**Results and discussion**

The statistical analysis revealed a significant association of political orientation (p < .05) on the language attitudes of the population of Palma de Mallorca toward Catalan and Spanish. In what follows, I explore the results for some of the most relevant statements organized in six different categories: language preference, language difficulty and enjoyment, language importance and usefulness, language policy and integration, cultural and identity aspects, and popular trends. These categories are based on the different domains in which language attitudes toward both languages are present in the Balearic Islands.

**Language preference**

Several of the statements that participants evaluated related to language preference. These statements are shown in Table X. In what follows, I detail the relationship between participant responses to each of these statements and political orientation.

**Table X.** Statements related to language preference in Catalan, Spanish, and English

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Statements related to Catalan | Statements related to Spanish |
| *M’agrada que la gent faci servir el català*  *Me gusta que la gente utilice el catalán*  ‘I like that people use Catalan’ | *M’agrada que la gent faci server el castellà*  *Me gusta que la gente utilice el castellano*  ‘I like that people use Spanish’ |
| *M’agrada escoltar català*  *Me gusta escuchar catalán*  I like listening to Catalan | *M’agrada escoltar castellà*  *Me gusta escuchar castellano*  I like listening to Spanish |
| *M’agrada fer servir el català*  *Me gusta utilizar el catalán*  ‘I like to use Catalan’ | *M’agrada fer servir el català*  *Me gusta utilizar el catalán*  ‘I like to use Catalan’ |
| *A vegades em sent obligat a fer servir el català*  *A veces me siento obligado a usar el catalán*  ‘Sometimes I feel compelled to use Catalan’ | *A vegades em sent obligat a fer servir el castellà*  *A veces me siento obligado a usar el castellano*  ‘Sometimes I feel compelled to use Spanish |
| *Intent fer servir català sempre que puc*  *Intento usar catalán siempre que puedo*  ‘I try to use Catalan whenever I can’ | *Intent fer servir el castellà sempre que puc*  *Intento usar el castellano siempre que puedo*  ‘I try to use Spanish whenever I can’ |
| *Si tenc fills, m’agradaria que xerrassin en català*  *Si tengo hijos, me gustaría que hablasen en catalán*  ‘If I have children, I would like them to speak Catalan’ | *Si tenc fills, m’agradaria que xerrassin en castellà*  *Si tengo hijos, me gustaría que hablasen en castellano*  ‘If I have children, I would like them to speak Spanish |
| *No és de bona educació respondre en català a algú que et xerra en castellà*  *No es de buena educación responder en castellano a alguien que te habla en catalán.*  ‘It is not good manners to answer in Catalan to someone who speaks to you in Spanish’ | *No és de bona educació respondre en castellà a algú que et xerra en català*  *No es de buena educación responder en catalán a alguien que te habla en castellano.*  **‘**It is not good manners to answer in Spanish to someone who speaks to you in Catalan |

Participant responses to the statements ‘I like that people use Spanish’ and ‘I like that people use Catalan” showed interesting differences. Analysis of the first statement revealed no statistically significant differences in responses with regard to political orientation. All participants, independent of political orientation, showed favorable responses to this statement (mean = 77.36), indicating general consensus regarding attitudes towards Spanish. However, when presented with the statement “I like that people use Catalan”, those who identified as progressive (far left, left, and center-left) showed a greater level of agreement with it. Conversely, those who identified as conservative (center, center-right, and right), showed significantly lower levels of agreement with it, as shown in Table #. Additionally, Figure # indicates that there was more consensus among progressive people around this statement.

**Table #**.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 100.000 | 8.359 | 11.963 | < 2e-16 |
| Left | -7.667 | 8.948 | -0.857 | 0.39373 |
| Center-Left | -8.250 | 9.7120 | 0.849 | 0.3978 |
| Center | -35.600 | 12.949 | -2.749 | 0.00718 |
| Center-Right | -25.833 | 10.518 | -2.456 | 0.01590 |
| Right | -28.286 | 11.821 | -2.393 | 0.01873 |

Interestingly, people who identified themselves ideologically as centrist were the ones who showed the greatest degree of disagreement with the statement, even greater than that indicated by those who identified themselves ideologically as center-right and right-wing. It is possible that this is due to the fact that the participants who identified their political ideology as center, in reality, were closer to more conservative and right-wing positions.

**Figure #**. Participant responses to the statement ‘I like that people use Catalan’.

A graph showing the different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

Participant responses to the statements ‘I like listening to Spanish’ and ‘I like listening to Catalan” showed interesting differences as well. Analysis of the first statement revealed no statistically significant differences in responses with regard to political orientation. All participants, independent of political orientation, showed favorable responses to this statement (mean = 81.84), indicating general consensus regarding attitudes towards Spanish. However, when presented with the statement “I like listening to Catalan”, those who identified as progressive (far left, left, and center-left) showed a greater level of agreement with it as opposed to those who identified as conservative (center, center-right, and right), who showed significantly lower levels of agreement with it, as presented in Table #.

**Table #**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 100.000 | 8.821 | 11.336 | < 2e-16 |
| Left | -6.979 | 9.442 | -0.739 | 0.46169 |
| Center-Left | -8.650 | 10.249 | -0.844 | 0.40085 |
| Center | -36.600 | 13.666 | -2.678 | 0.00875 |
| Center-Right | -23.417 | 11.100 | -2.110 | 0.03757 |
| Right | -37.000 | 12.475 | -2.966 | 0.00383 |

Once again, those who identified themselves as centrist showed significantly lower levels of agreement with this statement than those who identified their political orientation as center-right, showing very similar results to those who indicated having a right-leaning political orientation. This indicates an emerging trend in which self-identified centrists actually more closely align with right-wing ideologies, or at times even exceed the far right. Additionally, the analysis also revealed considerably more consensus among participants with a more progressive ideology, as opposed to those with a more conservative ideology, as shown by the much wider range of responses in Figure #.

**Figure** #. Participant responses to the statement ‘I like listening to Catalan’.

A graph of different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

Participant responses to the statements ‘I like to use Spanish’ and ‘I like to use Catalan” also showed interesting differences. Analysis of the first statement revealed no statistically significant differences in responses with regard to political orientation. All participants, independent of political orientation, showed favorable responses to this statement (mean = 79.48), indicating general consensus regarding attitudes towards Spanish. However, when presented with the statement “I like to use Catalan”, those who identified as progressive (far left, left, and center-left) showed a significantly greater level of agreement with this statement as opposed to those who identified as conservative (center, center-right, and right), who showed a significantly lower level of agreement, as presented in Table #.

**Table #**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 100.000 | 11.07 | 9.035 | 2.25e-14 |
| Left | -11.15 | 11.85 | -0.941 | 0.349273 |
| Center-Left | -19.350 | 12.860 | -1.505 | 0.13580 |
| Center | -43.60 | 17.15 | -2.543 | 0.012651 |
| Center-Right | -42.33 | 13.93 | -3.040 | 0.003076 |
| Right | -55.71 | 15.65 | -3.559 | 0.000588 |

As was the case with the two previous statements, those who identified themselves as centrist showed a lower level of agreement with this statement than those who identified their political orientation as center-right, which seems to confirm the emerging trend proposed previously. Additionally, the analysis also revealed considerably more consensus among participants with a more progressive ideology, as opposed to those with a more conservative ideology, as shown by the much wider range of responses in Figure #.

**Figure #.** Participant responses to the statement ‘I like to use Catalan’.

A graph showing the different colored rhombuses

Description automatically generated

Participant responses to the statements ‘Sometimes I feel compelled to use Catalan” and “Sometimes I feel compelled to use Spanish” also showed interesting differences. Analysis of the first statement revealed no statistically significant differences in responses with regard to political orientation. All participants, independent of political orientation, showed unfavorable responses to this statement (mean = 23.76), indicating general consensus regarding attitudes towards Catalan. However, when participants were presented with the statement “Sometimes I feel compelled to use Spanish”, those who identified as progressive (far left, left, and center-left) showed a significantly greater level of agreement with this statement as opposed to those who identified as conservative (center, center-right, and right), who showed a significantly lower level of agreement, as presented in Table #.

Table #

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 82.57 | 13.00 | 6.351 | 7.77e-09 |
| Left | -19.11 | 13.92 | -1.373 | 0.17293 |
| Center-Left | -31.971 | 15.11 | -2.117 | 0.03697 |
| Center | -54.17 | 20.14 | -2.690 | 0.00848 |
| Center-Right | -74.07 | 16.36 | -4.528 | 1.76e-05 |
| Right | -60.86 | 18.39 | -3.310 | 0.00133 |

Interestingly, those who self-identified as centrists did not show a lower level of agreement with this statement than those who identified themselves as center-right or right-wing. However, those who self-identified as center-right showed a significantly lower level of agreement with this statement than those who self-identified as right wing. Additionally, the analysis also revealed more consensus among conservative participants, as opposed to those with a more progressive political ideology, as shown by the much wider range of responses in Figure #.

**Figure #**. Participant responses to the statement ‘Sometimes I feel compelled to use Spanish’.

A graph of political orientation

Description automatically generated

Participant responses to the statements ‘I try to use Catalan whenever I can” and ‘I try to use Spanish whenever I can’ showed interesting results. Analysis of both statements revealed statistically significant differences in responses with regard to political orientation. When participants were presented with the statement ‘I try to use Catalan whenever I can’, participants who identified as progressive (far left, left, and center-left) expressed a greater level agreement with it than those who identified as conservative (center, center-right, and right), who showed a significantly lower level of agreement, as presented in Table #.

Table #.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 94.29 | 12.46 | 7.568 | 2.67e-11 |
| Left | -12.76 | 13.34 | -0.957 | 0.34093 |
| Center-Left | -16.19 | 14.47 | -1.118 | 0.26636 |
| Center | -48.89 | 19.30 | -2.533 | 0.01298 |
| Center-Right | -47.70 | 15.68 | -3.043 | 0.00304 |
| Right | -50.86 | 17.62 | -2.887 | 0.00484 |

Once again, those who self-identified as centrist showed lower levels of agreement with this statement than those who self-identified as center-right, showing very similar results to those who indicated having a right-leaning political orientation. Additionally, the analysis also revealed a greater level of consensus among progressive participants as opposed to among conservative participants, as shown by the much wider range of responses in Figure #.

**Figure #.** Participant responses to the statement ‘I try to use Catalan whenever I can’.

A graph of different colored rhombuses

Description automatically generated

Opposite trends were found, however, when participants were presented with the statement ‘I try to use Spanish whenever I can’. Those participants who identified as progressive (far left, left, and center-left) indicated a lower level of agreement with this statement. Conversely, those who identified as conservative (center-right and right) showed a significantly greater level of agreement with it, as presented in Table #.

**Table #.**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 44.143 | 13.897 | 3.176 | 0.00202 |
| Left | 11.315 | 14.876 | 0.761 | 0.44878 |
| Center-Left | 12.3071 | 16.1467 | 0.762 | 0.44786 |
| Center | 6.857 | 21.529 | 0.319 | 0.75081 |
| Center-Right | 54.857 | 17.487 | 3.137 | 0.00229 |
| Right | 40.143 | 19.653 | 2.043 | 0.04393 |

Interestingly, the responses of those who identified themselves as centrist closely resembled the responses of those who identified themselves as progressive (far-left, left, and center-left). In fact, their level of agreement with this statement was even lower than that of those who identified as left and center-left. This could be due to the fact that the majority of those who self-identified as centrists, despite being able to manifest negative attitudes toward Catalan, have this language as their first language (L1) and, therefore, do not feel the need to use Spanish whenever they can. This could be indicating the need to distinguish more clearly between language attitudes and languages uses. Perhaps these two things are not as closely related as one might think, at least in cases where people’s political orientation is not as sided. It is also important to note that people who self-identified as center-right showed a significantly greater level of agreement with this statement than those who identified as right-wing. Additionally, the analysis also revealed a greater level of consensus among conservative participants than among progressive participants, especially among those who self-identified as left-wing, as shown by the much wider range of responses in Figure #.

Figure #. Participant responses to the statement ‘I try to use Spanish whenever I can’.

A graph of different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

Participant responses to the statements ‘If I had children, I would like them to speak Spanish’ and ‘If I had children, I would like them to speak Catalan’ also showed interesting differences. Analysis of the first statement revealed no statistically significant differences in responses with regard to political orientation. All participants, independent of political orientation, showed favorable responses to this statement (mean = 84.77), indicating general consensus regarding attitudes towards Spanish. However, when presented with the statement ‘If I had children, I would like them to speak Catalan’, participants with a more progressive political orientation (far left, left, and center-left) indicated a greater level of agreement with this statement than conservative participants (center-right and right), as shown in Table #.

**Table #.**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 100.000 | 8.743 | 11.438 | <2e-16 |
| Left | -6.938 | 9.359 | -0.741 | 0.46039 |
| Center-Left | -14.000 | 10.158 | -1.378 | 0.1715 |
| Center | -6.000 | 13.544 | -0.443 | 0.65880 |
| Center-Right | -22.750 | 11.001 | -2.068 | 0.04142 |
| Right | -46.000 | 12.364 | -3.720 | 0.00034 |

Similar to what was seen with the statement ‘I try to use Spanish whenever I can’, the responses of those who identified themselves as centrist closely resembled the responses of those who identified themselves as progressive (far-left, left, and center-left). In fact, their level of agreement with this statement was even greater than that of those who identified as left and center-left. This could be due, once again, to a possible separation between language attitudes and linguistic uses in people whose political orientation is not sided. As previously mentioned, the majority of people who identified as centrist have Catalan as their L1, and it is possible that they want the same for their children, so that they can exhibit the same patterns of language use seen in their families for decades. Additionally, the analysis also revealed a greater level of consensus among centrists and progressive participants than among conservative participants, as shown by the much wider range of responses in Figure #.

**Figure #**. Participant responses to the statement ‘If I had children, I would like them to speak Catalan’.

A graph of different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

Participant responses to the statements ‘It is not good manners to answer in Spanish to someone who speaks to you in Catalan’ and ‘It is not good manners to answer in Catalan to someone who speaks to you in Spanish’ also showed interesting differences. Analysis of the first statement revealed no statistically significant differences in responses with regard to political orientation. All participants, independent of political orientation, showed unfavorable responses to this statement (mean = 33.43), indicating general consensus regarding attitudes towards Spanish. However, when presented with the statement ‘It is not good manners to answer in Catalan to someone who speaks to you in Spanish’, those who identified as progressive (far left, left, and center-left) indicated a lower level of agreement with it than those who identified as conservative (center-right and right), as presented in Table #.

**Table #.**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 16.714 | 14.598 | 1.145 | 0.25517 |
| Left | 5.452 | 15.627 | 0.349 | 0.72794 |
| Center-Left | 26.436 | 16.962 | 1.559 | 0.1225 |
| Center | 15.886 | 22.616 | 0.702 | 0.48417 |
| Center-Right | 51.952 | 18.369 | 2.828 | 0.00573 |
| Right | 47.143 | 20.645 | 2.283 | 0.02468 |

Similar to what was seen with the previous two statements, the responses of those who identified themselves as centrist closely resembled the responses of those who identified themselves as progressive (far-left, left, and center-left). In fact, their level of agreement with this statement was even lower than that of those who identified as center-left. This could be due, once again, to a possible separation between language attitudes and linguistic uses in people whose political orientation is not sided. As mentioned before, the majority of people who identified as centrist have Catalan as their L1 and, therefore, use it on a daily basis even in situations where the other person speaks in Spanish. This explanation would align with the results from the statement ‘I try to use Spanish whenever I can’, which showed that people who self-identify as centrist do not normally use Spanish whenever they can, similar to those who self-identify as progressive.

**Figure #**. Participant responses to the statement ‘It is not good manners to answer in Catalan to someone who speaks to you in Spanish.

**A graph of different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence**

**Language difficulty and enjoyment**

Several of the statements that participants evaluated also related to language difficulty and enjoyment. These statements are shown in Table X. In what follows, I detail the relationship between participant responses to each of these statements and political orientation.

**Table X.** Statements related to language difficulty and enjoyment in Catalan, Spanish, and English

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Statements related to Catalan | Statements related to Spanish |
| *El català és una llengua difícil d’aprendre*  *El castalán es una lengua difícil de aprender*  Catalan is a difficult language to learn | *El castellà és una llengua difícil d’aprendre*  *El castellano es una lengua difícil de aprender*  Spanish is a difficult language to learn |
| *A una persona de fora li costarà menys aprendre el castellà que el català*  *A una persona de fuera le costará menos aprender el castellano que el catalán*  An outsider will find it less difficult to learn Spanish than Catalan | N/A |
| *És desagradable aprendre català*  *Es desagradable aprender catalán*  It is unpleasant to learn Catalan | *És desagradable aprendre castellà*  *Es desagradable aprender castellano*  It is unpleasant to learn Spanish |
| *És avorrit aprendre català*  *Es aburrido aprender catalán*  It is boring to learn Catalan | *És avorrit aprendre castellà*  *Es aburrido aprender castellano*  It is boring to learn Spanish |
| *El català és una llengua bonica*  *El catalán es una lengua bonita*  Catalan is a beautiful language | *El castellà és una llengua bonica*  *El castellano es una lengua bonita*  Spanish is a beautiful language |
| *El català és una llengua que sona malament*  *El catalán es una lengua que suena mal*  Catalan is a language that sounds bad | *El castellà és una llengua que sona malament*  *El castellano es una lengua que suena mal*  Spanish is a language that sounds bad |

Analysis of participant responses to the statements ‘Catalan is a difficult language to learn’, ‘Spanish is a difficult language to learn’, ‘Catalan is a language that sounds bad’, and ‘Spanish is a language that sounds bad’ revealed no statistically significant differences in responses with regard to political orientation. All participants, independent of political orientation, showed unfavorable responses to these statements, indicating general consensus regarding attitudes towards perceived the level of difficulty of both Catalan and Spanish as well as toward how both languages sound.

Participant responses to the statement ‘An outsider will find it less difficult to learn Spanish than Catalan’ showed interesting differences. Those participants who identified as progressive (far-left, left, and center-left) as well as those who identified as centrists showed a lower level of agreement with this statement than those who identified as conservative, specially than those who self-identified as center-right, as presented in Table #.

**Table #.**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 22.29 | 14.47 | 1.540 | 0.1270 |
| Left | 12.42 | 15.49 | 0.802 | 0.4247 |
| Center-Left | 14.21 | 16.82 | 0.845 | 0.4001 |
| Center | 12.71 | 22.42 | 0.567 | 0.5721 |
| Center-Right | 38.71 | 18.21 | 2.126 | 0.0362 |
| Right | 23.71 | 20.47 | 1.159 | 0.2496 |

Similar to what was seen with the statement ‘It is not good manners to answer in Catalan to someone who speaks to you in Spanish’, those who self-identified as center-right showed a significantly greater level of agreement with this statement than those who self-identified as right-wing. This seems to indicate another emerging trend in which those who self-identify as center-right actually more closely align with right-wing ideologies. Equally interesting is the fact that the responses of those who identified themselves as centrist closely resembled the responses of those who identified themselves as progressive (far-left, left, and center-left). In fact, their level of agreement with this statement is even lower than that of those who identified as center-left. Additionally, the analysis also revealed a greater level of consensus among participants in both extremes, far-left and right, as shown by the much wider range of responses in Figure #.

**Figure #.** Participant responses to the statement ‘An outsider will find it less difficult to learn Spanish than Catalan’.

A graph of different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

Participant responses to the statements ‘It is unpleasant to learn Spanish’ and ‘It is unpleasant to learn Catalan’, also showed interesting differences. Analysis of the first statement revealed no statistically significant differences in responses with regard to political orientation. All participants, independent of political orientation, showed unfavorable responses to this statement (mean = 8.79), indicating general consensus regarding attitudes towards Spanish. However, when presented with the statement ‘It is unpleasant to learn Catalan’, participants with a more progressive political orientation (far left, left, and center-left) indicated a lower level of agreement with this statement than those participants who self-identified as conservative (center-right and right), as shown in Table #.

Table #.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 2.571 | 7.493 | 0.343 | 0.7322 |
| Left | 3.429 | 8.020 | 0.427 | 0.6700 |
| Center-Left | 9.879 | 8.706 | 1.135 | 0.2594 |
| Center | 6.829 | 11.608 | 0.588 | 0.5578 |
| Center-Right | 15.429 | 9.428 | 1.636 | 0.1051 |
| Right | 23.714 | 10.596 | 2.238 | 0.0276 |

Once again, the responses of those who self-identified as centrist closely resembled the responses of those who identified themselves as progressive (far-left, left, and center-left). In fact, their level of agreement with this statement is even lower than that of those who identified as center-left. Additionally, the analysis also revealed a greater level of consensus among progressive and centrist participants, as shown by the much wider range of responses in Figure #.

**Figure #.** Participant responses to the statement ‘It is unpleasant to learn Catalan’.

**A graph of political orientation

Description automatically generated**

Participant responses to the statements ‘It is boring to learn Spanish’ and ‘It is boring to learn Catalan’, also showed interesting differences. Analysis of the first statement revealed no statistically significant differences in responses with regard to political orientation. All participants, independent of political orientation, showed unfavorable responses to this statement (mean = 14.67), indicating general consensus regarding attitudes towards Spanish. However, when presented with the statement ‘It is boring to learn Catalan’, participants with a more progressive political orientation (far left and left) indicated a lower level of agreement with this statement than those participants who self-identified as conservative (center, center-right and right), and those who self-identified as center-left, as shown in Table #.

**Table #.**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 1.857 | 9.638 | 0.193 | 0.8476 |
| Left | 8.685 | 10.317 | 0.842 | 0.4021 |
| Center-Left | 18.643 | 11.198 | 1.665 | 0.0993 |
| Center | 37.943 | 14.931 | 2.541 | 0.0127 |
| Center-Right | 28.143 | 12.127 | 2.321 | 0.0225 |
| Right | 21.286 | 13.630 | 1.562 | 0.1218 |

Interestingly, the responses of those who self-identified as centrist are more extreme than the responses of those who self-identified ideologically as center-right and right-wing. Centrists, therefore, are the ones who agree the most with the fact that Catalan is a boring language to learn. It seems, therefore, that the trend observed with previous statements by which participants who identified as centrists, in reality, are closer to more conservative and right-wing positions is seen again with this statement. This could be due to the fact that this statement is more related to language attitudes than to linguistic uses. Additionally, the analysis also revealed a greater level of consensus among more progressive participants (far-left and left), as shown by the much wider range of responses in Figure #.

Figure #. Participant responses to the statement ‘It is boring to learn Catalan’.

A graph of political orientation

Description automatically generated

Participant responses to the statements ‘Spanish is a beautiful language’ and ‘Catalan is a beautiful language’, also showed interesting differences. Analysis of the first statement revealed no statistically significant differences in responses with regard to political orientation. All participants, independent of political orientation, showed favorable responses to this statement (mean = 86.66), indicating general consensus regarding attitudes towards Spanish. However, when presented with the statement ‘Catalan is a beautiful language’, participants with a more progressive political orientation (far left and left) indicated a greater level of agreement with this statement, whereas those who identified as conservative (center, center-right, and right) indicated a much lower level of agreement with it, as presented in Table #.

**Table #**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 97.429 | 10.850 | 8.980 | 2.94e-14 |
| Left | -10.387 | 11.614 | -0.894 | 0.37344 |
| Center-Left | -8.179 | 12.606 | -0.649 | 0.51808 |
| Center | -35.829 | 16.808 | -2.132 | 0.03567 |
| Center-Right | -36.512 | 13.652 | -2.674 | 0.00884 |
| Right | -42.429 | 15.344 | -2.765 | 0.00686 |

Similar to the results observed with the previous statement, the responses of those who identified themselves as centrist closely resembled the responses of those who identified themselves as more conservative (center-right and right). These results, once again, seem to confirm the trend observed with previous statements by which participants who identified as centrists, in reality, are closer to more conservative and right-wing positions, at least in terms of language attitudes. Additionally, the analysis revealed greater consensus around this statement among progressive participants, as shown by the much wider range of responses in Figure #.

**Figure #.** Participant responses to the statement ‘Catalan is a beautiful language’.

A graph of different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

**Language importance and usefulness**

Several of the statements that participants evaluated also related to language importance and usefulness. These statements are shown in Table X. In what follows, I detail the relationship between participant responses to each of these statements and political orientation.

**Table X.** Statements related to language importance and usefulness in Catalan, Spanish, and English

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Statements related to Catalan | Statements related to Spanish |
| *El català pot arribar a ser una llengua important en el context europeu.*  *El catalán puede llegar a ser una lengua importante en el contexto europeo.*  Catalan can become an important language in the European context. | *El castellà pot arribar a ser una llengua important en el context europeu.*  *El castellano puede llegar a ser una lengua importante en el contexto europeo.*  Spanish can become an important language in the European context. |
| *El català és tan important com l’anglès.*  *El catalán es tan importante como el inglés.*  Catalan is as important as English | *El castellà és tan important com l’anglès.*  *El castellano es tan importante como el inglés.*  Catalan is as important as English |
| *Ambues llengües són igual d’importants*  *Ambas lenguas son igual de importantes*  Both languages are equally important | N/A |
| *Val la pena aprendre català*  *Vale la pena aprender catalán*  Catalan is worth learning\* | *Val la pena aprendre castellà*  *Vale la pena aprender castellano*  Spanish is worth learning |
| *Estudiar català em serà útil en el futur per trobar feina.*  *Estudiar catalán me resultará útil en el futuro para encontrar trabajo.*  Learning Catalan will be useful to find a job in the future. | *Estudiar castellà em serà útil en el futur per trobar feina.*  *Estudiar castellano me resultará útil en el futuro para encontrar trabajo.*  Learning Spanish will be useful to find a job in the future. |
| *El català serveix per a un àmbits i el castellà per a uns altres.*  *El catalán sirve para unos ámbitos y el castellano para otros*.  Catalan is used in some contexts and Spanish in some others. | N/A |
| *El català és una llengua rural*  *El catalán es una lengua rural*  Catalan is a rural language | N/A |

Analysis of participant responses to the statements ‘Both languages are equally important’, ‘Learning Catalan will be useful to find a job in the future’, ‘Learning Spanish will be useful to find a job in the future’, ‘Catalan is used in some contexts and Spanish in some others’, and ‘Catalan is a rural language’ revealed no statistically significant differences in responses with regard to political orientation. All participants, independent of political orientation, showed similar responses to these statements, indicating general consensus regarding attitudes towards perceived importance and usefulness of both Catalan and Spanish.

Participant responses to the statements ‘Spanish can become an important language in the European context’ and ‘Catalan can become an important language in the European context’ showed interesting differences. Analysis of the first statement revealed no statistically significant differences in responses with regard to political orientation. All participants, independent of political orientation, showed favorable responses to this statement (mean = 79.45), indicating general consensus regarding attitudes towards Spanish. However, when presented with the statement ‘Catalan can become an important language in the European context’, participants with a more progressive political orientation (far-left, left, and center-left) indicated a greater level of agreement with this statement, whereas those who identified as conservative (center, center-right, and right) indicated a much lower level of agreement with it, as presented in Table #.

**Table #.**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 79.00 | 13.44 | 5.879 | 6.41e-08 |
| Left | -18.46 | 14.38 | -1.283 | 0.2026 |
| Center-Left | -27.80 | 15.61 | -1.780 | 0.0783 |
| Center | -52.80 | 20.80 | -2.536 | 0.0129 |
| Center-Right | -50.83 | 16.91 | -3.006 | 0.0034 |
| Right | -49.14 | 19.00 | -2.586 | 0.0113 |

Once again,people who identified themselves ideologically as centrist were the ones who showed the greatest degree of disagreement with the statement, even greater than that indicated by those who identified themselves ideologically as center-right and right-wing**.** These results are in line with the trend observed with previous statements by which participants who identified as centrists, in reality, are closer to more conservative and right-wing positions, at least in terms of language attitudes. Also interesting is the fact that even among progressive participants there seems to be a certain caution when it comes to affirming that Catalan can become an important language at the European context, especially among those who define themselves as center-left. It is clear, however, that as political orientation moves closer to the center, as well as to more conservative positions, the degree of agreement with this statement decreases significantly. Additionally, the analysis revealed greater consensus around this statement among participants self-identified as far-left-wing and centrists, as shown by the much wider range of responses in Figure #.

**Figure #.** Participant responses to the statement ‘Catalan can be important in the European context.

A graph of different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

Participant responses to the statements ‘Catalan is as important as English’ and ‘Spanish is as important as English’ also showed interesting differences. Analysis of both statements revealed statistically significant differences in responses with regard to political orientation. When presented with the statement ‘Catalan is as important as English’, participants with a more progressive political orientation (far-left and left) indicated a greater level of agreement with this statement, compared to those who identified as conservative (center, center-right, and right) and to those who said their political orientation was center-left, as presented in Table #.

**Table #.**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 81.86 | 14.70 | 5.567 | 2.49e-07 |
| Left | -25.04 | 15.74 | -1.591 | 0.114941 |
| Center-Left | -61.21 | 17.08 | -3.583 | 0.000543 |
| Center | -48.26 | 22.78 | -2.119 | 0.036791 |
| Center-Right | -53.11 | 18.50 | -2.871 | 0.005074 |
| Right | -59.57 | 20.79 | -2.865 | 0.005156 |

Interestingly, those who expressed the lowest level of agreement with this statement are the ones who identified their political orientation as center-left. Their responses, therefore, resemble the ones of those who identified themselves as progressive (far-left, left, and center-left). This could be due to the role of English as an international language and its importance around the world. However, it is worth noting that those who showed a greater level of agreement with this statement are the ones who identified their political orientation as far-left and left. This demonstrates that very progressive people in Palma, in particular, and in the Balearic Islands, in general, have really positive attitudes toward Catalan, to the point of putting it on the same level as English. Additionally, the analysis also revealed a greater level of consensus among participants in both extremes, far-left and right, as shown by the much wider range of responses in Figure #.

**Figure #**. Participant responses to the statement ‘Catalan is as important as English’.

A graph of different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

Similar results were found when participants were presented with the statement ‘Spanish is as important as English’. Interestingly, participants of all political orientation, but center-left, showed a similar level of agreement with this statement, as presented in Table #.

Table #.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 81.857 | 12.257 | 6.678 | 1.74e-09 |
| Left | -6.961 | 13.121 | -0.531 | 0.5970 |
| Center-Left | -34.357 | 14.242 | -2.412 | 0.017810 |
| Center | -15.657 | 18.989 | -0.825 | 0.4117 |
| Center-Right | 9.643 | 15.424 | 0.625 | 0.5334 |
| Right | -9.143 | 17.335 | -0.527 | 0.5991 |

This, again, could be due to the perceived role of English as an international language and its importance around the world. One possible explanation, however, for why the lowest level of agreement with this statement is among those who define themselves as center-left, and centrists, could be that as political orientation becomes more extreme, either to the left or to the right, attitudes toward one’s own languages become more acute and no longer neutral. That is to say, the more left-wing or right-wing one’s political orientation is, the less neutral one’s linguistic attitudes are, always in favor of the language of preference. This could explain why people on the center-left, and to a lesser extent, people in the center, show a higher level of disagreement with the idea that Spanish is as important as English, because their language attitudes are more neutral.

Figure #. Participant responses to the statement ‘Spanish is as important as English’.

A graph of different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

Participant responses to the statements ‘It is worth learning Spanish’ and ‘It is worth learning Catalan’ also showed interesting differences. Analysis of the first statement revealed no statistically significant differences in responses with regard to political orientation. All participants, independent of political orientation, showed favorable responses to this statement (mean = 89.23), indicating general consensus regarding attitudes towards Spanish. However, when presented with the statement ‘It is worth learning Catalan’, participants with a more progressive political orientation (far-left, left, and, to a lesser extent, center-left) indicated a greater level of agreement with this statement, whereas those who identified as conservative (center, center-right, and right) indicated a much lower level of agreement with it, as presented in Table #.

Table #.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 100.00 | 9.867 | 10.135 | <2e-16 |
| Left | -8.000 | 10.562 | -0.757 | 0.45069 |
| Center-Left | -20.200 | 11.464 | -1.762 | 0.08135 |
| Center | -43.600 | 15.285 | -2.852 | 0.00535 |
| Center-Right | -29.583 | 12.415 | -2.383 | 0.01921 |
| Right | -39.857 | 13.953 | -2.856 | 0.00528 |

Similar to what has been observed with other statements,people who identified themselves ideologically as centrist were the ones who showed the greatest degree of disagreement with the statement, even greater than that indicated by those who identified themselves ideologically as center-right and right-wing**.** These results are in line with the trend observed with previous statements by which participants who identified as centrists, in reality, are closer to more conservative and right-wing positions, at least in terms of language attitudes. Also interesting are the responses from those who identified themselves ideologically as center-left, which showed a much lower level of agreement with this statement compared to the other two progressive ideologies. These results are in line with the idea mentioned before about an increase of neutrality in terms of language attitudes as political orientation moves toward the center. It is possible, therefore, that people who self-identify as center-left are comparing the potential benefits of learning Catalan for the future (economically, professionally, etc.) to the potential benefits or learning Spanish, or even English, from a more neutral perspective. Additionally, the analysis revealed greater consensus around this statement among participants self-identified as far-left-wing, as shown by the much wider range of responses in Figure #.

**Figure** #. Participant responses to the statement ‘It is worth learning Catalan’.

A graph of different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

**Language policy and integration**

Several of the statements that participants evaluated also related to language policy and integration. These statements are shown in Table X. In what follows, I detail the relationship between participant responses to each of these statements and political orientation.

**Table X.** Statements related to language policy and integration in Catalan, Spanish, and English

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Statements related to Catalan | Statements related to Spanish |
| *Hauria de ser obligatori que els alumnes de Balears cursassin, com a mínim, el 50% de les assignatures en català.*  *Tendría que ser obligatorio que los alumnus de Baleares cursasen, como mínimo, el 50% de las asignaturas en catalán.*  It should be mandatory for all students from the Balearic Islands to take at least 50% of the subjects in Catalan | *Hauria de ser obligatori que els alumnes de Balears cursassin, com a mínim, el 50% de les assignatures en castellà.*  *Tendría que ser obligatorio que los alumnus de Baleares cursasen, como mínimo, el 50% de las asignaturas en castellano.*  It should be mandatory for all students from the Balearic Islands to take at least 50% of the subjects in Spanish. |
| *El català hauria de ser una asignatura voluntària a les escoles i instituts de les Balears*  *El catalán debería de ser una asignatura voluntaria en las escuelas e institutos de Baleares*  Catalan should be a voluntary subject in schools and high schools in the Balearic Islands | *El castellà hauria de ser una asignatura voluntària a les escoles i instituts de les Balears*  *El castellano debería de ser una asignatura voluntaria en las escuelas e institutos de Baleares*  Spanish should be a voluntary subject in schools and high schools in the Balearic Islands |
| *El català ha de ser un requisite per ocupar un lloc de feina a l’administración pública*  *El catalán tiene que ser un requisite para ocupar un puesto de trabajo en la administración pública.*  Catalan must be a requirement to hold a job in the public administration | N/A |
| *Per al personal sanitari, és més important saber català que castellà.*  *Para el personal sanitario, es más importante saber catalán que castellano.*  For healthcare staff, it is more important to know Catalan than Spanish | *Per al personal sanitari, és més important saber castellà que català.*  *Para el personal sanitario, es más importante saber castellano que catalán.*  For healthcare staff, it is more important to know Spanish than Catalan |
| *Com tots xerram castellà, no és necessari que la gent que ve d’altres comunitats autònomes o països de parla castellana aprenguin català.*  *Como todos hablamos castellano, no es necesario que la gente que viene de otras comunidades autónomas o países de habla hispana aprendan catalán.*  Since we all speak Spanish, it is not necessary for people coming from other Autonomous communities in Spain or Spanish-speaking countries to learn Catalan. | N/A |

Participant responses to the statements ‘It should be mandatory for all students in the Balearic Islands to take at least 50% of their subjects in Catalan’ and ‘It should be mandatory for all students in the Balearic Islands to take at least 50% of their subjects in Spanish’ showed interesting differences. Analysis of the first statement revealed no statistically significant differences in responses with regard to political orientation. All participants, independent of political orientation, showed similar responses to this statement (mean = 68.87), indicating general consensus regarding attitudes towards Catalan. However, when presented with the statement ‘It should be mandatory for all students in the Balearic Islands to take at least 50% of their subjects in Spanish’, participants who identified as more progressive (far-left and left) expressed a much lower level of agreement with this stament compared to those who identified as conservative (center, center-right, and right), as presented in Table #.

Table #.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 11.71 | 14.45 | 0.811 | 0.419671 |
| Left | 25.26 | 15.47 | 1.633 | 0.105807 |
| Center-Left | 36.79 | 16.79 | 2.191 | 0.0310 |
| Center | 51.69 | 22.39 | 2.309 | 0.023181 |
| Center-Right | 63.12 | 18.18 | 3.471 | 0.000788 |
| Right | 59.71 | 20.44 | 2.922 | 0.004368 |

Additionally, the analysis revealed more consensus around this statement among those participants who identified as far-lefties and less consensus in all other political orientations, especially in the center-left, as shown by the much wider range of responses in Figure #.

Figure #.

A graph of different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

Table #.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 100.00 | 13.67 | 7.314 | 8.93e-11 |
| Left | -27.15 | 14.63 | -1.855 | 0.066780 |
| Center-Left | -33.700 | 15.885 | -2.121 | 0.03654 |
| Center | -55.20 | 21.18 | -2.606 | 0.010662 |
| Center-Right | -74.17 | 17.20 | -4.311 | 4.03e-05 |
| Right | -73.57 | 19.33 | -3.805 | 0.000254 |

Similar to what has been observed with other statement, the responses from those who identified themselves ideologically as center-left showed a much lower level of agreement with this statement compared to the other two progressive ideologies. These results are in line with the idea mentioned before about an increase of neutrality in terms of language attitudes as political orientation moves toward the center. Additionally, the analysis revealed more consensus around this statement among those participants who indicated their political orientation was far-left, as shown by the much wider range of responses in Figure #.

Figure #.

A graph of different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

Participant responses to the statement ‘Since we all speak Spanish, it is not necessary for people who come from other Autonomous Communities or Spanish-speaking countries to learn Catalan’, also showed interesting differences. Participants who identified as progressive (far-left, left, and center-left) indicated a much lower level of agreement with this statement than those who identified as conservative (center, center-right, and right) as shown in Table #.

Table #.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 7.2857 | 11.2065 | 0.650 | 0.51721 |
| Left | 10.9018 | 11.9959 | 0.909 | 0.36581 |
| Center-Left | 0.6643 | 13.0208 | 0.051 | 0.9595 |
| Center | 29.5143 | 17.3611 | 1.700 | 0.09247 |
| Center-Right | 37.6310 | 14.1013 | 2.740 | 0.00738 |
| Right | 28.486 | 15.8484 | 1.794 | 0.07610 |

It is worth noting that, despite showing greater agreement with this statement, the average score of the responses of the most conservative participants does not, in any case, exceed 50 points out of a maximum of 100. The highest mean corresponds to those who identified themselves as center-right (mean = 45.92). This indicates that there is a generalized consensus around the idea that Catalan is a relevant element to be taken into account in the Balearic context, regardless of political orientation. Additionally, the analysis revealed more consensus around this statement among progressive participants, especially among those who said their political orientation was far-left and center left, as shown by the much wider range of responses in Figure #.

Figure #.

A graph of different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

**Cultural and identity aspects**

Several of the statements that participants evaluated also related to cultural and identity aspects. These statements are shown in Table X. In what follows, I detail the relationship between participant responses to each of these statements and political orientation.

**Table X.** Statements related to language policy and integration in Catalan, Spanish, and English

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Statements related to Catalan | Statements related to Spanish |
| *El català és un element indentitari de les Balears*  *El catalán es un elemento identitario de las Baleares*  Catalan is an identity element of the Balearic Islands | N/A |
| *El català és la llengua que hauria de predominar a las Balears*  *El catalán es la lengua que debería predominar en las Baleares*  Catalan is the language that should predominate in the Balearic Islands | *El castellà és la llengua que hauria de predominar a las Balears*  *El castellano es la lengua que debería predominar en las Baleares*  Spanish is the language that should predominate in the Balearic Islands |
| *Totes les persones que viuen a les Balears haurien de saber català i castella.*  *Todas las personas que viven en Baleares deberían saber catalán y castellano.*  All people living in the Balearic Islands should know Catalan and Spanish |  |
| *Visc a les Balears i, per això, he de saber, estudiar i fer servir el català.*  *Vivo en Baleares y, por eso, tengo que saber, estudiar y utilizer el catalán.*  I live in the Balearic Islands and, therefore, I need to know, study and use Catalan. | *Visc a les Balears i, per això, he de saber, estudiar i fer servir el castellà.*  *Vivo en Baleares y, por eso, tengo que saber, estudiar y utilizer el castellano.*  I live in the Balearic Islands and, therefore, I need to know, study and use Spanish. |
| *És necessari aprendre català per integrar-se totalment a les Balears.*  *Es necesario aprender catalán para integrarse totalmente en las Baleares.*  It is necessary to know Catalan to fully integrate in the Balearic Islands. |  |

Participant responses to the statement ‘Catalan is an identity element of the Balearic Islands’ showed interesting differences. Participants who identified as progressive (far-left, left, and center-left) showed a greater level of agreement with this statement compared to those who identified as conservative (center, center-right, and right), as presented in Table #.

Table #.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 100.00 | 10.60 | 9.430 | 3.28e-15 |
| Left | -12.13 | 11.35 | -1.068 | 0.28819 |
| Center-Left | -13.800 | 12.321 | -1.1120 | 0.26557 |
| Center | -37.20 | 16.43 | -2.264 | 0.02587 |
| Center-Right | -41.58 | 13.34 | -3.116 | 0.00243 |
| Right | -33.86 | 15.00 | -2.258 | 0.02630 |

As was the case with previous statements, those who identified themselves as centrist showed a lower level of agreement with this statement than those who identified their political orientation as right-wing. It seems, therefore, that the trend observed with previous statements by which participants who identified as centrists, in reality, are closer to more conservative and right-wing positions is seen again with this statement. It is worth noting that, despite showing a lower agreement with this statement, the average score of the responses of the most conservative participants does not, in any case, fall below 50 points, from a range of 0 to 100. The lowest mean corresponds to those who identified themselves as center-right (mean = 58.42, as seen in Figure #). This indicates, as with the previous statement, that there is a general consensus around the idea that Catalan is a relevant element to be taken into account in the Balearic context, regardless of political orientation.

Figure #.

A graph of different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

Participant responses to the statements ‘Spanish is the language that should predominate in the Balearic Islands’ and ‘Catalan is the language that should predominate in the Balearic Islands’ also showed interesting differences. Analysis of the first statement revealed no statistically significant differences in responses with regard to political orientation. All participants, independent of political orientation, showed similar responses to this statement (mean = 26.78), indicating general consensus regarding attitudes towards Spanish. However, when presented with the statement ‘Catalan is the language that should predominate in the Balearic Islands’, those participants who identified as progressive (far-left, left, and center-left) showed a greater level of agreement with it. Conversely, those who identified as conservative (center, center-right, and right), showed significantly lower levels of agreement with it, as shown in Table #.

Table #.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 94.29 | 12.67 | 7.439 | 4.95e-11 |
| Left | -22.45 | 13.57 | -1.655 | 0.101305 |
| Center-Left | -25.54 | 14.73 | -1.734 | 0.08622 |
| Center | -69.09 | 19.63 | -3.519 | 0.000673 |
| Center-Right | -66.95 | 15.95 | -4.198 | 6.15e-05 |
| Right | -68.29 | 17.92 | -3.810 | 0.000250 |

As was the case with previous statements, people who identified themselves ideologically as centrist were the ones who showed the greatest degree of disagreement with the statement, even greater, but very similar, than that indicated by those who identified themselves ideologically as center-right and right-wing. These results support the trend observed with previous statements by which participants who identified as centrists, in reality, are closer to more conservative and right-wing positions is seen again with this statement. Additionally, the analysis revealed a strong consensus among those who said their political orientation was far-left, as shown in Figure #.

Figure #.

A graph of different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

Participant responses to the statement ‘It is necessary to learn Catalan to fully integrate in the Balearic Islands’ also showed interesting differences. Participants who identified as more progressive (far-left and left) showed a greater level of agreement with this statement compared to those who identified as conservative (center, center-right, and right) as well as those who self-identified as center-left, as presented in Table #.

Table #.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 94.86 | 13.53 | 7.011 | 3.72e-10 |
| Left | -21.25 | 14.48 | -1.467 | 0.14562 |
| Center-Left | -33.26 | 15.72 | -2.116 | 0.03705 |
| Center | -38.46 | 20.96 | -1.835 | 0.06974 |
| Center-Right | -49.69 | 17.02 | -2.919 | 0.00441 |
| Right | -46.71 | 19.13 | -2.441 | 0.01652 |

In this case, it is particularly interesting that the responses from those who identified themselves ideologically as center-left showed a much lower level of agreement with this statement compared to the other two progressive ideologies. In fact, their responses closely resemble the ones from those who identified as conservative. These results, however, are in line with the idea mentioned before about an increase of neutrality in terms of language attitudes as political orientation moves toward the center. It is possible, therefore, that people who self-identify as center-left recognize the strong presence of Spanish in the Balearic Islands and, particularly, in Palma. Consequently, while still acknowledging the importance of Catalan and its role as an indentity element of the Balearic Islands, they also believe that it is not necessary to learn it to fully integrate in the society, given the widespread presence of Spanish. Additionally, the analysis revealed more consensus among those who identified as far-left, as shown in Figure #.

Figure #

A graph of different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

Participant responses to the statements ‘I live in the Balearic Islands and, therefore, I need to know, use, and study Spanish’ and ‘I live in the Balearic Islands and, therefore, I need to know, use, and study Catalan’ also showed interesting differences. Analysis of the first statement revealed no statistically significant differences in responses with regard to political orientation. All participants, independent of political orientation, showed favorable responses to this statement (mean = 64.58), indicating general consensus regarding attitudes towards Spanish. However, when presented with the statement ‘I live in the Balearic Islands and, therefore, I need to know, use, and study Catalan’, those participants who identified as progressive (far-left, left, and center-left) indicated a greater level of agreement with it. Conversely, those who identified as conservative (center, center-right, and right) showed a much lower level of agreement with this statement, as shown in Table #.

Table #.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 100.00 | 11.41 | 8.762 | 8.51e-14 |
| Left | -12.52 | 12.22 | -1.025 | 0.30810 |
| Center-Left | -13.700 | 13.261 | -1.033 | 0.3042 |
| Center | -42.80 | 17.68 | -2.421 | 0.01744 |
| Center-Right | -38.25 | 14.36 | -2.663 | 0.00912 |
| Right | -38.86 | 16.14 | -2.407 | 0.01804 |

As was the case with previous statements, people who identified themselves ideologically as centrist were the ones who showed the greatest degree of disagreement with the statement, even greater than that indicated by those who identified themselves ideologically as center-right and right-wing. These results support the trend observed with previous statements by which participants who identified as centrists, in reality, are closer to more conservative and right-wing positions is seen again with this statement. Additionally, the analysis revealed a strong consensus among those identified as progressive, as shown in Figure #.

Figure #.

A graph of different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

**Population trends**

Several of the statements that participants evaluated also related to population trends. These statements are shown in Table X. In what follows, I detail the relationship between participant responses to each of these statements and political orientation.

**Table X.** Statements related to population trends in Catalan, Spanish, and English

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Statements related to Catalan | Statements related to Spanish |
| *De cada vegada menys gent sap català.*  *De cada vez menos gente sabe catalán.*  Fewer and fewer people know Catalan. | *De cada vegada menys gent sap castellà.*  *De cada vez menos gente sabe castellano.*  Fewer and fewer people know Spanish. |
| *El català està en perill de desaparèixer a les Balears.*  *El catalán está en peligro de desaparecer en las Baleares.*  Catalan is in danger of disappearing in the Balearic Islands. | *El castellà està en perill de desaparèixer a les Balears.*  *El castellano está en peligro de desaparecer en las Baleares.*  Spanish is in danger of disappearing in the Balearic Islands. |
| *La gent hauria d’esforçar-se més en fer servir el català.*  *La gente debería esforzarse más en utilizar el catalán.*  People should put more effort into using Catalan. | *La gent hauria d’esforçar-se més en fer servir el castellà.*  *La gente debería esforzarse más en utilizar el castellano.*  People should put more effort into using Spanish. |

Participant responses to the statements ‘Fewer and fewer people know Spanish’ and ‘Fewer and fewer people know Catalan’ showed interesting differences. Analysis of the first statement revealed no statistically significant differences in responses with regard to political orientation. All participants, independent of political orientation, showed unfavorable responses to this statement (mean = 11.84), indicating general consensus regarding attitudes towards Spanish. However, when participants were presented with the statement “Fewer and fewer people know Catalan,” progressive participants (far-left, left, and center-left) expressed a greater agreement with it. Conversely, those participants who identified as more conservative (center, center-right, and right) showed a greater disagreement with this statement, as presented in Table #.

Table #.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 99.86 | 12.57 | 7.947 | 4.38e-12 |
| Left | -28.73 | 13.45 | -2.136 | 0.03530 |
| Center-Left | -19.257 | 14.600 | -1.319 | 0.19041 |
| Center | -72.26 | 19.47 | -3.712 | 0.00035 |
| Center-Right | -50.02 | 15.81 | -3.164 | 0.00210 |
| Right | -47.00 | 17.77 | -2.645 | 0.00960 |

As was the case with previous statements, people who identified themselves ideologically as centrist were the ones who showed the greatest degree of disagreement with the statement, even greater than that indicated by those who identified themselves ideologically as center-right and right-wing. These results support the trend observed with previous statements by which participants who identified as centrists, in reality, are closer to more conservative and right-wing positions is seen again with this statement. Additionally, the analysis revealed a strong consensus among those who self-identified ideologically as far-left, as shown in Figure #.

Figure #.

A graph of different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

Participant responses to the statements ‘Spanish is in danger of disappearing in the Balearic Islands’ and ‘Catalan is in danger of disappearing in the Balearic Islands’ also showed interesting differences. Analysis of the first statement revealed no statistically significant differences in responses with regard to political orientation. All participants, independent of political orientation, showed unfavorable responses to this statement (mean = 10.61), indicating general consensus regarding attitudes towards Spanish. However, when participants were presented with the statement ‘Catalan is in danger of disappearing in the Balearic Islands’, progressive participants far-left, left, and center-left) showed a significantly greater agreement with this than those who identified as conservative (center, center-right, and right), as shown in Table #.

Table #.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 97.71 | 12.93 | 7.559 | 2.80e-11 |
| Left | -27.03 | 13.84 | -1.953 | 0.053815 |
| Center-Left | -25.164 | 15.020 | -1.675 | 0.09722 |
| Center | -84.51 | 20.03 | -4.220 | 5.68e-05 |
| Center-Right | -65.46 | 16.27 | -4.024 | 0.000116 |
| Right | -43.14 | 18.28 | -2.360 | 0.020373 |

As was the case with previous statements, people who identified themselves ideologically as centrist were the ones who showed the greatest degree of disagreement with the statement, even greater than that indicated by those who identified themselves ideologically as center-right and right-wing. These results support the trend observed with previous statements by which participants who identified as centrists, in reality, are closer to more conservative and right-wing positions is seen again with this statement. Additionally, the analysis revealed a strong consensus among those who self-identified ideologically as far-left, as shown in Figure #.

Figure #.

A graph of different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

Participant responses to the statements ‘People should put more effort into using Catalan’ and ‘People should put more effort into using Spanish’ also revealed interesting differences. When people were presented with the statement ‘People should put more effort into using Catalan’, progressive participants showed a greater level of agreement with it than conservative participants, who showed a much lower level of agreement, as presented in Table #.

Table #.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 98.29 | 12.55 | 7.829 | 7.69e-12 |
| Left | -21.37 | 13.44 | -1.590 | 0.11518 |
| Center-Left | -23.786 | 14.586 | -1.631 | 0.1063 |
| Center | -62.09 | 19.45 | -3.192 | 0.00193 |
| Center-Right | -52.54 | 15.80 | -3.326 | 0.00126 |
| Right | -51.43 | 17.75 | -2.897 | 0.00470 |

Similar to what has been observed with other statements, people who identified themselves ideologically as centrist were the ones who showed the greatest degree of disagreement with the statement, even greater than that indicated by those who identified themselves ideologically as center-right and right-wing. These results support the trend observed with previous statements by which participants who identified as centrists, in reality, are closer to more conservative and right-wing positions is seen again with this statement. Additionally, the analysis revealed a strong consensus among those who self-identified ideologically as far-left, as shown in Figure #.

Figure #

A graph of different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

Conversely, when participants were presented with the statement ‘People should put more effort into using Spanish’, progressive participants showed a much lower level of agreement with it than conservative participants, as presented in Table #.

Table #.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimate | Std. Error | t-Value | Pr(>|t|) |
| *Intercept* | 21.000 | 12.542 | 1.674 | 0.0974 |
| Left | 3.563 | 13.426 | 0.265 | 0.7913 |
| Center-Left | 2.200 | 14.573 | 0.151 | 0.88033 |
| Center | 16.800 | 19.430 | 0.865 | 0.3895 |
| Center-Right | 33.833 | 15.782 | 2.144 | 0.0347 |
| Right | 32.000 | 17.737 | 1.804 | 0.0745 |

It is worth noting that, despite agreeing more with this statement, the mean score of the responses from conservative participants barely exceeds 50 points out of 100. The highest mean corresponds to those who self- identified as center-right (mean = 54.83). This indicates a generalized consensus around the idea that Spanish is significanly present in the Balearic Islands and, therefore, the need for people to use is lower than the need to use more Catalan. Additionally, the analysis revealed a greater level of consensus among participants in both extremes, far-left and right, as shown by the much wider range of responses in Figure #.

Figure #.

A graph of different colored squares

Description automatically generated with medium confidence