist. While

[1] The 1983 act was about the recovery of Catalan in institutional settings (e.g. education, politics, the media), business and work settings and social settings (among friends and family). Importantly, it established three options for pre-school and primary education—near total immersion in Catalan, Catalan Spanish balanced bilingualism and Spanish dominant instruction. The Catalan immersion option became the most popular, adopted in 90% of all pre-schools and primary schools, and in 1993, this state of affairs was formally consolidated when Catalan-medium instruction was strengthened in secondary school. The 1998 Linguistic Policy Act aimed to consolidate gains made since 1983 and to address deficiencies in the 1983 law, proposing quotas and greater vigilance to guarantee the presence of Catalan in those domains where it had not made much headway, such as in legal proceedings and in the world of cinema. In education, the 1998 act meant the definitive establishment of Catalan as the dominant medium of instruction in Catalan education at all levels. The new statute for Catalonia of 2006 continued in the same direction as the 1998 act and Catalan language policy in education was not affected by the Spanish Constitutional Court's modification of the statute in their 2010 ruling.

previous publications have dealt with Catalan national identity (feeling Catalan) with regard to language practices, this paper focuses on how class and race intersect in the lives of people who have a complex and ambivalent relationship with the notion of a Catalan national identity and a Catalan linguistic identity. It begins with some general considerations with regard to LPP, and following Spolsky (2004), sees the latter as a multilevel phenomenon, constituted by practices, language ideologies and actual policy enactment and management. This discussion leads into a consideration of what is known as critical LPP, which concludes with the argument that there is a need for more political economy, and in particular a focus on social class and economic inequality, in critical LPP. This leads to the next section, which deals with social class, the notion of intersectionality and the intersectionality of class and race as key aspects of being in the world. Drawing on this background, the paper then moves to a brief and selective discussion of class/race-inflected sociolinguistic research in Catalonia. This discussion sets up the final section, in which we include some reflections on the adoption of an explicit focus on class and race in LPP in Catalonia.

Before proceeding, one caveat is in order. In the discussion that follows, there is a focus on the Barcelona metropolitan area, which is a very different multilingual environment from that found in other parts of Catalonia with regard to the Catalan/Spanish bilingual dynamic. On the whole, the Barcelona metropolitan area is far more Spanish-speaking than other parts of Catalonia, where the kind of marginalisation of Catalan that we will be documenting in this paper is not encountered to the same extent (or even at all in many cases). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that with a population of 5,562,188, this area represents 74% of the total population (7,534,813) (IDESCAT 2018). Therefore, the phenomena discussed in this paper can be seen as fairly typical of a good proportion of Catalan education contexts, even if there is a strong urban bias in evidence.

Background

Bearing the complexity of language policy and practice (LPP) in mind, Bernard Spolsky (2004) some years ago proposed a three-component model of the field. In this model, there are, first of all, language practices of all kinds, including the language varieties employed by individuals in day-to-day communication, as well as the actual communication events occurring. By including language practices as an angle on language policy, Spolsky was aligning himself with ethnographers in sociolinguistics who examine how social structures (e.g. education as an institution) emerge in the situated practices of individuals and collectives. The second component of Spolsky's model is the ideological realm. Here Spolsky focusses on how different language variants are assigned different values, based on beliefs people have about right and wrong, beneficial and non-beneficial, important and unimportant, and so on. These beliefs about language are based on experiences and contacts with others and they are resistant to change. Importantly, they are reflective of deeper language ideologies. The latter provide individuals and collectives with a basis for action in political, social, economic and cultural realms of activity, and they tend

to prime the values and practices of elites over those of the popular classes. The third and final component in Spolsky's model is management, which is about linguistic gatekeepers' ideologically-driven participation in speech community matters. Examples of such participation include attempts to impose one language or language variety over another in an educational system, or the prescription of particular grammatical forms, lexical items, topic choices and pronunciations. Spolsky notes that while management actions often have the backing of the legal establishment, this very fact in no way guarantees that they will have the desired outcome of shaping linguistic behaviour. The discussion in the latter half of this paper contains elements of all three of Spolsky's components.

Working according to the premise that LPP emerges at the confluence of Spolsky's language practices, language ideologies and management practices, LPP researchers have over the years focussed on a broad range of potentially conflictive language-mediated phenomena, such as language standardization; societal bi/multilingualism and language rights; and language pedagogy and learning (what languages are to be taught/learned, by whom, where, why, when and so on). Given the highly-charged nature of these and other issues, some researchers have felt it imperative to 'recognize the planning-policy-making process and the field of LPP itself as ideological and discursive, reflecting and (re)producing class, race, language and power' (McCarty 2013: 40). And this realization has, in turn, led to the emergence of a strand within LPP known as critical LPP.

This critical approach can be traced back to the 1980s and above all, to Tollefson's oft-cited book *Planning language, planning inequality* (1991). In this book Tollefson to some extent situated LPP in terms of class struggle, that is, as part of ongoing conflicts between the capitalist class/elites and the popular classes around control over the means of production, political power and access to economic, social and cultural resources. Critical LPP may therefore be seen to have at least some of its roots in Marxist scholarship and a Marxist perspective on how societies function. However, more recently, Tollefson (2013) has suggested that the critical approach has evolved and now examines not so much how LPP is embedded in political economic phenomena, such as how economic inequality and government policies have an impact on the interests and life chances of the working class and poor, but how it is more broadly sociocultural in nature, having to do with status and prestige. Critical LPP has, therefore, evolved in parallel to developments in many parts of academia, whereby those who self-identify as left-wing have shifted from a concern with issues around the redistribution of economic resources to a concern with the recognition and respect for sociocultural diversity in increasingly multicultural societies. This has meant an emphasis on what Nancy Fraser (1995) calls 'identity politics'. Following this trend, LPP researchers have in recent decades focussed primarily on issues around ethnolinguistic identity in society, although they have branched out in catering to this concern, including in their research global issues such as ethnonational conflicts, the rise of religious fundamentalism and the resurgence of neofascism, and geopolitical issues such as the environment and global (in)security and violence.

If the 2007/2008 economic crisis has shown us anything, it is that capitalism, in its current neoliberal version, does not work—if by 'work', we mean that it affords

a high standard of living to as many people as possible in countries where it is practised. Inequality, already on the rise since the mass adoption worldwide of neoliberal economic policies from the 1980s onwards, has spiked over the past decade (Piketty 2014) and countries such as Spain (and what concerns us here, Catalonia) have become leaders in the widening of the gap between elites and the rest of the population. According to OECD figures published in autumn 2016, but referring to 2014, Spain was surpassed by only the Latvia, the UK and Estonia in the Gini coefficient, which measures inequality based on a range of criteria, such as income distribution (Milanovic 2016). These countries scored 0.352, 0.358 and 0.361, respectively, while Spain scored 0.346 (no separate figure is available for Catalonia, but it would not likely differ significantly from the figure for Spain as a whole). These scores are far better than the scores for the United States, which stands at 0.394, or for Mexico, which stands at 0.459, but they are far from those of more egalitarian countries such as Norway or Denmark, at 0.252 and 0.254 respectively.

Against this backdrop, over the past several years, some have argued that there is a need for researchers who self-identify as sociolinguists, or linguistic anthropologists, or applied linguists, to adopt a more explicit political economy orientation in their work (e.g. Block 2018, who argues for a Marxist political economy). Such a move would allow researchers to understand better the what and how of neoliberalism and the inequality and class conflict that it engenders. And, it would likely lead to very different problem framing and of course the proposal of very different actions to resolve problems. With regard to LPP, there is evidence that such a turn is taking place. Thus, in *The Oxford Handbook of Language Policy and Planning*, edited by Tollefson and Pérez-Milans (2018), there are several chapters that focus on LPP from a political economy perspective, and more specifically within the frame of neoliberalism, covering issues such as language commodification, the world of work, governmentality and inequality and social class.[2] It is the latter topic, social class, that is foundational to the discussion in this paper, although in what follows we will be interested in how class intersects with race. The next section provides a brief discussion of what we mean by class and race and their intersectionality.

Class and race

In this paper, class is understood within a multidimensional frame (Block 2014) which draws on the foundational political economic work of Marx (1990); the later, more sociocultural models of class elaborated by Weber (1968); the pivotal synthetic work of Bourdieu (1984); and the more recent thinking of scholars such as Atkinson (2015), Wright (2015) and Savage (2015). It frames class in terms of a

[2] It is worth noting that the majority of the volume's 35 chapters cover many long-standing interest areas in LPP research, such as the relationships between the nation-state, nationalism and education; language endangerment, language rights and revitalization; the impact of the increasingly diverse populations; bi/multilingualism in society in community and family environments; societal views of language; language choice and standardization; and sign language. In addition, there are chapters on concerns that have arisen more recently, such as language testing and citizenship, securitization and the impact of the social media.

long list of factors, including property owned, material possessions (e.g. electronic goods, clothing, books, art, etc.), income, occupation, education, social networking, consumption patterns, symbolic behaviour, pass-times, mobility, the type of neighbourhood and type of dwelling inhabited. These dimensions of class are relational, and they cluster together and index points of contrast between and among individuals in class-based societies where class struggle and class conflict are a part of daily life, albeit in ways that are often subtle and equally often, go unnoticed.

Nevertheless, and despite the importance of class in the analysis of societies, there is a need to bear in mind that class intersects with a long list of identity dimensions. Intersectionality is understood here as a way of examining and analysing 'social inequality, people's lives and the organization of power in a given society … as … shaped, not by a single axis of social division, be it race, gender, or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other' (Collins and Bilge 2016: 2). In this paper, the axis highlighted, apart from class, is race. Race is a complex construct, defying easy definition, not least because while it may be seen as a matter of skin colour or phenotype, it is also socially and discursively constructed and contested as opposed to being divinely or naturalistically determined (Gilroy 2000; Alim 2016a). There is, thus, little doubt that while race is a matter of skin colour, and people see and identify and position others according to this skin colour, there are multiple discourses around what it means to be, for example, 'Black' in a range of contexts worldwide, or 'Asian' in the United Kingdom, or Filipino in Saudi Arabia, or White/Caucasian in Japan, or what will concern us below, Latino in Catalonia (and specifically, Barcelona). In this regard, it is instructive to examine Sami Alim's (2016b) account of his travels around the world, during which he has been positioned and treated differently according to the specifics of various racial ecologies that exist in different parts of the world.

In such diverse contexts, Alim, and of course many others, find themselves victims of racism, which may be understood, following John Solomos (1993: 9), as 'those ideologies and social processes which discriminate against others on the basis of their putatively different racial membership'. Racism is also 'politically, culturally and economically produced' and 'can be marked by color, ethnicity, language, culture and/or religion' (Grosfogel 2016: 10). In this sense, it is always more than discrimination and oppression based solely on skin colour. In the cases discussed in this paper, racial phenotypes and their accompanying social constructions apply. However, we are also in the realm of the economic, political, cultural and linguistic based discriminations, all of which intersect with race. Finally, acts of racism, particularly in societies where anti-racist discourses have had a significant impact on what is normally considered acceptable and unacceptable language and behaviour in public spaces, may be *micro* and therefore covert and under (or even off) the radar of those committing them. They are what Augie Fleras calls 'racialized micro-aggressions', that is, 'covert and nuanced expressions of everyday racism that look innocuous enough on the surface, but [which] implicitly communicate an affront identified *as racist or offensive by the micro-aggressed* (Fleras 2016: 7). They are commonplace indignities, verbal or behavioural acts, which vary from the question 'Where are you from?', directed at an immigrant by a long-standing citizen of a locality, to a

sales person racially profiling customers, keeping an eye on darker-skinned shoppers while not doing so for white ones.

Bearing in mind the discussion thus far, what, then, of LPP research in Catalonia? In what ways has research examined how inequality, class and class warfare intersect with the ongoing development of language policy in Catalonia? And what about race and racism? Has it been explored to any extent as a key shaper of the success or failure of LPP in Catalonia (where 'success' means that Catalan is used as extensively as possible in all ambits of day-to-day life in Catalonia)? The next section is a modest attempt to answer these questions, albeit in a limited way, as we discuss a small sample of research with a class perspective and a focus on race. We will derive some necessarily speculative thoughts on how class intersects with race in Catalan language policy and practice on the ground.

Class and race in Catalan LPP research

The first publication considered in this section is an official report on the findings of a survey of the state of Catalan in Catalonia *circa* 2013 (Direcció General de Política Lingüística 2015). This report includes a section on the interrelationship between, on the one hand, being a regular user of Catalan and showing an affiliation to this language, and, on the other hand, occupying a particular class position in Catalan society. The discussion begins with a definition of social class which, following researchers such as Sánchez et al. (2010), sees class in terms of one's position in the labour market. This model of class is streamlined, as it includes neither the top level of the class hierarchy (elites, the 1% or whatever term we wish to use), nor those who occupy positions below low-salaried work, such as the long-term unemployed or the new precariat of low-level service providers. What the model does include are three broad class categories: (1) the owner/entrepreneurial middle-class class, which includes those who work free-lance in industry, services or agriculture, or are part of a (small) family business; (2) the wage/salary-earning middle class, which includes managers, senior technicians, and people who carry out administrative tasks.; and (3) the working class, which includes the rest of salaried/waged workers working in industry and the services economy.

Classifying citizens of 15 years of age or older, the report states that the owner/entrepreneurial middle-class class, comprises 16.9% of the population, the wage/salary-earning middle class, 35.7% and the working class, 47.4%. Members of the owner/entrepreneurial middle-class are more likely to have family roots in Catalonia going back several generations, and they are more likely to speak Catalan on a regular basis (47.9 were classified as regular users of Catalan in 2013, down from 52% in 2008). The wage/salary-earning middle-class is more mixed with regard to ancestry (far more roots in other parts of Spain), but also shows a relatively high affiliation to Catalan (45.8% were classified as regular users of Catalan in 2013, down from 49.6% in 2008). A large proportion of those classified as working-class were born in other parts of Spain and moved to Catalonia over the past two or three decades, or they are the majority of over one million immigrants who arrived in Catalonia between the early 1990s and 2010 from countries such as Ecuador, Colombia,

Morocco, Pakistan and China. Among those classified as working class, just 23.5% were classified as regular users of Catalan in both 2013 and 2008. The upshot to this discussion is that being a regular user of Catalan correlates strongly to being a member of the owner/entrepreneurial and wage/salary-earning middle-classes and is a minority pattern of behaviour among those classified as working class. And as immigrants tend to occupy the lower end of job markets, their linguistic behaviour comes to resemble that of the autochthonous 'working class', using Spanish far more than Catalan.[3]

This report, along with others which have examined the class condition of immigrants in Catalonia (e.g. Martinez Celorrio and Marín Saldo 2015), provide a great deal of interesting and useful demographic data. However, they are based, in our view, on a relatively limited view of class and therefore they do not consider many of the practices and behaviours which index class (see the reference above to a multi-dimensional framing of class). In addition, because they rely exclusively on questionnaire data, they cannot offer much insight regarding what is behind the numbers provided. In short, they cannot tell us much about what it means on the ground to say that, broadly speaking, middle-class Catalans are far more likely to use and to feel affiliated to Catalan than working-class Catalans. And they have little to say about the correlation between being a working-class immigrant and the quite likely prospect that one is, in addition, a visible racial minority in Catalonia (and exactly how both conditions relate to being a regular user of Catalan or not in day-to-day encounters with Catalan speakers). It is, therefore, necessary to turn to ethnographic-based research if we wish to delve more deeply into the experiential aide of inequality and the class and racial divide in the sociolinguistic ecology of Catalonia.

One possible place to start are two oft-cited books based on in-depth ethnographies of Catalan-Spanish bilingualism in Catalonia, authored by Kathryn Woolard (1989) and Joan Pujolar (2001). In their respective work, both Woolard and Pujolar concluded that being a Spanish-dominant speaker in late 20th century Catalan society was highly correlated with being working-class (notwithstanding the enduring existence of a middle-class and upper-middle-class Catalans who have always preferred to use Spanish). Meanwhile, being a Catalan- dominant-speaker was far more the domain of the middle and upper middle classes.[4] However, as the Woolard and Pujolar studies provide snapshots of Catalan sociolinguistics in the early to mid-1980s and the mid-1990s, respectively, they have nothing to say about the effect that the massive EU and extra-EU immigration, which has occurred since the early to mid 1990s, has had on the sociolinguistic ecology of Catalonia. If during the 1980s and the early 1990s, Catalans were told '*som sis millons*' (we are 6 million), that figure has had to be adjusted upward considerably over the past two decades. Thus, population growth in this century looks as follows: 6,261,999 in 2000;

[3] Even if, as Martínez-Celorrío (2017) notes, the condition of being a habitual Catalan speaker (as opposed to a habitual Spanish speaker) in Catalonia does not correlate strongly to upward mobility, that is movement from lower to higher class positions over a lifetime. More important are education and the acquisition of key skills and knowledge.

[4] This is, of course, something of an oversimplification of how matters stood at the time of the Woolard and Pujolar studies.

7,134,697 in 2006; 7,539,618 in 2011; and 7,522,596 in 2016. Meanwhile, the population classified as '*estrangera*' (foreign), which was just 181.590 in 2000, peaked at 1,198,538 in 2010, only to go down to 1,023,398 in 2016. However, it worth noting the ongoing naturalization of immigrants and their children means that Catalonia is more ethnically, racially and culturally diverse than the 13.60% figure for the foreign population would indicate. See "Appendix 1" for more details about immigration to Catalonia 2000–2016.

In her comprehensive survey of immigration to Barcelona between 1995 and 2010, Marina Subirats notes how '[immigrants'] working conditions are much more precarious than those of the autochthonous population, … as a consequence of being situated in the low qualification sector' (Subirats 2012: 378; translation by Author 1). This situation at the lower end of labour market, in combination with the fact that the vast majority of immigrants come from Ecuador, Colombia, Morocco, China and Pakistan, has meant that in the Catalan imaginary there has arisen a racio-class conflation whereby person of colour as immigrant = poor or working class, but not middle class or wealthy. To be sure, some immigrants have prospered and certainly moved into the middle class of Catalan society, and many, in particular Chinese and Pakistani immigrants, have family-run businesses. However, the majority can still be classified as working-class and poor, as Subirats (2012) has argued. It should be noted that this race-class intersectionality is seen worldwide to varying degrees and it is neither innocent nor without consequences. Of interest here is how it has consequences as regards the use of and affiliation to Catalan.

It is in schools where many children of immigrants come into contact with the overwhelming necessity not only to understand Catalan but to appropriate it as the near-exclusive language of academic activity. However, very early in their lives, the vast majority of immigrant children, and particularly those living in major urban areas, have established themselves as predominantly Spanish speakers. This occurs in no small part because the majority of Catalan speakers continue to position them as foreigners and therefore non-Catalan speakers (i.e. Spanish speakers), following the well-established formula 'I see before me a foreigner; therefore, I need to speak in Spanish'. Aracil (1983) provides an early account of this phenomenon in his discussion of 'linguistic interposition', in short hand, how a larger more widely spoken language—Spanish—regularly takes precedence over a smaller, less widely spoken one—Catalan.[5] With specific reference to Catalan speakers' tendency to withhold Catalan in their encounters with those positioned as 'other', he writers the following:

> It seems that the speakers of x [Catalan] subsume "foreigners" under the generic category of strangers - whom they approach mechanically in [Spanish] because they *do not* presume that a stranger could ever know how to speak x. Persisting in speaking to them in y – *even though* they obviously know and want to speak x - reveals, perhaps, that the speakers of x reserve this language for those they know intimately and they find it "overly familiar" in contacts

[5] See also Woolard (1989), who noted the same behavioural pattern.

with strangers. [Spanish]. (Aracil 1983: 185; emphasis in the original; translation by Author 1)

Author 1 of this paper can still recall encountering this phenomenon when he began to learn Catalan in 1979, at a time when his northern European appearance made him appear foreign and therefore, it seemed, incapable of being heard as a Catalan speaker by many of the individuals who were his accidental interlocutors. If we fast-forward several decades, we observe the same treatment is dispensed to immigrants of colour in 21st century Catalonia, although it should be noted that while the consequences of this positioning-as-a-foreigner is likely to have little effect on the overall well-being and life chances of someone like Author 1, it may have serious consequences for the life chances of immigrants of colour in 21st century Catalonia.[6]

To make the point that racial profiling exists and that it has consequences, we reproduce below an excerpt from an interview carried out in late 2015 as part of an ongoing project focussing on the children of immigrants who manage to gain entry to Catalan universities (Gallego Balsà & Block, in prepartion). The speaker is Chow (a self-assigned pseudonym), the daughter of Chinese immigrants who was born and raised in a village in Catalonia and was aged 19 at the time of the interview. In the following excerpt, she describes an experience taking place in a post office, where it is likely that her physical appearance caused her interlocutor to deny her legitimacy as a Catalan speaker.

NB Transcription conventions can be found in "Appendix 2". Original versions of excerpts that have been translated into English can be found in "Appendix 3"

Transcription 1

When you are going to ask something/you say/*sorry I have a question/should I post this over here*?/{switching to Spanish to voice her interlocutor} *yeah yeah right here*/I don't know what/but you know that he speaks Catalan/because he spoke it before/so I answer again in Catalan/and he answers again in Spanish/

[6] In addition, it should be noted that such practices exist despite efforts by the local government, the *Generalitat de Catalunya*, to overturn the unspoken rules of who speaks what language when, where and to whom, via a series of institutional campaigns (Generalitat de Catalunya 2018). The first campaign, '*El Català és cosa de tots*' ('Catalan is everyone's responsibility'), featured the image of '*Norma*', a young girl who symbolised the 'normalization' of Catalan as a language in public spaces and as a language in which users could do all of the things that they could do in Spanish. This was followed by '*Depèn de vostè*' ('It depends on you') in 1985–1986; '*Tu ets* Mestre' ('You are a teacher') in 2003; '*Dóna corda al català*'(literally, 'Wind up Catalan', but meant to encourage people to speak Catalan) in 2005-2007; '*Encomana el català*' ('spread Catalan') in 2009–2010; and a long list of more recent campaigns aimed at specific domains of activity, exhorting citizens and residents in Catalonia to use Catalan, for example, when doing sport, when using communication technologies, when doing business and when engaged in a wide range of service encounters. All of these campaigns embody the general goal of fomenting the use of Catalan when and where possible, and some, such as '*Tu ets mestre*', explicitly address and try to reverse the tendency of many Catalan speakers to deny Catalan to those who look different or who for any number of reasons are positioned as 'foreign'.

> so I don't (.5) it makes me feel a little you know/and you see the other person/ and you don't know [what to say] to him/so I say/*but why*? (Chow, 10/12/15)

This appears to be a case of linguistic racial and ethnic profiling, and it is arguably an example of Fleras's (2016) 'racialized micro-aggressions'. In any case, it is a phenomenon that many Catalan speaking immigrants of colour have experienced. In short, some people simply do not 'look like' Catalan speakers to those who are comfortable in the knowledge that they do. It is worth adding that in the two interviews that Chow participated in she mentioned this profiling, and that as someone who strongly self-identified as Catalan and Catalan-speaking, she seemed genuinely hurt. And why shouldn't she be? As Woolard has explained in her more recent work, Catalan may exist as an 'anonymous' language, that is as 'a neutral vehicle of communication, belonging to no one in particular and thus equally available to all' (Woolard 2016: 7), a line of reasoning that Chow no doubt has followed in her lifetime. In addition, however, Catalan works as an 'authentic' language, that is as 'a language variety [that] is rooted in and directly expresses the essential nature of a community or speaker' (Woolard 2016: 7). This is also a line of reasoning that Chow has attempted to follow, except that in this case, her version of the 'essential nature of a community' includes people like her, while for at least some of her Catalan-speaking interlocutors, it clearly does not. In a sense, in the latter case, those who *have Catalan* may not willingly *give Catalan* to those who do not have it. Alternatively, as we will see below, Catalan may be rejected as the mediator of communication by those who do not see the possibility of ever being considered Catalans, and in this case the language is neither anonymous nor authentic for them. This state of affairs is certainly does not apply to Chow, but it does apply to many other children of immigrants. Nevertheless, while Chow's episode may be clearly enough identified as one of linguistic racial profiling and even racist, in that it puts us in the realm of 'ideologies and social processes which discriminate against others on the basis of their putatively different racial membership' (Solomos 1993: 9), it also shows that in institutional settings, where civil servants are expected to use Catalan, Spanish is used perhaps more often than some might imagine.

A far more damning example of denying Catalan to immigrants, and this time with a clear racial *and* class component, is Eva Codó and Adriana Patiño-Santos's (2014) account of ethnographic study of a secondary school carried out in 2008, in an economically-deprived neighbourhood situated in the Barcelona metropolitan area with a large proportion of students from immigrant backgrounds.[7] Codó and Patiño-Santos provide a good amount of detail about the school, including its appearance—it is relatively rundown—and most importantly, its overall ethos. The latter is in line with the official language policy of the time, which the authors describe as follows:

> In schools, Catalan is the preferred language of use. The declared mission of the education system is to ensure that all school-leavers are equally proficient

[7] It is important to highlight that Author 2 of this paper participated in this study as a researcher in the field.

> in the two official languages …. To achieve that goal and given the unequal weight that both languages have socially (Spanish is predominant in the public sphere, especially in the fields of business, law and the media, and also in the private sphere in the Barcelona metropolitan area), Catalan plays a more prominent role than Spanish in children's schooling. Studying Catalan and in Catalan is, thus, one of the central requirements of any pupil in the Catalan educational system. The goal is to ensure "social cohesion". It is believed that guaranteeing the learning of Catalan at school by those students who do not have access to it socially is a means to ensure equal opportunities, no matter what their the linguistic/family background might be. (Codó and Patiño-Santos 2014: 51–52)

In view of the magnitude of the migratory process from 2000 onwards, different plans were implemented to guarantee the integration of the population of foreign pupils, whose numbers were growing exponentially, into the Catalan educational system. Catalan also had to be secured as a reference language, and in parallel cultural diversity had to be included as an element of coexistence.[8]

With regard to how this policy was realised in practice, Codó and Patiño-Santos provide ample evidence to suggest that students at the school were not being exposed to Catalan as an academic language sufficiently. Thus, in addition to using Spanish for their socialising (as suggested by Codó and Patiño-Santos, Spanish is the predominant language in the public sphere), students made extensive use of Spanish as an academic language (and this occurred even in their Catalan language and literature class). Objectively speaking, the use of Spanish, or indeed any other language, is not inherently problematic. However, in the context of Catalan education, and following the policy described above, allowing and/or promoting the use of any language other than Catalan as the language of instruction amounts to something akin to an abdication of responsibility on the part of the teachers. In addition, Codó and Patiño-Santos encountered a common discourse among teachers in the school, according to which the students were to blame for this situation: it was *they* who wanted to speak Spanish; *they* who could not speak Catalan; and *they* who were, in effect, uneducable. Some teachers in the school referred to themselves as social workers more than educators and, as a result, they felt entitled to abandon an achievement strategy in their teaching in favour of a survival strategy of avoiding conflict. Codó and Patiño-Santos sum up the situation as follows:

[8] One such plan was the *Pla per a la Llengua i la Cohesió Social* (Plan for Language and Social Cohesion) (Generalitat de Catalunya 2015), which was implemented from 2004 onwards in response to the growing number of immigrant children in Catalan primary and secondary education who had little or no exposure to Catalan outside of school. One key feature of this plan was the introduction of *aules d'acollida* (welcome classes) for children arriving in Catalonia at the age of eight or older. These classes, which segregated these newly arrived children from mainstream classes, were designed to immerse them in an accelerated way into Catalan language and education, the idea being that upon achieving a sufficient level of Catalan proficiency, they would be transferred into mainstream classes. Acceptance of these classes has been variable and many students have taken the view that they would have been better off in mainstem classes from the beginning (Corona et al. 2008).

> It was … clear that "normal" student and teacher roles were subverted at … [the school]. This can be attributed to the fact that teachers strived hard to avoid conflicts with students and to make the school a peaceful social environment. In actual practice, this resulted in teachers often relinquishing their obligations to set and enforce the norms of appropriate conduct in the class. This was evident to us with regard to a number of aspects related to class management, and translated into greater tolerance than might be expected towards disruptive behaviour, lack of concentration, reluctance to undertake academic tasks, etc. Language choice was but another of those areas where students seemed to be setting the norm. (Codó and Patiño-Santos 2014: 58)

The end result was an educational environment which is quite different from that idealised in official education policy, to say nothing of what goes on in schools populated with white, middle-class children. Ultimately, the children in school did not perform well, which, in turn, made an early abandonment of formal education at the age of 16 more likely. And this, in the long run, would lead to fewer opportunities to find employment due to a lack of educational qualifications.

Special mention here is in order for the children of Latinos who have immigrated to Catalonia in search of a better life over the past two decades and for whom Spanish is well established as their L1.[9] This Spanish may not be a valued variety, emerging as it does at the crossroads of what their parents speak (varieties from Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, Colombia and so on) and what they speak with their friends and the ever-evolving Spanish of Barcelona at large (Corona et al. 2013); however, it is the language that they feel most affiliated to and comfortable with. In this situation, Catalan comes to be positioned as an inconvenient imposition in educational settings as well as other institutional settings, and this leads to an active resistance to it (Corona et al. 2013). In his research on male adolescent Latinos in Barcelona, carried out from 2005 to the present, Corona, has come across this phenomenon in a variety of forms. In the following excerpt, he asks a group of seven informants about their affiliation to and competence in Catalan. Corona's interlocutors are Carlos, Rony, Jonathan, Raúl and Roberto (all from Ecuador); Alex (from Peru); Nestor (from Bolivia); and other unidentified speakers, who are here represented as XX. At the time of the interview, in 2006, these boys' parents worked as relatively unskilled labourers in pre-bust Spain, in sectors such as cleaning, or as more skilled labourers in sectors such as construction and home care provision. Their households, therefore would be classified as working class, albeit in many cases at the lower end of this category in terms of income.

Excerpt 1
VC: and he/here/in the school/do you guys ever normally speak Catalan?=
Carlos: = no=

[9] By 'Latino', we mean individuals whose parents are from the Spanish-speaking countries of Central and South America and Caribbean, and who engage in every-day, situated social practices associated with being Latino and *la latinidad*.

Rony: = no=
Jonathan: not me/the other day=
Álex: = look I/in Maths class/everyone speaks Catalan/except me/
Ignacio: yeah/
Nestor: isn't that right?/I'm {noise in the background} in xxxxx almost nobody speaks in Catalan/
Roberto: it's just that I don't understand/you know what I mean?/
XX: but they speak in Catalan/
Nestor: I/they speak in Catalan/xxxxx/and I speak to them in Spanish/and he says/he says/they say/*you speak to me in Catalan/otherwise I'll fail you in Catalan and the course/*
VC: and/and/=
Nestor: = fuck them=
VC: = and not even that way/you guys speak in Catalan/no/
XX: no/no/no/
XX: yes {noise in the background}
Ignacio: only/sometimes that=
XX: = shut up man/if they ask me to do all this=
VC: but let's see/I don't understand one thing/but you guys know Catalan/
Ignacio: yeah/but I don't like it=
Raúl: = agrrr/I/I/I get bored speaking in that/I prefer to speak in Spanish/

In another interview taking place in 2006, involving Ignacio, Raúl and Roberto (from Ecuador), Álex (from Peru) and Öscar (from Bolivia), Corona asks what the students think of Catalan:

Excerpt 2
VC: you what/what do you think about Catalan?/in general=
Raúl: = it's crap=
Álex: = that it's crap/man/I don't even know why they came/why the fucking Spanish came there to take our money from us/I hate them man/I hate the Spanish (1)
VC: why don't you like the Spanish?/
Álex: eh/
VC: why do you hate them?/
Álex: because they only came there to fuck us over/just to fuck us over/a long time ago Columbus/they say that he is Spanish or something like that/Columbus=
Ignacio: = Columbus that's right=
Óscar: = a shitass/{laughter}
Álex: he came/he supposedly went to conquer America/but he took everything with him/with all his crew there/with their ships/with their weapons/to screw Latin America/to steal our silver and all that bullshit/

As many authors have noted (e.g. Kvale 1996; Block 2000), interview talk does not necessarily reveal interviewees' *true* inner thoughts or what they *really* think. More than *veridical* talk, participants in interviews often produce *symptomatic* talk,

that is, talk that expresses more about how one feels about a topic than it does facts relating to the topic. Clearly, if we take Carlos, Rony and the others at their word in the first excerpt, they have little or no sense of affiliation to Catalan—that is, no sense of a Catalan-mediated identity—and they actually reject Catalan as a language to do things in their day-to-day lives. The school, as a physical space, and education, as an activity taking up a good amount of their time, constitute the sole domain of Catalan in their lives. They can, of course, and despite what they say, understand and speak Catalan, having been exposed to this language extensively during their lifetimes.[10] Nevertheless, they position Catalan as a Spanish matter and as they reject all matters related to being Spanish, they reject the former equally. This rejection comes to the fore clearly in this excerpt.

When Corona asks what his informants think of Catalan, the first response, provided by Raúl, is that it is 'crap'. Alex immediately seconds this view and then launches into a dissertation on the 'fucking Spanish' and their colonisation of the Americas, with Columbus singled out as a 'shitass'. Interesting here is the discursive construction of an 'us'—all Latin Americans. Among other things, this historical reference allows Alex to associate Catalan, and hence Catalonia, with Spain, and Catalan people, with Spaniards. They are one and the same, standing in opposition to a Latino identity, and more broadly, a Latin American identity. Alex's emphasis on the Spanish as oppressors is not casual; rather, it is a topic with high symbolic content that allows this group of informants to identity not only *with* a common past but also *against* the historical sins of the country where they currently live as immigrants: the silver 'they' and 'their crew' took is 'our' silver; the ships 'they' came in were 'their ships'; 'they' came to 'conquer America' and 'fuck us over' with 'their weapons'; and so on. Alex says he feels 'hatred' towards the Spaniards for events in the past, but in his speech these events are portrayed as if they were happening today.

Ultimately, these two excerpts follow a pattern seen repeatedly in Corona's research, whereby Latino adolescents from working class backgrounds position themselves as Spanish speakers and not Catalan speakers. In addition, they see themselves as speakers of *their* Spanish (Corona et al. 2013), as opposed to any variety of peninsula Spanish. This linguistic self-positioning is part of their broader self-positioning as 'immigrants', 'Latinos' and *not* Catalan and *not* Spanish in a socio-political environment that they describe as unwelcoming to outsiders. With regard to long-term social harmony derived from social cohesion, this relative rejection of Catalan/Spanish polity is extremely problematic. Importantly, it calls into question an official language policy for education which, as we observed above, primes Catalan as a key mediator of local culture, public intercourse, belonging and citizenship. But further to this, it points to a certain alienation of these young men from the indigenous Catalan working class, a division within the working class with consequences for any prospect of challenging the existing capitalist mode of production

[10] For example, Corona recalls a time when Rony read a text written in Spanish aloud, doing so with a marked Latino accent. However, when he saw the notes that Rony had taken during the same class, he noticed that they had been written entirely in Catalan.

and the subsequent exploitation that together underlie their relative poverty and marginalisation within Catalan society.

Conclusion

This paper has argued in favour of critical approach to LPP research which works from a political economy issue—social class—and considers how it intersects with race in the lives of the children of immigrants in the Catalan education system. In our examination of cases, such as those depicted in Codó and Patiño-Santos (2014) and the work of Corona (2012) on adolescent Latinos in Barcelona, we have tried to show how the occupation of a racialized, lower class position in Catalan society is inextricably linked to a low level of affiliation to, identification with and use of Catalan language. Furthermore, disengaging from Catalan language and culture works against the long-term social and material interests, as those who end up taking this route are condemned to increasing socioeconomic marginalisation over their lifetimes. Nevertheless, there is space for change over these same lifetimes and it is therefore important to observe data collected over time. Thus, in recent conversations with some of his same informants, over a decade after his first contact with them in 2005, Corona often hears a double regret: first, that they had left school with a diploma that does not reflect what they learned, and second, that they had not worked harder so as to have been able to continue in formal education and thereby achieve further qualifications which would have led to a better economic situation than the one in which they find themselves (see Martínez-Celorrío 2017, on the link between education and upward mobility).

As we observed above, in the end the question is not whether or not the informants cited in this paper *know* Catalan—they certainly do in the sense that they have, for the most part and notwithstanding scenarios such as the one described by Codó and Patiño-Santos, been educated in Catalan, and therefore have acquired its grammar vocabulary and pronunciation naturalistically and formally. Rather, the key issue is why they do not make public use of the language more than they do, be this by their own personal choice or due to their ascribed position as 'other' in a society that denies them Catalan in a systematic way. In this sense the official language policy in Catalonia, based on a particular language ideology, managed in particular ways, and constituted by particular practices in classrooms, may be considered successful in that children learn the language in formal educational. The problem is that some of these same children, in particular those from working class immigrant backgrounds (and especially those from Latino backgrounds), do not feel any affiliation to Catalan, or any sense of legitimacy in the language. Following Woolard, Catalan is too authentic a language for someone who feels marginalised from mainstream Catalan society.

As a kind of afterthought to this discussion, we would like to close this paper by suggesting that there is additional, *political* disengagement at work here, which means that young adults such as Rony and Álex are not implicated in current ongoing debates about the future of Catalonia—as part of Spain or as a nation-state independent of Spain. On the one hand, they do not engage in the public debates and activities

which are constitutive of the current political situation. On the other hand, they are not included in such debates and activities by those pushing for change and those pushing for the status quo. One need only observe who was in the street in a series of demonstrations in favour and against of Catalan independence in the autumn of 2017 to come to this conclusion. There are, of course, exceptions to what we are saying here; however, we believe that it is difficult to maintain that there is no issue to discuss when approximately 15% of the Catalan population fit the profile of: (1) lower, working class or small shop operator; (2) an immigrant background; and (3) a racial phenotype that marks them as different from what has historically been the norm. Of course, some might argue that this is not an LPP issue, per se. However, we would beg to differ with this view, noting how such societal issues are inextricably intertwined with LPP, as the Spolsky model shows us. For as we observed here, it is through flaws in the LPP dominant in Catalonia for over three decades that many people in the demographic we have just mentioned are made *invisible* and are even *erased*.

Appendix 1: Foreign population in Catalonia, 2000–2016 (Idescat-Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya 2017)

	Població	Població estrangera total	%	Var. abs.	Var %
2016	7,522,596	1,023,398	13.60	−4671	−0.45
2015	7,508,106	1,028,069	13.69	−61,145	−5.61
2014	7,518,903	1,089,214	14.49	−69,258	−5.98
2013	7,553,650	1,158,472	15.34	−28,307	−2.39
2012	7,570,908	1,186,779	15.68	927	0.08
2011	7,539,618	1,185,852	15.73	−12,686	−1.06
2010	7,512,381	1,198,538	15.95	9259	0.78
2009	7,475,420	1,189,279	15.91	85,489	7.75
2008	7,364,078	1,103,790	14.99	131,283	13.50
2007	7,210,508	972,507	13.49	58,750	6.43
2006	7,134,697	913,757	12.81	114.853	14.38
2005	6,995,206	798,904	11.42	156,058	24.28
2004	6,813,319	642,846	9.44	99,838	18.39
2003	6,704,146	543,008	8.10	160,988	42.14
2002	6,506,440	382,020	5.87	124,700	48.46
2001	6,361,365	257,320	4.05	75,730	41.70
2000	6,261,999	181,590	2.90	–	–

Appendix 2: Transcription conventions

/is used to mark natural pauses between semantic units

Italics are used to mark voicing
? indicates rising intonation, as in a question
(.) indicates a longer than natural pause
= indicates latching
XX indicates an unidentifiable speaker
Xxxxx indicates incomprehensible speech

Appendix 3: Original transcriptions

Excerpt 1
quan vas a preguntar algu/dius/*perdò una pregunta/això ho he d´entregar aquí?*/ {switching to Spanish to voice her interlocutor}*sí sí por esta parte*/no sé que/però tu saps que ell parla català/perquè abans ho ha parlat/llavors jo li contesto una altra vegada en català/i me torna a contestar en castellà/llavors a mi no (.) em fa una mica així saps/i veus a l´altre/i a l´altre no saps [què dir]/llavors jo dic/*però per què*?
Excerpt 2
VC: y a/aquí/en la escuela/en algún momento ustedes suelen hablar en catalán?=
Carlos: = no=
Rony: = no=
Jonathan: yo no/el otro día=
Álex: = yo mira/en mates/todo mundo habla catalán/menos yo/
Ignacio: sí/
Nestor: no es verdad?/ya me {noise in the background} en xxxxx casi nadie habla en catalán/
Roberto: es que no entiendo/me entiendes?/
XX: es que hablan en catalán/
Nestor: yo/hablan en catalán/le/le/xxxxx/y les hablo en castellano/y dice/dicen/ me hablas en catalán/si no te suspendo en catalán y el curso/
VC: y/y/=
Nestor: = que se joda=
VC: = y ni así/hablan en catalán/no/
XX: no/no/no/
XX: sí {noise in the background}
Ignacio: solo/sólo a veces que=
XX: = cállate ya/si me pide todo esto_
VC: pero a ver/no entiendo una cosa/pero ustedes saben catalán/
Ignacio: sí/pero no me gusta a mi=
Raúl: = agrrr/a mi/mi/me aburre hablar en eso/prefiero hablar en castellano/
Excerpt 3
VC: ustedes qué/qué piensan del catalán?/en general=
RAÚL: = es una mierda=
ALEX: = que es una mierda/tío/no sé ni para qué vinieron/para qué vinieron los putos españoles allá a cogernos nuestro dinero/los odio tío/los odio a los españoles (1)

VC: por qué no quieres a los españoles?
ALEX: eh/
VC: por qué los odias?/
ALEX: porque vinieron allá a jodernos nomás/nomás para jodernos/hace mucho tiempo Colón/dicen que es español o algo así/Colón=
IGNACIO: = Colon sí=
OSCAR: un culón de mierda/{laughter}
ALEX: vino/se supone que fue a conquistar América/pero fue con toda/con toda su peña ahí/con sus barcos/con sus armas/a joder a América Latina/a robarnos nuestra plata y toda esa huevada/

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