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Language Attitudes and Young Immigration in Cataluña: A Review of the Literature

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Abstract

The study of language attitudes has become a central topic in the field of social sciences in general and sociolinguistics in particular. Specifically, the number of studies being carried out on the linguistic attitudes of immigrant groups arriving in receiving societies with different languages and cultures is striking. In this sense, the aim of this paper is to review the literature that has been written in recent decades on the linguistic attitudes towards Spanish of immigrant schoolchildren in Catalonia, as well as the factors that determine them. In general, it can be said that immigrant schoolchildren in Catalonia have positive linguistic attitudes towards Spanish, since it is the first language of reception, a language of prestige, and a language that allows national and international communication. These attitudes, moreover, are influenced by four main variables: area of origin, skills and uses, length of residence and age of arrival, and family linguistic status. Likewise, the studies point out as future directions the need to rethink the Catalan educational model with the aim of focusing on valuing the immigrants' own languages and redirecting the neutral attitudes towards Spanish that they present. They also defend the need for the whole of society to work so that newcomers become aware of and feel the importance of integrating fully into the Catalan context.

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1. Introduction

Attitudes are an essential topic within the field of social sciences and, therefore, have been studied from different disciplines (Ianos, Huguet, Janés, & Lapresta, 2015). In general, an attitude can be defined as a psychological tendency that is expressed from the evaluation of a particular entity with a certain degree of preference or aversion (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993). According to these authors, these entities are called "attitudinal objects" and can be anything that the individual can discriminate. Among these objects are languages, since, as Baker (1992) argues, languages are objects that can be viewed favorably or unfavorably. Consequently, attitudes with the adjective "linguistic" behind them, i.e., psychological tendencies towards languages, dialects, discourses, etc., may exist.

Linguistic attitudes have proven to be an essential element in language learning issues (Baker, 1992). According to Gardner (1985), the function of attitudes is to determine the extent to which individuals will engage in language learning. In this sense, when attitudes are positive (because the language has international prestige, because it is the host language, or because one has skills in that language), individuals feel more predisposed to learn that language, which facilitates its learning. On the contrary, when attitudes are negative (because there is no family support, because the language is local and has few speakers, because it is difficult to learn), individuals are not as predisposed (or not at all) to learn it, which, consequently, hinders the learning process. This is related to the motivation factor. As Lambert (1969) pointed out, the type of motivation (instrumental or integrative) of the subject determines his or her degree of linguistic competence. Moreover, studies have shown that there is a significant relationship between the level of proficiency and language attitudes (Huguet, 2006). Thus, the better the linguistic attitudes, the better the level of proficiency in that language.

Linguistic attitudes affect all people and one of the most interesting groups to study in this regard is the immigrant. These are people with their own languages and cultures who arrive from their area of origin to another country or region which, on many occasions, has other language(s) and cultures different from their own. This, of course, generates linguistic attitudes towards the languages of the receiving society that certainly deserve attention. This situation, however, is especially interesting in bilingual receiving regions, such as Catalonia (Querol and Huguet, 2010). Catalonia is a bilingual (Catalan and Spanish) Autonomous Community of Spain that in recent years has seen its immigrant population grow at an exponential rate. Currently, Catalonia has an immigrant population of 1,260,219 (IDESCAT, 2020), which represents 16.33% of its total population. Of these, about 70,000 young people are still of compulsory school age, which means that they must adhere to a bilingual education system in which the vehicular languages are Catalan and Spanish. So far, specialists on this issue agree that Catalonia's bilingual education model has worked for the generation of immigrants who arrived in the Community in the 1960s, given that the descendants of these migrants have assimilated into Catalan culture and society through learning the language and presenting positive linguistic attitudes towards it (Ianos, Huguet, Janés, & Lapresta, 2015; Lapresta, Huguet, & Janés, 2016; Ianos, Sanó, Huguet, & Petreñas, 2018). The question is whether these good results obtained can be repeated with the non-Spanish immigrant population or whether it is necessary to rethink the Catalan educational system so that these immigrant schoolchildren develop positive linguistic attitudes towards the languages of Catalonia.

Thus, the aim of this paper is to review the most important studies that have been carried out from the 2000s to the present on the linguistic attitudes of immigrant schoolchildren in Catalonia towards Spanish, as well as the factors that determine them. The review is structured in four thematic sections, corresponding to the four variables that, according to the studies analyzed,

most influence the configuration of these linguistic attitudes: area of origin, competence and uses, time of residence and age of arrival, and family linguistic condition. This is followed by a section commenting on the future directions recommended by the authors and, finally, conclusions are drawn.

2. Literature review

2.1. Area of origin

The area of origin is undoubtedly the factor that most determines the linguistic attitudes of immigrant schoolchildren in Catalonia. Of the fourteen articles selected for this literature review, no less than ten of them confirm that the area of origin of immigrant students in the Catalan community is a central element in the configuration of the linguistic attitudes of this group towards the languages of this territory (Catalan and Spanish). The different articles establish two main observations: firstly, that the area of origin influences the fact that immigrant students value their native language above Spanish and Catalan, although they also see in these two significant values; and, secondly, that, depending on the area of origin (Europe, Maghreb, Asia, etc.) students will have certain attitudes or others towards the languages of the territory.

In 2005, Ángel Huguet and Judit Janés carried out a study on the attitudes towards languages of schoolchildren who had recently arrived in Catalonia, emphasizing the fact that it is a bilingual region. Their objective was to determine the factors that most influenced the configuration of these attitudes, and, for this purpose, they started not only from the classic variables of studies on language attitudes (Lasagabaster, 2003), but also from those others that have been shown to be more significant: area or country of origin, age of arrival, sociocultural level of the families, length of residence in the host society, etc. For the variable of country or area of origin, we considered the participants' areas of origin, which were: Arab Maghreb Africa,

Maghreb Berber Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America and the European Union. At that time, the participants (255) were enrolled in secondary schools in the counties of Osona and Lleida and were between 12 and 16 years of age. A sociolinguistic and attitudinal survey developed by the Servei d'Ensenyament del Català (SEDEC) was used for data collection, which was later reworked to adapt it to the sociolinguistic and curricular characteristics of schoolchildren of immigrant origin. With respect to linguistic attitudes towards Spanish, it was found that, overall, favorable attitudes predominated, although with a significant percentage of neutral attitudes. This is essentially due to the importance and value that these students give to their languages of origin, leaving Spanish in a neutral position. However, the data varied when analyzed by area of origin. In this sense, Latin American students showed the most positive attitudes towards Spanish, followed, at a distance, by those from Arab Maghreb Africa, Berber Maghreb Africa and Eastern Europe. This fact makes sense if we take into account that Spanish is the native language of most of the members of the Latin American group, and that, therefore, they are showing favorable attitudes towards their mother tongue, not towards a foreign language. Therefore, although they are immigrants, their position with respect to Spanish is not the same as that of other groups from Africa, Asia or Europe, where Spanish is not their main language. Thus, it was shown that the area of origin influenced linguistic attitudes towards the languages of the territory. Although all groups showed positive attitudes towards Spanish, depending on their area of origin, the percentage was higher or lower, with neutral attitudes, never negative.

It can be said that this work had its continuation in another study published in 2010 by Cecilio Lapresta-Rey, Ángel Huguet and Judit Janés on the analysis of the discourses of the linguistic attitudes of schoolchildren of immigrant origin in Catalonia. In this study, unlike the previous one, the authors focused not so much on determining the factors that affect the linguistic

attitudes of the immigrant group in Catalonia, but rather on the discourses behind these attitudes, that is, what immigrant students think and say about the languages of this region. For this purpose, they used as a methodological tool the semi-directed in-depth interview structured in such a way as to contemplate and ask the students about the five dimensions theoretically relevant to the study of language attitudes: (1) motivational, (2) linguistic competence and uses, (3) social networks, (4) identity, language and integration, and (5) sociodemographic variables. The first, motivational, considers the existence of two types of motivation when understanding a language: instrumental, linked to pragmatic aspects, and integration, related to the desire to integrate into the community. Both motivations can appear to be linked and can be expressed at the same time. The language proficiency and uses dimension is related to the existence of an interrelation between the level of proficiency in a language and the development of better attitudes towards it. The social networks dimension includes factors such as the role of parents with respect to second language learning and their attitudes towards it, the treatment of the language in the educational system, and the relationships that allophones establish with their peer group. The dimensions of identity, language and integration have to do with the fact that one's own language becomes a symbol of identity, with the social prestige of the language and with integration into the community. Demographic variables include aspects such as gender, age of arrival, length of residence, etc. Once these five dimensions were organized, 35 interviews were conducted with students of native and immigrant origin from a study developed by Huguet and Janés (2005) and Huguet, Janés and Chirac (2008) who had shown the most positive and negative attitudes towards the languages of Catalonia. After analyzing the results, it was found that the discourses towards Spanish were entirely positive. No immigrant student expressed negative attitudes towards Spanish. Among other aspects, they emphasized its usefulness, its national and international prestige and its comfort in using the

language. By area of origin, the group from Eastern Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa stated that they had positive linguistic attitudes towards all the languages of Catalonia, although more so towards Spanish. Those of Maghrebi origin showed two tendencies: one equal to that of immigrants from Eastern Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa (a positive valuation of all the languages of the territory), and the other a positive valuation exclusively of Spanish, due to the fact that it covers all the needs of daily life. Finally, the Latin American group was very much in favor of Spanish. Thus, it was demonstrated once again that the area of origin influences the configuration of linguistic attitudes and ideologies.

In this sense, given the importance of the area of origin as a factor in the configuration of linguistic attitudes, the authors Carmen Poalelungi, Xosé-Antón González-Riaño and Simona Popa (2014) elaborated a study on the incidence of self-identifications with Catalonia, Spain and the area of origin in the construction of these identities. Thus, the study is framed within the research focused on analyzing the relationship between language and social identity (Tajfel, 1972, Turner, 1982; Wood, 2000). For this purpose, a sample of 1,173 high school students of native and immigrant origin from ten schools in Catalonia was constituted. The immigrant students were grouped according to their area of origin: European Union, rest of Europe, Maghreb, rest of Africa, Latin America, rest of America, Asia and Oceania. The general results showed the existence of variations in the self-identifications of the participants according to their area of origin. In relation to immigrant students, it was shown that they identify themselves mostly with their area of origin, but, curiously, also with Catalonia, and not with Spain. In addition, it was found that the fact that they identified with Catalonia caused these students to develop neutral attitudes towards Spanish. On the other hand, no relationship was found between self-identification with Spain and attitudes toward Spanish among the immigrant group. However, when students of immigrant origin self-

identified with their area of origin, attitudes toward Spanish were mostly positive, rather than neutral. Thus, the results of this study demonstrated that social identity is a relevant element for understanding the importance of the attitudinal dimension.

Closely related to this study, the authors Judit Janés, Adelina Ianos, Carmen Poalelungi and Xosé-Antón González-Riaño elaborated another one that same year (2014) with the aim of probing even further into the linguistic attitudes of schoolchildren in Catalonia. Behind it lay the desire to foster positive attitudes towards the languages of the Autonomous Community with the aim of promoting the integration of young people and language acquisition. For this purpose, a sample of 1,173 secondary school students from different schools in Catalonia was used, 673 of native origin and 500 of immigrant origin. The subgroups of this group were the following: European Union, Rest of Europe, Maghreb, Rest of Africa, Hispanic America, Rest of America, Asia and Oceania. The data were collected from a sociolinguistic and attitudinal questionnaire adapted to the Catalan context by the Servei d'Ensenyament del Català (SEDEC). With respect to Spanish, the general data showed that attitudes towards this language tended to be favorable, although heterogeneous, with a high percentage of neutral attitudes (about 30%). In addition, it was found that when attitudes toward Spanish were positive, attitudes toward other languages were negative, and vice versa. If the data were observed from the perspective of area of origin, the results confirmed a clear difference in attitudes toward Spanish between native and immigrant students. In this sense, the percentage of positive attitudes towards Spanish was much higher in the immigrant group (75%), although there was also a high percentage of neutral attitudes (24.8%) and hardly any representation of negative attitudes (0.2%). Thus, a significant interaction effect between origin and linguistic attitudes was confirmed, confirming that students of immigrant origin have much more positive attitudes towards Spanish.

In 2015, Cecilio Lapresta-Rey, Ángel Huguet, Adelina Ianos and Carmen Poalelungi elaborated a study somewhat different from those discussed so far. While the previous ones focused on determining the factors that shaped the linguistic attitudes of immigrant students in Catalonia, as well as the discourses behind them, in this case, the authors focused on analyzing the influence of the area of origin and the generational cohort on linguistic attitudes towards Spanish and the knowledge of the immigrant collective in this language. This study is based on Bourdieu's (1985) idea that knowledge and use of a language are linked to linguistic attitudes generated by the social value of languages. If we focus on the case of Spanish, the work carried out to date shows that this language is perceived as the first language of welcome, which facilitates access to work and housing and allows communication, not only nationally but also internationally (Alarcón, 2010; Lapresta, Huguet and Janés, 2010). In this sense, it is interesting to determine how linguistic attitudes mediated by area of origin and generational cohort affect the immigrant group's knowledge of Spanish. In this section we will only comment on the results obtained according to area of origin, since those provided by the generational cohort will be discussed later. The participants were a total of 437 young high school students in Catalonia, from Latin America, the Maghreb and the European Union. Thus, the results showed that the Hispanic American group had the highest level of proficiency in Spanish, followed by those from the European Union and the Maghreb. This, again, is due to the fact that the majority of Hispanic Americans are native Spanish speakers, which means that their learning does not progress at the same rate as that of other groups. Also, the fact that it is their main language means that they value and present very positive linguistic attitudes towards Spanish, as a highly internalized symbol of identity. In addition, it was found that there were very significant differences between these groups, with very varied degrees

of competence. Likewise, the Maghrebi group not only obtained the lowest proficiency values, but also presented the most dispersed ones.

Another interesting way of analyzing the influence of the area of origin as a factor in the configuration of language attitudes in the immigrant population of Catalonia is the study carried out by Sònia Parella and Amado Alarcón in 2015. In this article, the authors start from the segmented assimilation theory to determine the predictors that condition the linguistic preferences of migrants' children in Barcelona. The segmented assimilation theory (Portes and Zhou, 1993) posits that the descendants of immigrants do not necessarily assimilate to the dominant norms of the middle class and that this does not necessarily limit their ability to experience upward mobility. In other words, according to the theory of segmented assimilation, it is not that the second generation of immigrants will not integrate into the receiving society, but rather that it is not clear in which segment of the social structure they will do so. This will depend on the social context in which the immigrants and their descendants are received and on how the different characteristics of the immigrant groups interact with the receiving society, determining their adaptation. Therefore, the study of the linguistic preferences of immigrant descendants requires knowledge of both the social and linguistic context of the parents and the community in which they grow up, both of which are highly conditioned during childhood and youth by the school environment. To analyze the influence of this phenomenon on the linguistic attitudes of immigrant schoolchildren in Catalonia, the authors start from the data obtained from the survey of second-generation students in public and subsidized schools in the metropolitan area of Barcelona, which is part of the first stage of the longitudinal study ILSEG carried out in Madrid and Barcelona (coordinated by Alejandro Portes and Rosa Aparicio). The sample consisted of a total of 3,578 students from different areas of origin, although there was a marked Latin Americanization of the sample

(58.2%), most of them from Ecuador. The results showed that the majority of young people chose Spanish as their preferred language, followed by their mother tongue. By area of origin, Hispanic Americans unanimously chose Spanish, but other groups did not: three out of four students from Morocco preferred Spanish; two out of three from Western Europe chose Spanish; one out of three Chinese chose Spanish; and only one out of two Pakistanis preferred this language. Thus, the influence of national origins on linguistic preferences corroborates the linguistic segmentation hypothesis.

In 2015, Adelina Ianos, Ángel Huguet, Judit Janés and Cecilio Lapresta elaborated a study on the possibility of change in the linguistic attitudes of immigrant schoolchildren in Catalonia towards the languages of the region, including Spanish. One of the most interesting elements of linguistic attitudes is their dynamic and changing character (Bohner and Dickel, 2011; Wood, 2000). When a [linguistic] attitude changes, it means that a person's evaluation has changed from one value to another (Petty and Wegener, 1998). However, the change may be moderated by the firmness of the attitude. That is, the stronger and more established the [linguistic] attitude in question, the more difficult change will be. Baker (1992) explains that change in attitudes may be due to personal experiences, relevant events, or influences, be they family, community, institutional, or media. With this in mind, the present study set out to determine whether change in the linguistic attitudes of immigrant schoolchildren in Catalonia toward the languages of the region was possible with the area of origin as the main variable. Thus, a total of 72 high school students of immigrant origin from Latin America, Africa, Europe and Asia and Oceania were selected and asked to complete a sociolinguistic and attitudinal survey developed by the Servei d'Ensenyament del Català (SEDEC), which was then reworked to suit the sociolinguistic and curricular characteristics of schoolchildren of immigrant origin. The general results showed that, over a

period of two years, the linguistic attitudes of immigrant schoolchildren changed, but only with respect to Catalan; attitudes towards Spanish remained the same (positive). In addition, the influence of the immigrants' area of origin on this change was noted. Those who varied most in their linguistic attitudes were those from Africa, even towards Spanish. The fact that attitudes towards Spanish remained practically unchanged and stable seems to be explained by the firmness of these attitudes. Spanish is one of the official languages of Catalonia, is part of popular culture and is the third most widely spoken language internationally. Also, a considerable percentage of immigrants (Latin Americans) have Spanish as their mother tongue. All these factors indicate that attitudes towards Spanish must have been strong even before the arrival of immigrant schoolchildren in Catalonia, making it difficult to change them. Even so, the dynamism of linguistic attitudes and the influence of the area of origin on them were demonstrated.

The area of origin, however, does not always stand as the main determinant of the immigrant group's linguistic attitudes, but on other occasions it can be positioned as a moderator between linguistic attitudes and other determinants. This is precisely what Adelina Ianos, Ángel Huguet and Cecilio Lapresta demonstrated in a study carried out in 2016. Studies so far have shown that immigrant students have different linguistic attitudes than native students. In general, they prefer Spanish over any other language, including their mother tongue. Spanish is seen as the first language of welcome, as well as a useful language that allows communication both nationally and internationally. These attitudes are determined by many factors, such as length of residence, age of arrival or family status. However, the area of origin remains the most influential in shaping these attitudes. Despite this, its value as a moderator of the relationships between language attitudes and other determining factors in their construction has not been discussed so far. Thus, the main objective of this study is to analyze the influence of the area of origin as a direct and

indirect moderating factor in the relationships established between the linguistic attitudes of immigrant schoolchildren in Catalonia and other determining elements. For this purpose, a sample of 1156 high school students from the four Catalan provinces (Barcelona, Girona, Lleida and Tarragona) was taken, 666 natives and 490 immigrants. The data were collected through a general questionnaire designed to capture information on the subjective aesthetic properties of language, learning and linguistic practices at a personal and general level. This questionnaire was complemented by a sociolinguistic survey designed to collect sociodemographic data. In general, the results showed a clear difference between the attitudes of native students and those of immigrant students. It was observed that the latter preferred Spanish to any other language of the territory, including their mother tongue. With respect to its moderating effect, it was determined that the area of origin did not moderate the effects of the gender variable on linguistic attitudes, although it was seen that girls had better attitudes towards the languages of Catalonia, regardless of origin. Nor was a moderating effect observed for the variables of socioeconomic status or sociocultural level on the linguistic attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish of immigrant students. On the other hand, a moderating effect of the area of origin on the language proficiency variable was found. In this sense, the greater the competence in Catalan of the immigrant group, the better the linguistic attitudes towards Spanish. Nor was a moderating effect of area of origin found in the variable of self-identifications with Catalonia or Spain in the immigrant group. These effects did occur in the group of native students, which demonstrated (1) that both groups present different attitudinal patterns and (2) that the area of origin is a key element in understanding these differences.

The area of origin, moreover, is a factor in the configuration of linguistic attitudes that usually goes hand in hand with others such as self-identifications. This is precisely the topic of

analysis proposed by the study prepared in 2016 by Cecilio Lapresta, Ángel Huguet and Judit Janés. In this article, the authors analyze the effects of place of birth and self-identifications (together and separately) in shaping the language attitudes of immigrant schoolchildren in Catalonia. The literature has shown that one of the most important aspects when analyzing language attitudes is the self-identifications factor, that is, the way in which people feel that they belong, or not, to the receiving society, and the development, or not, of affective ties with the place (Haines, 2007; Lapresta, Huguet and Janés, 2010). However, as the authors of this article state, the combined influence of these two variables has been little explored in the Catalan context. That is why its purpose is to analyze the influence of place of birth and self-identifications, together and separately, in the construction of the linguistic attitudes of immigrant students in Catalonia. To this end, a sample of 309 high school students of immigrant origin (Morocco, Ecuador and the rest of Latin America) was selected and asked to complete a sociolinguistic and attitudinal survey developed by the Servei d'Ensenyament del Català (SEDEC), which was then reworked to adapt to the sociolinguistic and curricular characteristics of schoolchildren of immigrant origin. The overall results showed, once again, that attitudes towards Spanish on the part of immigrant students are higher than those developed towards any other language in the region, including their mother tongue. With respect to the main variables of this study, it was found that only place of birth had an impact on the linguistic attitudes toward Spanish of this group: students from Ecuador and the rest of Latin America developed better linguistic attitudes than those born in Morocco. Therefore, we found no influence of self-identification with Spain or the area of origin in the construction of these attitudes. Nor did the combined effect of both variables produce an effect on the construction of the linguistic attitudes of immigrant schoolchildren. Thus, the importance of the area of origin

as a key factor in the construction of linguistic attitudes by the immigrant group was once again confirmed.

To conclude this first section on the area of origin, we will comment on the study conducted in 2019 by Adelina Ianos, Ester Caballé, Cristina Petreñas and Ángel Huguet on the linguistic attitudes of immigrant schoolchildren of Romanian origin in Catalonia. Romanian is currently the second largest immigrant group in Catalonia (8.6%). So much so that the Romanian Ministry of Education, Research and Youth and the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science launched a program to cultivate the Romanian language, maintain the Romanian cultural identity, promote the principles of multilingualism and enhance cultural openness. The program is called "Romanian language, culture and civilization" and is aimed at students between the ages of 3 and 18. Despite this, studies on the Romanian community in Catalonia are very scarce, so the authors set out to shed light on this issue by analyzing their linguistic attitudes. For this purpose, a sample of 131 Romanian-born high school students who had been living in Catalonia for between 1 and 12 years was selected. Some of them participated in the program "Romanian language, culture and civilization". Data were collected from semi-structured in-depth interviews touching on issues such as language skills, language attitudes, self-identifications, prejudices and discriminations, and well-being. The overall results showed only favorable or neutral attitudes towards the languages of Catalonia and Romanian, none unfavorable. With respect to attitudes toward Spanish, Spanish was the most highly rated language, followed by Romanian and Catalan. The most common reason for this appreciation of the Spanish language is due to the internationalization possibilities it offers. Therefore, its pragmatic aspect was emphasized above all. Its ease of learning, compared to other languages, was also highlighted. On the other hand, no evidence was found of the influence of the program "Romanian language, culture and civilization" on the linguistic attitudes of this group.

Thus, it was confirmed that languages with extensive communication possibilities are preferable to heritage languages.

2.2. Proficiency and uses

Another of the essential factors in the configuration of the linguistic attitudes of immigrant schoolchildren in Catalonia is the degree of competence in the languages in question, as well as the uses they make of them. Of the fourteen articles selected for this literature review, four of them highlight the relevance of these factors in the construction of such attitudes towards the languages of the territory (Catalan and Spanish). These articles offer two main observations. First, that there is a relationship between the degree of proficiency and level of use of a language and the linguistic attitudes developed towards it. In this sense, the higher the level of proficiency and use, the better the linguistic attitudes towards the language, and vice versa. Second, there are two large groups of immigrants when analyzing proficiency and use as determinants of language attitudes: those who have Spanish as their L1 (essentially, those from Latin America) and those who do not. The former tend to have better competence in Spanish and to use the language more, which translates into very positive language attitudes. The latter, on the other hand, do not behave in the same way. Let's look at this in more detail.

In 2010, Cecilio Lapresta-Rey, Ángel Huguet and Judit Janés published an article in which they analyzed the discourses of language attitudes of schoolchildren of immigrant origin in Catalonia. As commented in the previous section on the area of origin, in this study, the authors focused on determining the discourses behind these linguistic attitudes, that is, what immigrant students think and say about the languages of this region. To this end, they used as a methodological tool the semi-directed in-depth interview structured in such a way as to contemplate and ask students about the five dimensions theoretically relevant to the study of

language attitudes: (1) motivational, (2) linguistic competence and uses, (3) social networks, (4) identity, language and integration, and (5) sociodemographic variables. For this section, we are interested in highlighting the second of the dimensions, that of competence and uses, which has to do with the existence of an interrelation between the level of competence in a language and the development of better attitudes towards it. We recall that the data were obtained from 35 interviews with students of native and immigrant origin from a study carried out by Huguet and Janés (2005) and Huguet, Janés and Chirac (2008) who had shown the most positive and negative attitudes towards the languages of Catalonia. After analyzing the results, it was found that these young people mostly declared that they always use Spanish, either exclusively or together with their L1 if it is not Spanish. They emphasize that they feel more comfortable and that it is easier for them, since they master it better (more proficiency). In addition, they argue that it is a language that is increasingly used in Catalonia. Thus, it was found that the higher the level of proficiency and the greater the use of the language, the better attitudes are developed and held towards it.

Another perspective on understanding the relationship between language attitudes and language proficiency and use is that proposed in the study carried out in 2010 by Mònica Querol and Àngel Huguet. In this work, unlike the previous one, the authors start from the premise that the more positive the linguistic attitudes towards a language, the better the level of proficiency and the greater the use of the language. In this sense, the authors argue that it is necessary to foster positive attitudes since, considering the interrelationship between the linguistic attitudes expressed towards a language and the competences finally acquired in it, this will favor linguistic knowledge and, consequently, academic success and school and social integration, which leads to greater use of the language. The studies carried out to date on this issue in Catalonia highlight how unsatisfactory the results obtained by a large part of immigrant students are in terms of the levels

of proficiency acquired (Huguet and Navarro, 2006). Furthermore, according to Cummins (1996, 2000), in order to achieve optimal proficiency in the more academic aspects of the language, despite rapid progress in conversational skills, it takes at least five years to reach the competencies achieved by native speakers. Taking all this into account, the authors set out to analyze the linguistic knowledge of immigrant schoolchildren in the languages of Catalonia, to describe their linguistic attitudes towards them, and to establish connections between attitudes and competences. For this purpose, a total of 121 students (93 native and 28 immigrant) of secondary school from different schools in Catalonia were selected. The data on linguistic knowledge were obtained from different tests designed by the Department of Education of the Generalitat de Catalunya for the evaluation of linguistic competencies. Data on language attitudes were collected from a sociolinguistic and attitudinal survey developed by the Servei d'Ensenyament del Català (SEDEC), which was later reworked to adapt to the sociolinguistic and curricular characteristics of schoolchildren of immigrant origin. The general results show that schoolchildren of immigrant origin have low linguistic competencies in the languages of Catalonia, including Spanish. Despite this, there is a great deal of variety, i.e., the results are very heterogeneous. As far as attitudes are concerned, the immigrant group presents linguistic attitudes towards Spanish that are mostly favorable, although there is also a high percentage of neutral attitudes. On the other hand, negative attitudes are not detected. Likewise, when both aspects are analyzed in combination, to determine whether or not there is a correlation between the degree of proficiency and linguistic attitudes, it is clear that there is a strong positive correlation between them. In this sense, the better the linguistic attitudes towards Spanish, the higher the degree of proficiency in that language. Thus, the authors conclude that there is a need to promote and implement measures to improve linguistic

attitudes towards the languages of Catalonia, including Spanish, among immigrant schoolchildren, since this would translate into better linguistic knowledge and, therefore, less school failure.

Another study that also includes relevant information on the connection between language attitudes and proficiency levels in a language is the one elaborated in 2015 by Sònia Parella and Amado Alarcón. As commented in the section on the area of origin, in this article, the authors start from the theory of segmented assimilation to determine the predictors that condition the language preferences of the children of migrants in Barcelona. Recall that the theory of segmented assimilation (Portes and Zhou, 1993) posits that the descendants of immigrants do not necessarily assimilate to the dominant norms of the middle class and that this does not necessarily limit their ability to experience upward mobility. This will depend on the social context in which immigrants and descendants are received and how the different characteristics of immigrant groups interact with the receiving society, determining their adaptation. With respect to the levels of competence and use of Spanish, the authors argue that the use of Spanish outside the classroom occurs mainly in Spanish-speaking environments, such as immigrant-majority neighborhoods. Moreover, as noted in the previous study, although the differences in skill levels between natives and immigrants decrease over time, the children of immigrants, especially non-Hispanic immigrants, do not achieve the same levels as native speakers. In order to verify the role played by all these aspects in the linguistic attitudes of immigrant schoolchildren in Catalonia, the authors start from the data obtained from the survey of second-generation students in public and subsidized schools in the metropolitan area of Barcelona, which is part of the first stage of the longitudinal study ILSEG carried out in Madrid and Barcelona (coordinated by Alejandro Portes and Rosa Aparicio). The sample consisted of a total of 3,578 students from different areas of origin, although there was a marked Latin Americanization of the sample (58.2%), most of them from Ecuador. Nevertheless,

the results showed that young people. The results showed that subjective linguistic competencies in Spanish influence the configuration of linguistic attitudes. In this sense, the higher the level of knowledge, the higher the percentage of young people who prefer this language. In addition, it was also found that knowledge of Spanish is a very significant determining factor in reducing the preference for other languages over Spanish. Thus, once again, the close relationship between language attitudes and levels of competence and use of a language was corroborated.

To conclude this second section on language skills and uses, we will comment on the study carried out by Adelina Ianos, Clara Sansó, Ángel Huguet and Cristina Petreñas on the linguistic attitudes, uses and skills of secondary school students of immigrant origin in Catalonia. According to the authors, immigrant students, regardless of their mother tongue, present significantly lower language skills than their native peers. Generally, this is influenced by aspects such as length of residence in Catalonia or age of arrival. In fact, as already mentioned in previous studies, immigrant students need a minimum of five years to catch up with their native peers in terms of academic language skills. In terms of language use, it is observed that immigrant students tend to use Spanish more than any other language. In fact, the use of Spanish has increased, especially in informal relationships, to the point of becoming the habitual language of communication. So much so that 36.6% of the participants in this study had Spanish as their L1, but 58% considered it their habitual language. Even so, according to the authors, the level of proficiency and uses are not related, since it is possible to have good skills in one language and not use it as much as others. In general, there is a tendency to associate having positive linguistic attitudes with high use of the language in question, as well as with having a good level of proficiency (Lasagabaster, 2005). However, previous studies in Catalonia on this issue have shown the opposite. To analyze this situation further, the authors took a sample of 490 high school students of immigrant origin in

schools in Catalonia and asked them to respond to a sociolinguistic and attitudinal survey developed by the Servei d'Ensenyament del Català (SEDEC) that was then reworked to adapt to the sociolinguistic and curricular characteristics of schoolchildren of immigrant origin and to complete a series of tests for the assessment of language skills designed by the Departament d'Educació de la Generalitat de Catalunya (Department of Education of the Generalitat de Catalunya). The results showed, first of all, that there is a variety in the linguistic attitudes of Catalan immigrant schoolchildren. Essentially, two groups are distinguished: those who have Spanish as their L1, and those who do not. Those who have Spanish as their L1 show more favorable linguistic attitudes than those who do not. Second, that immigrant schoolchildren with Spanish as their L1 have greater competencies in this language than those who do not have Spanish as their L1. Third, that immigrants with Spanish as L1 report greater use of the language compared to their peers with another L1. The former report using Spanish in all types of situations, while the latter make an alternating use of the languages in their linguistic repertoire. It was also found that having linguistic competence in Spanish was positively related to better attitudes towards Spanish and greater use of the language. Yet, despite the differences between immigrants with Spanish as L1 and those without, both groups report high language use, higher language skills compared to other languages and, therefore, very positive language attitudes. This is also because immigrant groups tend to reside in districts where Spanish is the dominant language. Moreover, it is a language spoken internationally, with prestige, and very present in the media and social networks. Thus, it is clear that there is a significant relationship between language attitudes, competencies and uses.

2.3. Time of residence and age of arrival

Together with the area of origin and the level of language skills and uses, another of the influential variables in the configuration of the linguistic attitudes of immigrant schoolchildren in Catalonia is the length of residence and age of arrival. Of the fourteen articles selected for this review, four of them refer to this factor and its relevance in the process of constructing linguistic attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish. These articles offer two main observations. First, that, although it is a key element in the formation of linguistic attitudes, in some cases, it does not necessarily have a decisive influence. This is especially true in the case of majority languages, with high national and international use and prestige, such as Spanish. Secondly, time of residence and age of arrival not only affect linguistic attitudes, but also linguistic knowledge in the languages of the territory. However, as we have been pointing out throughout this literature review, linguistic knowledge in a language is closely related to linguistic attitudes. Let us look at this in more detail.

The first of the articles we are interested in reviewing is the one published by Àngel Huguet and Judit Janés in 2005 on the attitudes toward the languages of Catalonia of schoolchildren who had recently arrived in the region. As indicated in the section on the area of origin, their objective was to determine those factors that most influenced the configuration of these attitudes and, to do so, they started not only from the classic variables of studies on language attitudes (Lasagabaster, 2003), but also from those others that have been shown to be more significant: area or country of origin, age of arrival, sociocultural level of the families, length of residence in the host society, etc. For this purpose, a sample of 255 secondary school students of immigrant origin enrolled in schools in the counties of Lleida and Osona was taken. A sociolinguistic and attitudinal survey developed by the Servei d'Ensenyament del Català (SEDEC) was used for data collection, which was then reworked to adapt it to the sociolinguistic and curricular characteristics of schoolchildren

of immigrant origin. To study the effects of the variable "time of residence and age of arrival" the participants were divided into two groups: those who had been in Catalonia for less than three years and those who had been in Catalonia for more than three years. The overall results showed that this variable did not have a significant impact on the construction of the linguistic attitudes of immigrant schoolchildren, compared to other variables. However, the results did indicate a certain tendency in the sense that positive attitudes towards Spanish were manifested by those who had been living in Catalonia for less time and those who had arrived older.

The 2014 study by Ángel Huguet, Silvia-Maria Chireac, José-Luís Navarro and Clara Sansó, however, showed somewhat opposite results. According to the authors, the length of stay in the host country is one of the key elements in explaining the language skills developed in the target language by immigrant schoolchildren and, consequently, also in explaining the construction of linguistic attitudes towards the languages of Catalonia. This is so because, as the studies reviewed in the previous section also found, the higher the level of competence and use of the language, the better attitudes are developed and held towards it. Furthermore, the authors start from the premise that, in order to achieve optimal proficiency in the more academic aspects of the language, despite rapid progress in conversational skills, it takes at least five years to reach the competencies achieved by native speakers (Cummins, 1996, 2000). Accordingly, the authors propose to analyze the incidence of the time of residence in the host country on the linguistic skills developed by immigrant schoolchildren in the languages of Catalonia and the incidence of this factor in the construction of linguistic attitudes. For this purpose, a sample of 121 students (93 autochthonous and 28 immigrants) of secondary education in the region of La Segarra, Lleida, was taken. Data on linguistic competence were collected from two tests designed and graded by the Conselleria d'Educació de la Generalitat de Catalunya. The overall results showed that, in the

specific case of Spanish, immigrant schoolchildren showed a much lower level of proficiency than their native peers. When the data were analyzed from the perspective of time of residence, it was found that immigrants who had arrived in Catalonia more than three years ago obtained higher averages than those who had arrived less than three years ago. Even so, the authors insisted on the fact that, despite having been in Catalonia for more than three years, the language skills of this group of immigrants were still low and that this factor influenced the construction and development of positive linguistic attitudes towards Spanish and the other languages of the territory. As we mentioned, the fact of having good language skills in a given language influences the construction of positive linguistic attitudes. If after three years the immigrant group has not yet developed good academic linguistic knowledge of the languages of the territory, such as Spanish, they may feel frustrated, which may lead to defeatist attitudes and disdain towards languages that are not their own. In short, the process of building linguistic attitudes is determined by the time of residence and the acquired linguistic knowledge of the languages in question.

An essential factor in determining the influence of the variable "time of residence" in the development of linguistic attitudes by the immigrant collective is the generational cohort. This is one of the aspects addressed by the study elaborated in 2015 by Cecilio Lapresta-Rey, Ángel Huguet, Adelina Ianos and Carmen Poalelungi on the discourses behind the linguistic attitudes developed by immigrant schoolchildren towards the languages of Catalonia. Specifically, the authors focused on analyzing the influence of the area of origin and the generational cohort on the attitudinal discourses towards Spanish and the knowledge of the immigrant collective in this language. As mentioned in the section on area of origin, this study is based on Bourdieu's (1985) idea that knowledge and use of a language are linked to linguistic attitudes generated by the social value of languages. In this sense, it is interesting to determine how linguistic attitudes mediated by

area of origin and generational cohort affect the immigrant group's knowledge of Spanish. Since we have already commented on the influence of the area of origin in the corresponding section, on this occasion we will deal with the results obtained according to the generational cohort. The generational cohort is a construct that serves to differentiate population strata according to the different cultural, educational, identity, social, relational, etc. experiences derived from migrating at one age or another, having been born in the receiving society or the origin of the parents. Thus, there are several generational cohorts: 1.0 (migrants arriving in the host society at over 18 years of age), 1.25 (those between 13 and 17 years of age), 1.5 (between 6 and 12 years of age) and 1.75 (between 0 and 5 years of age). In the case of having been born in the target society, the generational cohort is already 2.0. The closer the generational cohort is to 2.0, the less contact with the area of origin, which means that they assimilate more with the natives. In this sense, someone belonging to generational cohort 1.25 will have much more connection to the home area than someone from cohort 1.75. With this in mind, let's see what kind of information the results yielded. It is worth remembering that the participants in this study were a total of 437 young high school students in Catalonia, from Spanish America, the Maghreb and the European Union. Thus, the results showed that the generational cohort has a clear impact on the linguistic competence of immigrant schoolchildren and, consequently, on their linguistic attitudes. As a general trend, the data confirm that the language proficiency of cohort 1.25 is significantly lower than all the others, followed by cohort 1.5. Cohorts 2.0 and 2.5 are those with higher language proficiency in Spanish and, by extension, better language attitudes. Thus, it was again found that time of residence and age of arrival have a significant influence on the development of language skills and attitudes. When the overall cohort is closer to 1.0, knowledge is lower and attitudes are not mostly positive; however, when the cohort is closer to 2.0, knowledge is higher and attitudes are mostly positive.

To conclude this third section on time of residence and age of arrival, we will comment on the study carried out by Sònia Parella and Amado Alarcón on the language preferences of the descendants of immigrants in Barcelona. As discussed in the previous sections, in this article, the authors use the theory of segmented assimilation to determine the predictors that condition the language preferences of the children of migrants in Barcelona. Among other factors, the authors highlight the length of residence in Catalonia as a key determinant in the formation of language attitudes. Thus, to check whether this is the case, the authors start from the data obtained from the survey of second-generation students in public and subsidized schools in the metropolitan area of Barcelona, which is part of the first stage of the longitudinal study ILSEG carried out in Madrid and Barcelona (coordinated by Alejandro Portes and Rosa Aparicio). The sample consisted of a total of 3,578 students from different areas of origin, although there was a marked Latin Americanization of the sample (58.2%), most of them from Ecuador. However, the results showed that the more years in Catalonia, the lower the preference for other languages and the greater the preference for Spanish. In addition, it was found that the descendants of immigrants tend to prefer the Spanish language with time of residence in Catalonia, and whether or not they were born in Spain, they lose explanatory capacity for their preferences. Thus, the relevance of time of residence in the construction of linguistic attitudes, in this case, positive towards Spanish, is once again corroborated.

2.4. Family status

Finally, another factor that significantly influences the construction of the linguistic attitudes of immigrant schoolchildren in Catalonia is family status. Of the fourteen articles selected for this literature review, three highlight the role of this element in shaping language attitudes. These articles offer two main observations. First that the implicit and/or explicit linguistic attitudes

present in the family environment contribute significantly to the formation of the linguistic attitudes of descendants. Second, that this influence does not always have to be direct, i.e., that sons and daughters do not necessarily develop the same linguistic attitudes as their parents; in many cases the opposite is true. In addition, there are also considerable differences between immigrant families who have Spanish as their main language and those who do not. Let us look at this in more detail.

The first of the articles we are interested in reviewing is the one published by Àngel Huguet and Judit Janés in 2005 on the attitudes towards the languages of Catalonia on the part of schoolchildren who have recently arrived in the region. As indicated in the previous sections, their objective was to determine those factors that most influenced the configuration of these attitudes and, for this purpose, they started not only from the classic variables of studies on language attitudes (Lasagabaster, 2003), but also from those others that have been shown to be more significant: area or country of origin, age of arrival, sociocultural level of the families, length of residence in the receiving society, etc. For this purpose, a sample of 255 secondary school students of immigrant origin enrolled in schools in the counties of Lleida and Osona was taken. A sociolinguistic and attitudinal survey developed by the Servei d'Ensenyament del Català (SEDEC) was used for data collection, which was then reworked to adapt it to the sociolinguistic and curricular characteristics of schoolchildren of immigrant origin. To study the effects of the variable "family condition", the students were divided into groups according to the language/s spoken in the family nucleus: Spanish, Spanish and Catalan, Catalan, Spanish and another language, Catalan and another language, two foreign languages, etc. The general results showed that immigrant schoolchildren from Spanish-speaking families showed more positive attitudes towards Spanish and not towards other languages. In this sense, it was shown that the presence of a certain language

in the family environment has an impact on the linguistic attitudes of immigrant schoolchildren, as well as on the implicit and explicit linguistic attitudes of their parents.

Another study that deals with the question of family status in the construction of language attitudes is the one published in 2010 by Cecilio Lapresta-Rey, Ángel Huguet and Judit Janés. As discussed in the previous sections, in this article, the authors focused on analyzing the discourses behind these linguistic attitudes, i.e., what immigrant students think and say about the languages of this region. To this end, they used as a methodological tool the semi-directed in-depth interview structured in such a way as to contemplate and ask students about the five dimensions theoretically relevant to the study of language attitudes: (1) motivational, (2) linguistic competence and uses, (3) social networks, (4) identity, language and integration, and (5) sociodemographic variables. For this section, we are interested in highlighting the third of the dimensions, that of social networks, which has to do with the role of the parents with respect to second language learning and the attitudes they show in reference to their group of speakers, among other aspects. We recall that the data were obtained from 35 interviews with students of native and immigrant origin from a study carried out by Huguet and Janés (2005) and Huguet, Janés and Chirac (2008) who had shown the most positive and negative attitudes towards the languages of Catalonia. After analyzing the results, it was found that the parents of these adolescents develop a double discourse. On the one hand, those who explicitly emphasize that their children should learn Spanish because of its prestige and its great instrumental value and, on the other hand, those who consider that their descendants should or should know, in addition to Spanish, Catalan, the other language of the region. In addition, it was found that the family linguistic condition was closely linked to the area of origin, so that what was explained in the section on the area of origin, according to the authors, is applicable to this variable.

To conclude this last section on the family condition, we will comment on the study carried out by Xosé Antón González Riaño, Alberto Fernández-Costales, Cecilio Lapresta-Rey and Àngel Huguet on the attitudes towards Spanish and Catalan in native and immigrant students in Catalonia and their relationship with the attitudes expressed by their parents. According to the authors, the variations between linguistic attitudes in the family environment have been ignored by academics, especially in the Spanish-Catalan context. However, they highlight the importance of this variable (family condition) as a modeling element of linguistic attitudes, in line with Baker (1992). Family status, however, can also be influenced by other variables, such as place of birth or age. With reference to the latter, several studies have concluded that language attitudes may vary with age (Baker, 1992; Ianos, Huguet, Janés, & Lapresta, 2015). In this sense, it is interesting to compare the language attitudes of parents and children to determine the differences that exist between generational cohorts. On the other hand, other studies have shown that the language attitudes of parents, and of the family environment, condition the formation of the language attitudes of students when they learn a second language. Thus, when parents motivate second language learning with positive attitudes towards second languages, children are encouraged to learn them. Accordingly, this article aims to analyze the linguistic attitudes of native and immigrant schoolchildren in Catalonia towards the languages of the region and to determine the relationship between these attitudes and those of their parents. For this purpose, a sample of 476 native and immigrant secondary school students and their parents were selected. The sample was divided into two groups: families with Spanish as L1 and families with another language as L1. To obtain the data, a sociolinguistic and attitudinal survey developed by the Servei d'Ensenyament del Català (SEDEC) was applied, which was then reworked to adapt to the sociolinguistic and curricular characteristics of schoolchildren of immigrant origin. The general results showed that the linguistic

attitudes of schoolchildren and their parents of both native and immigrant origin were mostly positive towards the two languages of the Catalan educational system, including Spanish. Even so, it was found that parents, both local and immigrant, showed better attitudes towards Spanish. It was also found that there was a correlation between the attitudes of the parents and those of their descendants in the case of Spanish. In this sense, the more positive the parents' attitudes toward Spanish, the more positive their children's attitudes were. Likewise, when parents show negative attitudes toward one language (A), their children develop positive attitudes toward another language (B). This was seen in the case of Catalan and Spanish: the more the parents showed negative attitudes toward Catalan, the more their children developed positive attitudes toward Spanish. The results with respect to the immigrant groups showed that the parents showed mostly more positive attitudes towards Spanish. In addition, it was found that there were no significant differences between the attitudes of the parents and those of their offspring towards Spanish. These results may be due to the prestige of Spanish as an international language, but also to the fact that many of the immigrants selected for this study had Spanish as their main language (from Latin America). In any case, it was found that there is a very close relationship between the linguistic attitudes of the parents and those of their children.

3. Future directions

As we have seen, the process of constructing linguistic attitudes among schoolchildren of immigrant origin in Catalonia is complex, given that several factors play a very important role. Among these factors, the area of origin, the skills and uses, the length of residence or the family linguistic condition stand out. Although the authors stress the importance of focusing on other variables, on the type of analysis (more qualitative and ethnographic) and on other geographical

environments with larger samples for future research, they all agree on the relevance of studying the social variant in the formation of language attitudes.

According to the studies analyzed, in many cases these immigrant groups arrive in Catalonia unaware of their linguistic reality or, in many cases, knowing it, but thinking that Spanish is enough to get by normally. This encourages positive attitudes towards Spanish and negative attitudes towards other languages, such as Catalan. In addition, the mother tongue also plays an important role in shaping these attitudes. On many occasions, students of immigrant origin report not feeling linguistically and culturally valued, which causes them to distance themselves from their native peers until they become socially marginalized. Thus, the authors argue that more actions are needed to encourage contact between communities and facilitate the social integration of immigrants. Thus, it is essential to promote an inclusive society that capitalizes on linguistic pluralism and reduces social inequalities arising from linguistic inequities.

A key element for the achievement of this purpose is the school system materialized in educational centers. In fact, it is within the school framework where some of the most relevant steps aimed at learning and promoting the use of the languages of Catalonia can be taken. In this way, it is important to rethink the educational model, so that it aims to give prestige to and teach family languages at school, not only to promote the self-esteem of young people, but also to broaden their skills in a globalized world. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the desire to acquire an L2 is linked to the fact of having positive attitudes and motivation to learn it, and this, in most cases, is also conditioned by a valuation of the language provided by the students themselves. However, we know that a high percentage of these attitudes are neutral and that, because they are not totally defined, they can be modified more easily. This is why the role of the school is so important at this point.

Even so, the school is not the only context that affects the attitudinal aspect, being very important the linguistic framework in which the student is immersed, formed mainly by the interaction between family, school and community. Thus, it is essential that the whole society carries out actions so that newcomers become aware of and feel the importance of being fully integrated into the Catalan context. Insistence must be placed on measures that are not strictly linguistic (which does not mean leaving them aside) with the aim of building a common pluricultural and plurilingual coexistence project that ensures the role of the languages of Catalonia as its vehicle. Thus, according to the authors, one of the fundamental objectives of our society, in general, and of schooling, in particular, must be to contribute to the development of positive attitudes towards the language of the school based on a good consideration of the language and culture of the newcomers, a circumstance that will certainly contribute to the creation of a positive self-image of themselves and of the receiving society.

4. Conclusions

In this literature review we have analyzed the linguistic attitudes of immigrant schoolchildren in Catalonia towards Spanish, as well as the different factors that determine them. As we know, the immigrant population is growing steadily in Catalonia, to the point of making it the Spanish autonomous community with the highest number of inhabitants of immigrant origin. This fact has resulted in an increase in the number of immigrant schoolchildren in Catalan schools, whether they are newcomers, long-time residents or descendants of immigrants. Regardless of how they arrived in Catalonia, the reality is that all of them must begin or continue their education in a new educational system that, moreover, has as its characteristic and hallmark bilingualism in the two official languages of the Community: Spanish and Catalan. In many cases, this fact may come as a surprise to newcomers, since many of them are unaware of the bilingual reality of Catalonia

or think that Spanish is sufficient. In any case, these schoolchildren come into contact with two other languages that are not, at first, part of their linguistic repertoire, which inevitably causes them to develop linguistic attitudes towards them, which can be positive or negative. In the process of building these linguistic attitudes, moreover, a whole series of factors are involved that will determine the nature of these attitudes. As we have seen, four are the variables that most influence the construction of linguistic attitudes: area of origin, proficiency and use, length of residence and age of arrival, and family linguistic status. All of these have been shown to exert a positive influence on the formation of linguistic attitudes towards Spanish, which is seen as the first language of welcome, the language of prestige and the language that allows communication at the national and international level. Even so, these factors also contribute to the formation of neutral attitudes which, because they are not completely defined, are susceptible to being molded into positive ones. To this end, agents such as the school or society itself are essential, and they must work to implement measures aimed at valuing the languages of the immigrants themselves so that they become aware of and feel the importance of being fully integrated into the Catalan context, which will contribute positively to the formation of positive linguistic attitudes towards the languages of the territory, including Spanish.

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