LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING IN SPAIN: A CASE STUDY OF
ACCESSIBILITY OF EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT, AND SOCIAL SERVICES IN
CATALONIA

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Abstract

Catalan and Castilian are the co-official language varieties in the Spanish Autonomous Community of Catalonia. After centuries of language policies that have oppressed Catalan, Catalonia implemented new language policy and planning measures to aid the resurgence of the language variety that “is the spiritual foundation of our [Catalonia’s] existence” (Shabad & Gunther, 1982, p. 446). The Linguistic Normalization in Catalonia Law (1983) established that Castilian and Catalan must be taught at all levels and grades of non-university education, which has resulted in new generations of Catalan-speakers. Catalan is used in schools, media, administration, and for governmental purposes. As a result, Catalan has gained prestige in Catalanian society. This research looks at the ways in which the knowledge of Catalan affects a resident’s ability to access education, employment, and social services. The data also reveals the connection between Catalan and prestige in present day Catalonia.
Introduction

What impact does knowing Catalan in Catalonia have on its residents? Catalan is a language spoken in the Spanish Autonomous Community, Catalonia. Catalan has been spoken in Catalonia since the language first emerged in the 4th century AD as a result of the spread of the Roman Empire into the Iberian Peninsula. The status of Catalan has fluctuated in the centuries following its establishment in Catalonia. Though it has been the official language of Catalonia for much of its history, Catalan lost its prestige status during most of the 20th century (Rendon, 2007, p. 669). This recent shift was a result of the language policies implemented by Francisco Franco, the dictator who ruled Spain from 1936 until his death in 1975. Language policy and planning (known as normalització) beginning in the 1980s showed an increase in Catalan language education and the number of Catalan speakers.

Castilian and Catalan are the co-official languages in Catalonia’s Constitution (1979), but Section One, Article III states, “La llengua pròpia de Catalunya és el català,” or ‘Catalan is the language of Catalonia.’ It then states in the Section Two, Article III, “L’idioma català és l’oficial de Catalunya, així com també ho és el castellà, oficial a tot l'Estat espanyol,” or ‘The Catalan language is the official language of Catalonia, as well as Castilian, the official language of the Spanish state.’ The structure of Article III of the Catalan Constitution speaks to the ways in which the Catalan language is the primary language of Catalonia. The Castilian language is co-official as a result of the Spanish state’s requirement in the Constitution of 1978 that Castilian be the official language of the state and the Autonomous Communities could establish a co-official language with Castilian in their constitutions. There is an increased economic value given to Catalan in current times, so immigrants must learn Catalan to assimilate into the Autonomous
Community and native Catalonians must become more proficient in the use of their own language (Rendon, 2007, p. 670).

In this study, I research the impacts that knowing the Catalan language have on the accessibility of education, employment, and social services in Catalonia. This research adds to the growing literature on the implications that recent language policy and planning has had on the residents on Catalonia in terms of the employment (Rendon 2007), education (Vann 1999, Ferrer 2000), Catalan nationalism (Shabad & Gunther 1982, Lewis 2008), and linguistic attitudes (Woolard 1989, Roller 2002). I begin with a history of the language policy and planning measures within Spain as well as the fluctuating prestige of Catalan. Following the historical context, I present my research questions which provide the framework for my study of accessibility of education, employment, and social services within the Autonomous Community of Catalonia. The data for this research were retrieved from Generalitat’s (Catalonia’s government) website and the University of Barcelona’s website. After establishing the methodology, the data were analyzed in relation to the accessibility of education, employment, and social services for residents of Catalonia based on their knowledge of Catalan. The analysis also finds the correlation between the results and the prestige given to the Catalan language in Catalonia.

**Historical Background**

Spain has a long tradition of linguistic diversity and outside influences. The rich linguistic history is a result of the occupation of the Iberian Peninsula by the Roman Empire, the Visigoths, and the Moors. These distinct groups of people brought their different languages to the peninsula, allowing for the evolution of many different language varieties. While Castilian is the standard language of Spain, other languages and dialects in Spain have been present in the peninsula for as
Due to the great amount of linguistic diversity, the government of Spain has implemented different types of language policies and language planning to help alleviate the confusion and tensions caused by the number of language varieties in Spain. The policies have led to the creation of the Castilian standard, the suppression of minority languages, and the eventual resurgence of some of the minority languages. The language policy and planning implemented in Spain has influenced the various language varieties in Spain and has culminated in the creation of the linguistic situation in present-day Spain.

Linguistic policies are defined by Siguán (1993) as “the systematic set of actions aimed at achieving a desired linguistic situation” (p. 87). Throughout its history, the rulers of Spain have found it necessary to implement linguistic policies that standardized Castilian as the national language variety of Spain. As a consequence, Castilian became the dominant language variety of Spain, leading speakers of the other language varieties in Spain to shift to Castilian. It is important to note that the shift did not cause the minority varieties to disappear completely. Catalan, Galician, and Basque are the three languages that have survived the shift and are languages spoken in present-day Spain.

The Catalan language variety used in Catalonia today gained power in the Middle Ages, when Catalonia was a part of the Kingdom of Aragon. The Kingdom of Aragon expanded its power and influence through avenues of expansion (the inclusion of Mallorca and Valencia into its territorial possessions) and commerce (the creation of a network of consulates in the principal ports of the Mediterranean) in the 13th century (Cingolani, 2011, n. pag.). Catalan served as the official language of this kingdom, and the language gained power as the Kingdom of Aragon gained power during the 13th and 14th centuries. The Generalitat de Catalunya, which was a regulating body charged with the task of standardizing the Catalan language, was created in the 14th century. As a result of the standardization and rising influence of Catalan, Catalan literature reached a very high
status in the 14th century, especially with the work of Rameu Llul. According to Siguán (1993), Llul helped Catalan become “an extraordinarily flexible literary language and also the first vulgar language in which philosophical texts were to be written” (pp. 17-18). This rich literary tradition lasted until the 15th century, when Catalonia began to lose its political power as a consequence of the marriage between Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile in 1469. Castile was chosen as the location for the central government of the Spanish kingdom. As a result of the shift of the government to Castilian-speaking Castile, the linguistic dominance of Catalan declined. In the late 15th and early 16th centuries, the works of famous Catalan authors, such as Rameu Llul, Enrique de Villena and Joan Ribelles, were being translated into Castilian by Catalonians, marking the beginning of a shift to Castilian as the standard language in Catalonia (Herreras, 2006, p. 19).

The shift to Castilian received a major boost in the 18th century due to the War of Spanish Succession, which was a war for the Spanish throne. When Charles II passed away, he left no rightful heirs to the throne. Philip V, the son of Louis XIV of France, accepted the crown, but not without contention. Archduke Charles of Austria, who was supported by England and the Netherlands, still held that he was the rightful heir to the throne. Catalonians supported Archduke Charles because they were fearful of the central style of government that a French ruler would impose. The supporters of Archduke Charles lost the war in 1713 with the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht. As a result, the laws of Catalonia were abolished and replaced by laws of Castile, showing the adoption of the French-style centralization that worried the Catalonians at the beginning of the war (López, 2007, p. 309). The victory of the Castilian-speaking west was a major factor in the standardization of the Castilian variety as the dominant language in Spain. Once established as the monarch of Spain after the War of Spanish Succession, Philip V decreed, in 1716, that all administrative activities were to be performed in Castilian in all regions in order
to promote uniformity amongst all regions of Spain (Siguán, 1993, p. 24). During Philip V’s reign, the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language was chartered, in 1713, which aimed to “limpiar, fijar, y dar esplendor” (‘clean, standardize, and give splendor’) to the Spanish language (Mar-Molinero, 2000, p. 23).

In 1768, Charles III took Philip V’s policy one step further by establishing Castilian as the primary language of education within the kingdom. As a result, Castilian began to be associated with “the language of culture, the language of the printed word, and its knowledge was the condition for having access to culture” (Siguán, 1993, p. 26). As this occurred, the other linguistic varieties in Spain experienced a change in status, such that Castilian held high prestige over the others. As a result, the speakers of the lower prestige varieties shifted their language to be able to function within the more prestigious domains where Castilian was predominantly used (Lopez, 2007, p. 300). By 1857, the Spanish government passed the Moyano Law, which regulated the whole Spanish education system, requiring the use of Castilian in schools throughout Spain (Siguán, 1993, p. 29).

As the language policies were affecting Catalonians and their use of Catalan, there were also societal changes beginning to emerge in the 18th century. The first textile factories were built in Barcelona at this time, and Catalonia began undergoing the Industrial Revolution. While the population of Catalonia at the time was about one seventh of that of Spain, half of the nearly 100,000 industrial workers in Spain lived in Catalonia (Siguán, 1993, p. 34). The differences between Catalonia and the rest of the territories within Spain become clear during this time period because Catalonia was the only territory which participated in the European industrial movement, bringing new societal problems, such as worker’s rights, factory conditions, and changing infrastructure. Catalonians felt that the non-industrialized capital, Madrid, could not
understand these new problems and could not help solve them. As a result, Catalonia experienced a renaissance (or Renaixença) in the 19th century which “widened [Catalan’s] limits and had become a movement affecting many aspects of Catalan life and society, and which had also been given a political form” (Siguán, 1993, p. 34). In 1892, “Bases de Manresa” was published. This document was a manifesto which made “explicit demands for home-rule for Catalonia and had the support of a wide-based popular movement” (Siguán, 1993, p. 34). In 1907, the Institut d’Estudis Catalan (Institute for Catalan Studies) was chartered, which worked to standardize Catalan in order to provide greater prestige to the Catalan language and culture. This movement produced Catalan dictionaries as well as political movements that demanded home rule for Catalonia.

While some minority language varieties in Spain were experiencing a renaissance during the 19th century, the turn of the 20th century quickly changed the tide. Beginning with the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923-1930), varieties other than Castilian were banned from use in everyday life, as well as within schools (Herreras, 2006, p. 35). During Franco’s rule (1939-1975), Castilian was established as the sole language variety of the Spanish nation and all other varieties were strictly banned. This policy of language suppression led to the disappearance of Galician, Basque, and Catalan from any form of publication, radio, public and religious ceremonies, and education. As far as Franco’s regime was concerned, these languages “had officially ceased to exist” (Siguán, 1993, p. 80). These strict language policies were rooted in the concept of establishing a Spanish national identity. Because Spain had been divided into separate kingdoms for much of its history, resulting in many different identities, Franco sought to establish a single nationalistic, Spanish identity, which would unite the Spanish state. In order to create a Spanish national identity, the Franco regime chose a common language that would unite them: Castilian. The Franco regime defined speaking Castilian as speaking “Spanish,” which is what “Spaniards” spoke. According to the logic of the Franco
regime, those who did not speak “Spanish” were not supporting the nationalist movement and were punished accordingly (Mar-Molinero, 2000, p. 84).

In the early years of the Franco regime, the policies that suppressed alternative languages in Spain were very strict. The Franco regime denied the linguistic rights of the Spanish people, such as use of the mother tongue in public discourse, respect for linguistic difference, and access to the mother tongue in teaching (Mar-Molinero, 2000, p. 84). Any public use of non-Castilian languages resulted in fines and even prison sentences. In the mid-1960s, as Franco’s health and energy declined, his leadership became less assertive (Payne, 1987, p. 477). His strict policies became more lenient, including his linguistic policies toward non-Castilian languages. Publications in non-Castilian languages were more common in the 1950s, and classes were beginning to be taught in mother tongues in the 1960s (Mar-Molinero, 2000, p. 84). The law of Freedom of Expression was passed in 1966, marking a change in the strict system of censorship that had been in place in prior years. It is important to note that the law still had “very clear guidelines on a wide range of topics and principles which would still not be challenged or discussed” (Mar-Molinero, 2000, p. 85). All government, notarial, legal and commercial documents were still exclusively in Castilian and any written in other languages were deemed null and void.

While Franco was able to suppress minority linguistic varieties during his regime, the effects of his policies ultimately led to the strengthening of minority languages. “The rejection and even ridicule of the minority languages became so closely related to the ideology of the Franco regime that it also served as a point of reference around which to build the opposition to it” (Mar-Molinero, 2000, p. 85). There were linguistic revivals that occurred during Franco’s regime, such as the Nova Cançó movement in Catalonia during the 1960s. This movement promoted Catalan music, sought to normalize the use of the Catalan language in popular music, and denounced the Franco regime (Siguán, 1993, p. 61). The regime was not threatened by this movement because Catalan was seen as
completely inferior and insignificant (Mar-Molinero, 2000, p. 85). There were also cultural associations, such as *Rosa Sensat y Omnium Cultural* in Catalonia, *Cursos de Llengua Valenciana* in Valencia, and *Obra Balear* in the Balearic Islands, which were founded during the Franco era (Herreras 2006, p. 43). These cultural associations were able to use their regional language varieties due to the Franco regime’s view that minority languages were non-threats.

After the Franco regime, the Constitution of 1978 was written. According to Puelles (1995), the Constitution of 1978 provided a way to satisfy the demands for regional autonomy – particularly in areas with strong separatist movements, such as Catalonia and the Basque Country – and to ensure the unity of the Spanish state (p. 87). Due to the re-emergence of minority languages in public life, the Constitution of 1978 made a point to address the new linguistic policy of Spain. The constitution divided Spain into seventeen Autonomous Communities and established Castilian as the official language of the state, but also provided co-official status for other varieties at the level of the autonomous regions. Section III of the Constitution of 1978 states that:

1. Castilian is the official language of the Spanish State. All Spaniards have the duty to know it and the right to use it.

2. The other languages of Spain shall also be official in the respective Autonomous Communities in accordance with their statutes.

3. The richness of the different linguistic modalities of Spain is a cultural heritage which shall be specially respected and protected (Spain. Const. § 3).

This provision allowed for the autonomous communities of Spain to establish their own language policies, depending on the languages spoken in that region. Since the end of the Franco era, Catalan has experienced a great revival in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia. The language has been introduced in the educational system, mass media, public life, and
administration (Vann, 1999, p. 317). With this resurgence, language policies involving the status of Catalan became a necessity. The constitution of Catalonia provides that Catalan is the official language of Catalonia, alongside Castilian, and that the government “will guarantee the normal and official use of both languages, will adopt the necessary measures to ensure their knowledge, and will create the conditions which will enable their full equality to be achieved insofar as the rights and duties of the citizens of Catalonia are concerned” (Art. III).

The *Linguistic Normalization in Catalonia Law* (1983) establishes that Castilian and Catalan must be taught at all levels and grades of non-university education; that students have the right to be taught in their habitual language, but that they “must be able to use both Catalan and Castilian in a normal and correct fashion at the end of their primary education period;” and that the administration of the school systems must “take the necessary measures to avoid the separation of students in different schools for reasons of language” (Art. XIV, § 3-5). The law also states that teachers are “obliged to know the two official languages” and that “the syllabi for courses and teacher training colleges must be drawn up in such a way as to permit students’ full acquaintance with the Catalan language and the Castilian language in accordance with the requirements of each educational specialty” (Art. XVIII, § 1-2).

Present-day language policies have played a major role in the recovery of the various Spanish language varieties from the suppression they faced in the course of Spain’s history, especially during the Franco era. The success of the language planning measures put in place by the Generalitat is shown by Table 1 and Table 2 below. Table 1 shows the rising percentage of the population who understand Catalan, can speak Catalan, can read Catalan, and can write in Catalan. These percentages were taken in 1991 and again in 1996, showing the rapid growth of Catalan acquisition as a result of the implementation of language planning measures. Table 2
categorizes the residents by age and their knowledge level of Catalan, according to a survey by the Centro de Investigaciones Sociologicas (“Center of Sociological Investigations,” or CIS) on ‘Language knowledge and Use’ in 1998. This table illustrates the importance that education policies have played in the acquisition of Catalan, as the generations who were in school during the implementation of the Linguistic Normalization in Catalonia Law (age groups 18-24 and 25-34) knew Catalan more than the older generations in Catalonia.

| Table 1 | Knowledge of Catalan in population, 1991-1996 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Understands Catalan | 93.8% | 94.9% |
| Can speak Catalan | 68.3% | 75.3% |
| Can read Catalan | 67.6% | 72.3% |
| Can write in Catalan | 39.9% | 45.8% |

Note: the data on the ‘Knowledge of Catalan in population’ can be obtained from Conselleria de Cultura web page (http://cultura.gencat.es/Uengat/socio).

| Table 2 | Knowledge of Catalan according to age groups (1998) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Understand, speak, read and write | 18-24 (%) | 25-34 (%) | 35-44 (%) | 45-54 (%) | 55-64 (%) | + 64 (%) |
| Understand, speak and read, but cannot write | 3 | 14 | 35 | 31 | 28 | 28 |
| Understand and speak, but cannot read or write | 1 | 3 | 10 | 9 | 12 | 11 |
| Understand only | 6 | 16 | 19 | 21 | 28 | 21 |
| Not understand | 1 | 1 | ---- | 1 | 3 | 7 |

Note: the data was obtained from CIS survey in 1998 on ‘Language knowledge and Use’. One can get further information from CIS web page (http://www.cis.cs).
Ferguson (2009 [1959]) introduced the term “diglossia” to describe language communities that use two or more language varieties under different conditions (p. 447). One of the language varieties is the “superposed” variety, so it is called the H (‘high’) variety, and the other language variety is called the L (‘low’) variety. The varieties can be used for different functions and the H variety can be connected to prestige. The H variety can be used for functions such as sermons, political speeches, university lectures, new broadcasts, new stories, and poetry. The L variety is used in more informal contexts, such as instructions to waiters, conversations with friends, captions on political cartoons, and folk literature (pp. 448-449).

In cultures where the superiority of the H variety is not very strong, there is “usually a belief that H is somehow more beautiful, more logical, better able to express important thoughts, and the like,” thus establishing its prestige over the L variety (p. 450). As a result of language policies within Catalonia, Catalan now is regarded as the H variety (used in literature, formal education) and Castilian as the H variety (not associated with formality) (Vann, 1999, p. 322).

The Catalan Cultural Committee in 1924 said that, “Our language[, Catalan], the expression of our people, which can never be given up... is the spiritual foundation of our existence” (Shabad & Gunther, 1982, p. 446). Cardús I Ros, a Catalan nationalist and sociologist, points out that since Catalans use language as their defining characteristic “[t]he preservation and furthering of that national identity could be achieved by continued use of Catalan in daily life, and by teaching the immigrant community in Catalunya [Catalonia] the Catalan language and customs” (Barnes, 2010, n.pag). This sentiment has carried through to the establishment of Catalan as the co-official language of Catalonia and as one of the two required languages of education. While the policies that encourage the acquisition of Catalan are reasonable to those who were born and raised in Catalonia and have spoken Catalan since birth, the issues of
accessibility occur with non-Catalan speakers who seek employment and education in Catalonia. Non-Catalan speakers include immigrants from other countries as well as Spanish compatriots.

**Research Questions**

The social issues that derive from the language policies in Catalonia can be categorized as socio-academic and socio-economic. The socio-academic issues affect access to education in Catalonia, from primary education to higher education. The socio-economic issues affect access to employment and social mobility within Catalonia. According to Shabad and Gunther (1982), “any type of bilingual policy may lay the groundwork for institutionalized linguistic discrimination against immigrant minorities” (p. 445). The reality in Catalonia is that immigrants without knowledge of Catalan face a large linguistic obstacle when attempting to achieve access to education, employment, and social services.

As stated before, education policies have resulted in a bi-lingual education curriculum in schools throughout Catalonia. In a study completed by Vann (1999), students had different perceptions about Catalan’s socio-academic repercussions. He divided the students into habitually Catalan-speaking and habitually Castilian-speaking groups. Students in the Catalan-speaking group highlighted the common perception that Catalan is the only language that needs to be taught in schools because Castilian can be picked up in the streets. The Castilian-speaking group shared the struggles they faced in an education system dominated by the Catalan language (p. 321). Studies have shown that “due to the social predominance of Castilian in most of Catalonia, Catalan-speaking children acquire a good command of Castilian irrespective of the school they attend, but Castilian-speaking children only learn Catalan in predominantly Catalan-medium schools” (Vila i Moreno, 1997, p. 17). The attitudes of the teachers toward the two languages is also very important, and if teachers do not respect the various language varieties of
the students, the students “may perceive that their home language is of limited value” (Vann, 1999, p. 319). If speakers of Castilian begin to feel as if they are discriminated against as a minority, the learning environment in Catalanian schools is not adhering to the policy established by Article III of Catalonia’s Constitution, which states that the government will make sure that Castilian and Catalan are treated as equals within the region.

The 1983 Linguistic Normalization Law required all school-age children to learn both Catalan and Castilian, which resulted in the growing Catalan skills for the population (Roller, 2002, p. 278). Education policies in Catalonia have aided the acquisition of Catalan for all socio-economic classes, but immigrants that did not receive their education in Catalonia are at a disadvantage. As a result, this situation raises tensions between the central Castilian-speaking government’s interests and the autonomous Generalitat’s interests. While Castilian and Catalan have co-official status in Catalonia, the job market makes it clear that a preference is given to those with a working knowledge of Catalan (reading, speaking, and writing). If a person’s Catalan skills are not strong, s/he is not marketable, lowering the authority and capital that a command of Catalan brings (Vann, 1999, p. 322).

Considering the socio-academic and socio-economic impacts of language policy and planning in Catalonia, I have posed the following research questions:

1. How does language knowledge and use affect access to education, employment, and social services in Catalonia?
2. What is the relationship created between Catalan and prestige in Catalonian society?

I sought to find the data that illustrate the role that knowing Catalan plays in Catalonian society. Previous research indicates that there are repercussions in terms of accessibility of education, employment, and social services due to the linguistic prominence of Catalan, but there is a need
for more empirical evidence about the ways in which knowledge of Catalan affects access in these specific societal realms. This research will use the data collected to find the relationship between accessibility and language knowledge. It will also provide an explanation for the relationship of past language policies, the current conditions for non-Catalan speakers in terms of accessibility and the resulting prestige available to Catalan speakers in Catalonia.

**Methodology**

Governmental and university websites provided the data for access to education, employment, and social services. In order to receive a higher education, the Generalitat requires standardized tests for admission, “PAU” (Proves d'accés a la universitat). The practice tests for the PAU were available on the website of the Department of the Economy and Education (Departament d’Economia I Coneixement, 2012, n. pag.). To further investigate higher education in Catalonia, the University of Barcelona was chosen as the primary source of information. This institution offers a public education for over ninety thousand students and is the most prominent institution for citizens of Catalonia (University of Barcelona, 2013, web). The data were collected from the information on the website for the University of Barcelona. The Generalitat offers a search engine (feinaactiva.gencat.cat) for Catalonia residents to search for job postings within Catalonia. The job postings on this search engine were randomly selected to provide the data for access to employment. Finally, the Catalan Institution of Assistance and Social Services, another governmental website, was used for the social services data. This governmental website provided information about the services it offers and the required documents to receive the social services.

The data on education was collected based upon the resources available online. The language of the websites, the language of instruction, the language of the various PAUs, and the
language policies of the University of Barcelona built the foundation of the research on educational access in Catalonia. The job search engine on the Generalitat’s website divided the jobs into various categories. The categories that were analyzed were: Business Administration; Sales; Marketing/Communication; Hotel/Restaurant/Tourism; and Other Professions/Arts/Trades. Full-time, paid positions were the chosen criteria for this search. Ten job postings in each category were randomly selected (every three postings were chosen) and analyzed for their language requirements and the language of the advertisement itself. Finally, the social services website provided the application forms for the various social programs provided by the government of Catalonia. The language of these forms and the language of the website itself were used as data for this aspect of access within Catalonian society.

**Results**

*Education*

The website for the Department of the Economy and Education has examples of previous exams available (Departament d’Economia i Coneixement, 2012, n. pag.). The standardized tests required for entrance into universities in Catalonia (PAUs) are only in Catalan. The subject areas are languages, mathematics, economics, natural sciences, social sciences, arts, music, and technology. The only tests that are not written in Catalan are the language tests, which include Castilian language, Castilian literature, English, French, German, Italian, Latin, and Greek. These foreign language tests are written in their respective languages. The Catalan language and literature test requirements may be waived, but the other required subject tests are in Catalan.

The official language policy of the University of Barcelona states that “Catalan is the institutional language of the University of Barcelona, and is therefore used in all the University’s institutional and administrative affairs” (Serveis Linguistics, 2010, n. pag.). While Catalan is the
official language, UB seeks to use other languages to further foster its international involvement. The students have the right to write course assignments and complete exam papers in either Castilian or Catalan, even if the language of instruction differs from the language chosen to complete those assignments. The university also provides courses for students to learn Catalan, including free Catalan courses for beginners.

The Language Services at the University of Barcelona have completed a statistical analysis of the language of instruction at the University of Barcelona. During the 2008-2009 school year, Catalan was used 64.32%, Castilian 30.6%, and another language or a combination of Catalan and Castilian 5.08% of the time (Serveis Linguistics, 2010, n. pag.). The Language Services further analyzed the data by categorizing the language of instruction by department during the 2004-2005 school year (Table 3). Ten of the nineteen departments represented in the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Center</th>
<th>Catalan (%)</th>
<th>Castilian (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>59.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Studies</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>50.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics and Business Management</td>
<td>50.9</td>
<td>49.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>46.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fine Arts</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>40.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursing</td>
<td>62.6</td>
<td>37.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biology</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philology</td>
<td>74.1</td>
<td>25.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>74.8</td>
<td>25.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teacher Training</td>
<td>75.2</td>
<td>24.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pharmacy</td>
<td>76.2</td>
<td>23.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
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<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
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<td>23.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dentistry</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>22.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Geography and History</td>
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<td>Geology</td>
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<td>Chemistry</td>
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<td>11.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Library Science and Documentation</td>
<td>98.7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: the data on the degree of use of Catalan at the University of Barcelona is adapted from the information on the website for UB, retrieved from http://www.ub.edu/slc/en/angdades.htm
study used Catalan more than 70% of the time. The official language of the University of Barcelona is Catalan, which explains the prominence of Catalan in the classroom. The only three departments which used Castilian more often than Catalan were Law, Philosophy, and Business Studies. It is important to note that the lowest percentage of Catalan use is in the Law department, but it still constitutes 40.9% of language instruction. Therefore, Catalan is not only the official language of the University of Barcelona, but also the most common language of instruction.

*Employment*

The job search engine on the website for the government of Catalonia showed the prominence of Catalan either as a required language or as the language of the advertisement. Every three postings were selected until the total number of postings for each category equaled ten. The job categories chosen were: Business Administration; Sales; Marketing/Communication; Hotel/Restaurant/Tourism; and Professions/Arts/Trades. The random selection showed that the fields of Marketing/Communication, Hotel/Restaurant/Tourism, and Other Professions/Arts/Trades favor Catalan over Castilian. While those three fields had the most marked preference, all of the fields showed a preference for Catalan over Castilian. Table 4 shows the field, language required, language of advertisements, and if a job either specifically required Catalan or used Catalan as the language of the advertisement. Table 5 then provides a visual representation of the job postings that required Catalan explicitly in the job posting and/or were written in Catalan, implying the necessity of Catalan for the job. Though a job advertisement may not have had Catalan listed as the language required for the position, if the language of the advertisement was in Catalan, the importance given to the knowledge of Catalan is implicitly stated.
As seen in the results, the field of Business Administration may not have explicitly stated that Catalan was required for the job, but eight out of the ten jobs that were randomly selected required Catalan either implicitly or explicitly. In all of the career fields, at least 60% of the listings express the importance of Catalan in their job postings, either by listing Catalan as a required language or by writing the advertisement in Catalan.

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Career Field</th>
<th>Catalan: Language of Ad</th>
<th>Catalan: Language Required</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professions, Arts, Trades</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel/Restaurant/Tourism</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing/Communication</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Administration</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Career Field</th>
<th>Catalan: Either Required Language or Language of Advertisement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professions, Arts, Trades</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel/Restaurant/Tourism</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing/Communication</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Administration</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: the data on the presence of Catalan in job advertisements is adapted from the information on the website for the Generalitat, retrieved from https://feinaactiva.gencat.cat/web/guest/home
Social Services

The homepage of the Department of Social and Family Health is available in English, Catalan, and Castilian, but the specific pages regarding the social services are only available in Catalan (Departament de Benestar Social I Família, 2013, n. pag.). Navigating in different languages affects one’s ability to access documents and information. The Catalan webpages offer the full range of information and documents that one may need to access as a resident of Catalonia in need of the social services that the Department of Social and Family Health offers.

The Castilian webpage has different information on its homepage in comparison to the Catalan homepage. The Catalan homepage (Figure 1) has recent news from the department, whereas, the Castilian homepage (Figure 3) provides information about what the Department of Social and Family Health does and the services it provides. This shows the assumption that those navigating the webpage in Catalan will already be aware of the services that the Department of Social and Family Health provides. The Catalan webpage and the Castilian webpage both have the links to the Forms and Documents section of the website (Figure 2 and Figure 4). However, the only webpage that allows downloading of the forms and documents is the Catalan webpage (Figure 5). The Castilian webpage’s links to the specific social services result in a blank page (Figure 6).

In addition to being unavailable from the Castilian webpage, the forms for the social services are only available in Catalan, with no translation within the document. The following figures illustrate the process of navigating from the homepage to the social services page in both the Castilian language and in the Catalan language.
Figure 1 is the homepage of the Catalan webpage on March 7, 2013. The middle of the page contains recent news about the Department of Social and Family Health. The left side of the page has the links for different sections of the website, including “Formularis i documentació,” or ‘Forms and Documents’ (circle added). Upon clicking the link, Figure 2 appears.

**Figure 1**

**Figure 2**
Figure 3 is the homepage of the Castilian webpage on March 7, 2013. The middle of the page contains a description of what the Department of Social and Family Health does and the services it provides. The left side of the page has the links for different sections of the website, including “Formularios y documentación,” or ‘Forms and Documents’ (circle added). Upon clicking the link, Figure 4 appears. Besides the content in the middle section, the content is the same between the Catalan and Castilian webpages at this point of the webpage navigation.

Figure 3

Figure 4
Figure 5 is the Social Services webpage for Catalan and Figure 6 is the Social Services webpage for Castilian. This is the website that appears if you click on “Serveis Socials” on the Catalan Forms and Documents page, or “Servicios Sociales” on the Castilian Forms and Documents page. The links to download the forms and documents are only available on the Catalan webpage. While you are able to click on the Social Services page in Castilian, the webpage is blank (as displayed below), besides the heading, which denotes that you are on the Social Services page (“Servicios Sociales”). Therefore, the documents are unavailable if you are navigating the website in Castilian.
Analysis

Education, employment, and social services are all interconnected in terms of access and social mobility within Catalonia. Without a proper education, employment is not attainable, resulting in the need for social services. These three realms of society show preferential treatment toward those with knowledge of Catalan, sending a fundamental message to immigrants and non-Catalan speakers in Catalonia. This message is that Catalan is a part of the culture and the daily lives of Catalonians, or, as the Catalan Cultural Committee said in 1924, Catalan “is the spiritual foundation of our [Catalonia’s] existence” (Shabad & Gunther, 1982, p. 446).

Before entrance into the university, students must take PAUs, which are standardized tests that measure the students’ knowledge in the subject area. Except for the foreign language exams, which are written in the language that is being tested, the tests for the subject areas, ranging from social sciences to mathematics, are in Catalan. These tests are required for admission into universities in Catalonia. This requirement and the language of these tests show the importance that the Generalitat places on knowing Catalan before entering institutions of higher education. The Linguistic Normalization Law (1983) established language policy and planning measures that would require all students educated in Catalonia to be bi-lingual by the end of primary school. As a result, the language of these tests should not be a problem for students raised in Catalonia. Immigrants and Spaniards from other Autonomous Communities who were not educated in the Catalanian education system were not beneficiaries of these language planning measures, therefore are not going to have the same level of bilingualism in Castilian and Catalan that native Catalonians have.

To address the issue of not receiving primary schooling in Catalonia, many non-Catalan speaking adults have enrolled in Catalan courses for adults, which are offered by the
government. According to the most recent *Informe de Política Lingüística*, “Language Policy Report,” published in 2010, there were a total of 127,807 adults enrolled in 4,806 courses in Catalan during the 2009-2010 school year (Generalitat, 2010, p. 100). The Consortium for Linguistic Normalization is a branch of the Generalitat that focuses on the language planning measures for Catalan. Table 6 shows the growth of the number of adult learners registering for Catalan courses organized by the Consortium for Linguistic Normalization from 2005-2010. In this five-year time period, the number of adults enrolled in Catalan courses increased by 49,820. This initiative to increase the number of adults enrolled in Catalan courses is a result of the *Linguistic Normalization in Catalonia Law* (1983). According to the Language Policy Report, 64% of those enrolled in these adult learning courses were immigrants, 13% were from other Autonomous Regions within Spain, and 21% were from Catalonia (Generalitat, 2010, p. 102).

Table 6  The Evolution of Adult Students Enrolled in Catalan Courses Organized by the Consortium for Linguistic Normalization.  
2005-2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Adult Students Enrolled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2005-2006</td>
<td>77,987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006-2007</td>
<td>91,142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007-2008</td>
<td>111,335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008-2009</td>
<td>126,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-2010</td>
<td>127,807</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: the data on the Evolution of Adult Students Enrolled in Catalan Courses Organized by the Consortium for Linguistic Normalization is adapted from the information from the Generalitat on p. 100 in the *Informe de Política Lingüística*, retrieved from http://www20.gencat.cat/docs/Llengcat/Documents/Informe%20de%20politica%20linguistica/Arxius/IPL2010.pdf
Although Castilian and Catalan are co-official languages in Catalonia, Table 3 shows the predominant language in classrooms at the University of Barcelona is Catalan. The official language of the University of Barcelona is Catalan, which explains this imbalance between the co-official languages. The departments that use Spanish at a higher frequency teach subjects that will require the students to speak both languages with their future clients. The other departments, which place an emphasis on Catalan, are conveying the underlying message that those with a degree in that specific field will use Catalan at a higher frequency. As seen in Article XVIII, Sections 1 and 2 of the *Linguistic Normalization in Catalonia Law* (1983), the University of Barcelona provides students with the option of using both Castilian and Catalan when completing their assignments and tests. In contrast, the law has the provision that “the syllabi for courses and teacher training colleges must be drawn up in such a way as to permit students’ full acquaintance with the Catalan language and the Castilian language in accordance with the requirements of each educational specialty” (Art. XVIII, § 1-2). While the accommodating measures are available for assignments and tests, the language of instruction is at the discretion of the professor. If a course is taught in Catalan and the student is a speaker of Castilian, the class instruction may be inaccessible in various ways. Expecting professors to deliver lectures in both Castilian and Catalan in order to cater to the diverse linguistic demographics in the classroom would be not only exhausting, but also unrealistic and time consuming. Since Catalan is the official language of the University of Barcelona, the professors teach in Catalan in a majority of the academic departments. The University of Barcelona offers Catalan courses for non-Catalan speaking students, resulting in students having varying Catalan levels. A non-Catalan speaking student may be able to understand Catalan but cannot speak or write
proficiently in Catalan. Second language acquisition differs among language learners, so each language learner will encounter difficulties in courses taught in his or her second language.

For students that were born and raised in Catalonia, the language planning measures implemented in the 1980s have taken full effect and they should be completely bilingual by the end of their primary education. As a result, the native inhabitants of Catalonia have an advantage in access to education because they were raised to be bilingual. On the other hand, immigrants from other Autonomous Communities within Spain have large barriers to overcome in order to receive a higher education at an institution like the University of Barcelona. According to the website for the University of Barcelona, 36,061 students (94.19% of the student population) were from Spain during the 2012-2013 school year, whereas, 2,226 students (5.81%) were from outside of Spain. A breakdown of students from Catalonia and from other Autonomous Communities was unavailable. The prestige of Catalan speakers begins with the realm of education. According to Woolard (1989), Catalan is recognized by both Castilian speakers and Catalan speakers as being the more prestigious and higher-status language (p. 122). Catalanians who are able to receive higher education at universities like the University of Barcelona must have knowledge of Catalan. If students are not able to produce Catalan, their success in the classroom will be affected. This may then inhibit students’ abilities to complete their required coursework for their chosen concentration, resulting in not obtaining their respective degrees. Education is associated with prestige and being a part of the higher class of society. Without knowledge of Catalan, a resident of Catalonia will not be able to achieve this prestigious status in society.

Building upon the prestige associated with receiving a higher education, employment opportunities are also tied to language in Catalonia. The job postings randomly selected from the
Generalitat’s website showed the importance given to the Catalan language. Overall, two of the categories (Marketing/Communication and Hostel/Restaurant/Tourism) required Catalan in all of the randomly-selected job postings. The other career fields (Business Administration; Sales; Professions/Arts/Trades) required Catalan or wrote their job postings in Catalan in over half of the postings selected. This data suggests that in order to obtain a majority of the white-collar jobs in Catalonia, one must know Catalan. Those who are educated in the specific career field are more likely to obtain a job, and the language of education in higher education is Catalan. The prestige associated with being an educated member of society, therefore, transfers to being employed. Language knowledge is tied to employment, as it was tied to education. If speakers of Catalan are more likely to be hired for a job because of their language background, they are also regarded as having more prestige in Catalonian society. According to Wolfram (2009 [1997]), social value can be associated with language variations. There are socially prestigious language varieties, which are positively valued through their association with high status groups as high status markers (p. 45). Therefore, Catalan is revered as the prestigious language variety because it is used by those who are educated and employed in Catalonia. These educated and employed Catalan speakers are also those who are hiring new employees, so they seek to hire people who will be able to communicate with them. As a result, Catalan speakers are the people with the jobs as well as the people who are hired.

The Generalitat has a Department of Social and Family Health, which offers assistance to residents of Catalonia. If a resident of Catalonia needs to access the forms on the webpage for the Department of Social and Family Health, the resident would need to be navigating the website in Catalan. As shown in Figures 1-6, the webpage has the option of Castilian translation, but the forms and documents are not available in this translated version of the website. The documents
themselves are written in Catalan, with no translation available. Governmental forms in any language are difficult to understand and fill out, but when they are in a completely unknown language, this makes the completion of these forms even more difficult. The residents who do not have a high level of education or a job are likely to be the ones that are in need of the social services available by the Generalitat. As stated before, education and employment are two fields that show a preference for speakers of Catalan. If a resident is unable to receive education and employment because he or she does not know Catalan, he or she will also have difficulties accessing and filling out the forms needed to receive social services from the government of Catalonia. This cycle, therefore, shows that those who know Catalan are more likely to be able to access education, employment, and social services. Access can be connected to prestige because of the ways in which recipients of higher education and employment are commonly those who are in the higher socio-economic levels. If people with more prestige within society also speak the same language, the language will be considered the high-variety, thus the language associated with more prestige.

**Suggestions for Further Research**

This research was completed based upon a reliance on institutional websites, specifically governmental and higher education. Further research should include ethnographic research in Catalonia, in which interviews could be conducted with non-Catalan speakers to address their experiences with accessibility. In terms of employment information, only one website was used, which was a site sponsored by the Generalitat. To get a broader range of data, future research could include more job postings in a more diverse range of areas of employment. If future research collects more employment data, the research would be able to ascertain the connection between knowing Catalan and job accessibility with more empirical evidence. Another realm
that could be analyzed would be the language of media (newspapers, television news programs, magazines) and the content of those specific media sources. For example, research could see if Catalan is the language of the news if the news is specific to Catalonia, thus showing the prestige of Catalan in the region.

**Conclusions**

This research chose to look at education, employment, and social services to determine the accessibility of those aspects of society for those who do not speak Catalan. Previous research by Vann (1999) indicated that there was a preference given to native Catalan speakers. This previous research led to the research questions that guided this investigation:

1. How does language knowledge and use affect access to education, employment, and social services in Catalonia?
2. What is the relationship created between Catalan and prestige in Catalonian society?

The analysis of the data showed that the knowledge of Catalan does, indeed, affect access to education, employment, and social services in Catalonia. While higher education is available to those who do not speak Catalan, there are classes for non-Catalan speakers so that they can learn Catalan. The official language of the most prominent public university in Catalonia, the University of Barcelona, is Catalan and a majority of the courses are taught in Catalan (Table 3).

The job postings that were collected showed a preference for those who speak Catalan and understand Catalan over Castilian and other languages. When a person is unable to receive education or employment, the next step would be to secure some social services. The website for social services within the Autonomous Community of Catalonia showed that those who are not speakers of Catalan would either not be able to access or would have difficulty accessing information about the social services available. The documents and forms themselves are only
available in Catalan. Catalan and Castilian are both Romance languages, but relying on cognates when filling out governmental documents is not ideal or effective.

When Shabad and Gunther (1982) say that “any type of bilingual policy may lay the groundwork for institutionalized linguistic discrimination against immigrant minorities,” they do not include the compatriots of the Catalanians that are also victims of institutional linguistic discrimination. The constitution of Catalonia establishes Catalan and Castilian as co-official languages. The constitution also provides that the government “will guarantee the normal and official use of both languages, will adopt the necessary measures to ensure their knowledge, and will create the conditions which will enable their full equality to be achieved” (Art. III). As seen in the data collected and analyzed in this research, this linguistic equity between the co-official languages is not enacted through the language policy and planning measures put into place in present-day Catalonia.

There has been an emphasis since the end of the Franco-era, which suppressed minority languages, to have a resurgence of Catalan in Catalonia. Under the Franco regime, Franco wished to create a national identity for Spaniards, but the Catalanian identity is intrinsically tied to their language. In turn, the policies that Franco implemented to suppress minority languages also suppressed Catalan culture. After Franco passed away and Spain was no longer under a dictatorship, the Constitution of 1978 was written with the goal of balancing the calls for autonomy and the need for a centralized Spanish state. This balance was struck with the creation of seventeen Autonomous Communities, which reported to the centralized government of Spain. The Autonomous Communities were able to establish co-official languages with the official language of the Spanish state, which is Castilian. Therefore, Catalonia established Catalan as the language of Catalonia, which was to be the co-official language with Castilian. Language
policies, such as the *Linguistic Normalization in Catalonia Law* of 1983 helped to create a resurgence of the once-repressed Catalan language. The language planning measures allowed for students who were educated in Catalonia to be bilingual by the end of primary school, encouraging the knowledge and growth of the Catalan language.

The success of the language policy and planning initiatives of the Generalitat provide a model for research looking at how endangered languages can be recovered. The success has been so significant, in fact, that the Catalan language has become the high-variety, meaning that it is the language associated with the most prestige in Catalan culture. According to the data presented in this research, knowing Catalan assists residents of Catalonia with accessing education and employment, two realms of society that are vital for establishing one’s social status in society. Those who are unable to obtain education or employment may be in need of social services, although the documents are only available in Catalan. Catalan is the language tied to Catalonia’s culture. The language policy and planning measures implemented by the Generalitat show that accessibility to education, employment, and social services is tied to a resident’s knowledge of Catalan.
References


