

EL SENY I LA RAUXA: IDENTITY, IDEOLOGIES, AND COMMUNICATIVE
PRACTICES OF HONDURAN YOUTH IN CATALONIA

by

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Abstract

Catalonia, struggling with a national identity, minority language rights, and an independence movement serves as the backdrop for this dissertation which focuses on the communicative practices of fifteen Honduran youth immigrants living in a segregated neighborhood on the periphery of a Catalan city.

Ethnographic fieldwork in a Catalonian neighborhood and high school dominated by Latin American immigrants reveal a number of factors which influence the languaging of Honduran diasporic youths.

The participants in this study negotiate multi-layered, often hybrid, transnational identities which influence their linguistic choices both in and out of school. Data collection via in-depth interviews and participant observations identify investment in Catalan language for academic and employment purposes and the maintenance of Honduran Spanish and/or variations for social “currency.”

Furthermore, this dissertation examines the implications of the Honduran youths’ communicative practices for educational and pedagogical purposes as well as for language policy and planning in Catalonia, Spain.

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

*“I am from there. I am from here.
I am not there and I am not here.
I have two names, which meet and part,
and I have two languages.
I forget which of them I dream in.”*
— Mahmoud Darwish

Darwish’s poem echoes the lives of the Honduran youth featured in this dissertation and the internal struggles that many immigrant youths feel while attempting to negotiate new languages and identities. In Catalonia, the “Seny i Rauxa” of these youths’ communicative practices and the vacillation between “being Catalan” or “being Honduran” is part of their daily lives.

The groundwork for this dissertation began almost twenty-five years ago. After participating in a high school exchange program in Spain during the 1990’s, living in a working-class, Andalusian neighborhood outside of Barcelona, I came away with many unanswered questions about the sociolinguistic phenomena that I observed as a young language student. These questions eventually guided a large portion of both my undergraduate and graduate research, which entailed examining the unique speech communities in ethnic enclaves around Catalonia. My personal experiences learning both Catalan and Castilian Spanish, as well as teaching English outside of Barcelona, eventually generated my professional interest in analyzing the ethnolinguistic identities and ideologies held by marginalized groups in Catalonia. Furthermore, I sought to examine the changing role of the Catalan language in both the public and private sectors

around Catalonia as the makeup of Catalan society, not unlike many other European regions, changed markedly over the past twenty years. An increased tension among friends and colleagues from Catalonia regarding Catalan use and the *separatista*¹ movement led me to further question the role of Catalan in various settings, especially those areas of Catalonia which experienced rapidly transforming demographics and an increasingly diverse ethnic makeup.

Incorporating my personal experiences in Catalonia alongside formal research while completing doctoral coursework at the University of Arizona, the seeds of this dissertation were planted. In addition to my personal experiences, anecdotal evidence and media reports emanating from Spain impacted my research agenda as a doctoral candidate, transitioning my focus from analyzing Catalan use among “old” immigrants from Andalusia in Catalonia to that of “new” immigrants, particularly from Latin America, which were increasingly present in educational research stemming from the region of Catalonia. Influenced by studies which revealed challenges faced by fellow language teachers and university colleagues in Catalonia, I archived a number of developing reports coming out of Catalonia which concentrated on Latin American immigrant youth. Specifically, I was interested in research which suggested that Latino youth in Catalonia were “not motivated” to learn Catalan.

The population of immigrants in Spain in the last twenty years has increased tremendously. With this new population entering a country that, traditionally, had not been a receiving country for non-European immigrants in the 20th Century, new

¹ Separatist, in reference to Catalonia seceding from Spain

educational initiatives were developed by the Spanish government to meet the needs of incoming students. An increase in the diversity of languages and cultures in public school classrooms opened up more opportunities for specialists in second language acquisition, bilingualism, and immigrant education to come up with new, innovative and dynamic programs in an increasingly pluralistic Spain.

Catalonia, an autonomous region in Northeastern Spain, which is culturally, linguistically, and politically, a region set apart from the rest of Spain, also experienced a massive influx of immigrants from non-European countries, particularly in the latter part of the 1990's. Catalonia provides a linguistically rich setting for language and identity research. Furthermore, due to its strong economy relative to the rest of Spain, Catalonia has been preferred location for many "new" immigrants to Europe and thus, an ideal place to study second language education among "new" immigrant youth. Its largest city, Barcelona, provides some of the best economic opportunities for any immigrant arriving on the Iberian Peninsula as well as some remarkably complex conditions for sociolinguistic research. Catalonia is a site of identity struggle, a struggle that stems from within its own borders, among native Catalans, as well as among "new" immigrants who have settled in the region. Both native Catalans and "new" immigrants are navigating their positions in a society which is currently leaning towards secession from Spain in hopes of creating of a new, independent nation state. For these transnational migrants struggling to exist in a new homeland while their home countries are suffering from civil war, violence, and extreme poverty, the independence movement in Catalonia often evokes a negative sentiment from those looking for peace and safety.

Youth immigrants' maintenance and use of their L1 while simultaneously

acquiring Catalan in Catalonia's new multicultural and pluralistic communities are fundamental in reshaping the future of Catalonia's language education policy and planning. Latin American immigrant voices, especially adolescents, ought to be of vital importance for educational research in the region, as migrant teens are transitioning to a new country and likely to experience isolation or exclusion during a period of emotional vulnerability. Latin American adolescents have experienced distinct challenges resettling in Spain, especially in classrooms where teachers had been relatively unprepared, a decade ago, for facilitating intercultural understanding and who, for many years, had little to no training in culturally responsive pedagogy and multicultural education. The last decade also signaled both widespread discrimination against Latin American immigrants during Spain's financial crisis as well as a period of increased Catalan nationalist, separatist movements. As the influx of "new" immigrants" reached large numbers, media outlets in Catalonia reported on increased incidents of violence and discrimination against them, and many targets of xenophobic hate crimes were from Latin America. Salazar (2004) pointed out, for example, that the Spanish press was particularly quick to associate delinquency and crime with Latin American immigrant youth, and propelled the stereotype that the youth were dangerous not only to the public, but problematic in schools, unfairly provoking fear and tension between educators, Latin American immigrants, and their autochthonous peers. Educational researchers have reported that Latin American immigrant youth in Spain often abandoned social relationships with their autochthonous peers, due to factors such as social class differences and racism. Therefore, Latin American immigrant teens have defended themselves by showing solidarity with other Latinos at school through cultural and linguistic practices in the face

of xenophobia (Conversi & Jeram, 2017; Goicochea, 2008; Lucko, 2011; Marshall, 2007). As Spain entered a financial crisis in 2008, Latin American immigrants seemed to be the scapegoats for Spain's economic woes. Catalonia's autonomous regional government, the *Generalitat*², meanwhile, was attempting to balance Catalan language rights and status while hoping to integrate and educate the new peoples populating their region. There is still a fear and concern of "denationalization" in Catalonia due to an increase of immigrant populations, the presence of ethnic enclaves, and segregation at a time when Catalonia wishes to establish itself on the international scene as a sovereign nation with immigrant populations who are "integrating well" and utilizing Catalan as a common bond between immigrants and non-immigrants (Conversi & Jeram, 2017).

Statement of the Problem: Why study Latin American immigrants in Catalonia?

In 2013, a lengthy report came out by the Observatori de la Llengua Catalana (Catalan Language Observatory), which stressed the importance of studying youth language practices in Catalonia and examining key factors at play for the future of Catalan in Catalonia³:

In general, the language uses demonstrated by young people in Catalonia were shown to be diverse and the authors (of the study) commented that the educational system had not resulted in the mass adoption of Catalan as the language of common use. Furthermore, in reference to young people of foreign origin, they indicated that they tended to retain their initial language and combine this with the languages they found in the reception country, although the great majority tended

² The government of the autonomous community of Catalonia in Spain

to opt for Spanish. (p. 29)

The youth of foreign origin, specifically Latin American immigrants and/or children of Latin American immigrants, who show preference for Spanish language use instead of Catalan in their everyday lives are the focus of this study. The choice to use Spanish over Catalan may impact their overall transition and adjustment to life in Catalonia, where the vehicular language of schools and upwardly mobile employment is Catalan, not Spanish, and usually not of the Latin American variety, but rather, Castilian Spanish (Carrasco, Pàmies, Ponferrada, Ballestín, & Bertran, 2011; Corona, Nussbaum, & Unamuno, 2013; Huguet, Chireac, Lapresta, & Sansó, 2011; Marshall, 2007). Language policy makers and planners as well as educators have assessed this issue of Spanish language use among Latin American immigrants, and there has been wide debate on how to help make Catalan more appealing to native Spanish speakers, most especially to “new” immigrants. Mendiburu, Guitart, & Badenas (2010) concede that current research on Catalan language use is complicated based on the increased “linguistic and identitarian diversity” from augmented immigration in recent years:

Catalonia is a territory in which a portion of the population claims a Catalan identity that differs from the Spanish identity and vice-versa. A common theoretical assumption is that the Catalan identity coexists with the Catalan language. Therefore, some people defend the presence of Catalan at school as a source of national identity, while others defend its use as a way to learn a second language that cannot be learnt within the family or the social context. (p. 2)

Politically, Catalonia’s bid to secede from Spain highlights the importance of Catalonia as a separate, individual, and sovereign nation with its own language (Catalan), distinct

culture, history, and traditions which differ greatly from the rest of Spain. Catalan language use justifies, for many, why Catalonia is naturally inclined to leave Spain, and form its own nation within the European Union. The recent politicization of the Catalan language has increased as two historic votes in 2014 and 2015 brought together large numbers of voters who demanded to be given the choice by the Spanish National government to vote on independence from Spain. For ardent supporters of Catalan independence, the mass appeal and preference for Spanish language use among large populations of Latin American immigrants could be perceived as possible threat to the minoritized language of Catalan and ultimately, conflict with the future of Catalonia's independence (Conversi & Jeram, 2017; Corona et al., 2013; Huguet & Janes, 2008; Huguet et al., 2011; Marshall, 2007).

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

Many Latin American immigrants to Catalonia have moved into predominantly Castilian Spanish speaking neighborhoods. These are often areas on the periphery of large cities where working- class Andalusian migrants settled during the late 1960's. These neighborhoods, which are segregated areas, consist of "old" and "new" immigrants, and are communities where Latin American immigrants can communicate readily with their neighbors almost immediately upon arriving in Catalonia. They can use their native Spanish, rather than Catalan, to perform everyday tasks such as buying groceries, visiting the doctor, and forming new social networks with Castilian-speaking neighbors to acclimate to their new host country of reception. In these ethnic enclaves, highly concentrated by Castilian Spanish-speakers, Latin American (henceforth Latino) immigrants' choice to use Spanish over Catalan may actually facilitate their transition to

Catalonia, help them maintain membership in a diasporic community, and reflect their language use as highly situational where the “currency” of using Catalan is at play (Canagarajah, 2011; Carrasco et al., 2011; Corona et al., 2013; Huguet et al., 2011; Marshall, 2007). Moreover, it is not only in Catalonia among Latinos where “new” immigrants are settling into segregated areas of large cities. Blommaert & Backus (2013) note the phenomenon as quite prevalent in all of Western Europe:

‘Ethnic’ neighborhoods have turned from relative homogeneity into highly layered and stratified neighborhoods, where ‘old’ migrants share spaces with a variety of ‘new’ migrants now coming from all parts of the world and involved in far more complex and unpredictable patterns of migration than the resident and diaspora ones characterizing earlier migration patterns. And while social life is primarily spent in such local neighborhoods, the internet and mobile phone afford opportunities to develop and maintain social, cultural, religious, economic and political practices in other places. (p. 3)

Understanding the language choice of Latin American youth immigrants in Catalonia and examining their motivation for learning and using Catalan precipitated the fieldwork for this study. Furthermore, the goal of the study was to specifically address the perceptions of ethnolinguistic identity among Latin American youth both in and out school in Catalonia. The study was also aimed at examining the language ideologies of Latin American youths towards their native language (L1), Spanish, and the language of the region of reception, Catalan. The intention of the fieldwork in Sant Domenech, Catalonia was to ask Latino youth immigrants when they used Catalan, in which contexts, and why. Based on the assumption that language learning is a complex and

ever changing social practice, multi-layered, ethnographic methods were employed to examine the role of Latino youths' identity and ideologies across their school, community, and peer groups in the Sant Domenech neighborhood in Catalonia, Spain. Prior to conducting research in the field, planning and logistics for this study evolved over the course of a year and required establishing residence in the Sant Domenech neighborhood. Living at the research site permitted participant observation as a data collection tool and a more personal, informal, *in situ* exploration of the linguistic choices exhibited by the neighborhood's inhabitants. Moreover, taking up residence in the community alongside the research participants in this study was integral in order to get a real "pulse" on their language and communicative practices. Fieldwork conducted in the participants' neighborhood would allow for a better assessment of the community's overall Catalan use. It would also facilitate a foundation of trust for participant interviews, and aid in accessing the language ideologies and often complex, personal issues of identity and immigration experiences of this study's participants.

The questions which guided this study were the following:

1. How do Honduran immigrant youth in Catalonia perceive their ethnolinguistic identity?
2. How do Honduran immigrant youth's language choices (both in and out of the school) relate to their language ideologies and their perceived ethnolinguistic identities?
3. What opportunities do Honduran immigrant youth seek out for improving their L1 (Spanish)? And their L2 (Catalan)

After consultation with colleagues in Catalonia and assessing the demographics in Sant

Domenech, the study participants were narrowed down to youth solely originating from Honduras. Limiting the country of origin under the greater umbrella of Latin American youth in Catalonia was purposeful. This decision is discussed at greater length in both Chapters 4 and 6.

Significance of the Study

The burgeoning interplay between Latin American Spanish, Castilian Spanish, and Catalan further complicates the concept of one language-one nation educational planning and years of groundwork to promote Catalan language in school settings. As Marshall (2007) states, “Additional complexity is added to the case of language contact between Latin American Spanish and Catalan by the fact Latino new migrants are arriving in Catalonia during a key stage of the normalization of the Catalan language” (p. 151). Latin American immigrants who arrive with much hope to Catalonia soon discover that their variety of Spanish is 1) often “marked” as inferior 2) contains lexicon which is quite different than Castilian Spanish 3) and most significantly, that the official, public language of the region is Catalan, not Spanish. For Latino youth in public school systems in Catalonia, the migration process is further complicated as they encounter the unexpected language barrier of school in Catalan.

To be clear, Catalan is not a dialect of Castilian Spanish. It is a language in and of itself with its own local and regional varieties. Acquiring Catalan might be slightly easier for individuals whose first language is derived from Latin, such as Spanish, Portuguese, and French, but it is nevertheless a new language to learn. Latino youth immigrants in Catalonia face new schooling in a new country where the medium of instruction is Catalan. Many of these students enter school without prior knowledge of the diverse

regions and languages that exist in Spain nor the dialectal differences between Latin American varieties of Spanish and that of Castilian Spanish. Latino youth immigrants, as mentioned earlier, are commonly found using their native language in immigrant *barrios*³ for basic social interactions in the street and in public spaces. However, when they enter public school, Catalan is the official language. Acquiring Catalan for school is necessary for basic communication with teachers and staff, other students in “mainstream” courses, and most significantly, for academic success. Possessing a basic proficiency in Catalan is certainly advantageous to gain valuable capital which permits one to function and be accepted in certain sectors of Catalan society (Corona et al., 2013; Huguet et al., 2011; Marshall, 2007; Newman, 2011). Those who integrate into Catalan society with a basic understanding of Catalan and maintain Spanish as their primary language might find that they still gain a certain degree of social, economic, and cultural capital. However, a high level of Catalan proficiency is essential in academics, as students in public schools can only graduate high school if they achieve Catalonia’s mandated Catalan proficiency level, thus categorizing Catalan as a “gatekeeping device” for those who wish to obtain a post-secondary degree and positive employment prospects.

Scope of Study

In-depth background on the region of Catalonia, the sociolinguistic workings in the region, and the history of language policy and planning is described in Chapter 2. Chapter 2 also highlights the history of immigration in Catalonia from other parts of Spain and the more recent “new” immigration wave to Spain by peoples from very

³ neighborhoods

diverse locations. The theoretical frameworks which have informed this dissertation and guided the collection of data in the field is outlined in Chapter 3. Although the bulk of participant interviews for this study were semi-structured, certain lines of questioning were based on the theoretical models outlined in this chapter. Most notably, Bonny Norton's model of investment aided in the initial analysis of the study's raw data. The end of Chapter 3 puts forth relevant literature on Latin American immigrant youth in Catalonia and similar studies adding to the field of inquiry. In Chapter 4, a thick description of Sant Domenech neighborhood is provided, as well as information about its large Honduran population and local high school used for the recruitment of participants in the study. In Chapter 5, the voices of Honduran youths of Sant Domenech are highlighted, alongside a discussion of some of their most insightful comments pertaining to identity, ideologies, and communicative practices. Chapter 6 discusses relevant conclusions drawn from data analysis, including a reflection on Catalan society as the backdrop for these conclusions. Chapter 6 also discusses the implications for language pedagogy in Catalonia and/or similar contexts as well as implications for Catalonia's language policy and planning in the future. In addition, opportunities for further research is suggested, and an expansion of ethnographic studies in Barrí Sant Domenech are discussed.

CHAPTER 2: The Case of Catalonia

In Catalonia, it is important to note that language is power, not simply a form of communication. Maintaining Catalan as a prestigious language after a long history of repression and subsequent revival are factors which play into the building of a national identity as Catalonia seeks independence. Furthermore, these factors impact research and planning of language education in the region. While conducting research in Catalonia for this dissertation, Catalan, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, was more politicized than I had seen in previous years. Around election time in September of 2015, Catalan was used as a symbol of national identity and solidarity under the cloud of election uncertainty and controversial vote towards Catalonia as an independent, sovereign nation. A full secession from Spain, for many in Catalonia, meant also, weighing how much bilingualism in “official” spaces (Spanish and Catalan) would be permitted, despite the two languages naturally intersecting in daily life. Catalonia’s struggle for recognition as a nation separate from Spain, and its constant vacillation in defining its own language, culture, and identity has made the sociolinguistic context of this study multi-layered.

Many Catalans who are pro-independence believe that propelling a national identity will unify the autonomous community towards self-determination. Apart from the ongoing discussion about promoting the Catalan language among new immigrants to the region, the debate about a national identity, one language-one nation, and secession is always a factor when examining language education and policy within Catalonia. There exists a myriad of positions that Catalans take on Catalan independence. Some stances are fairly neutral, while others are quite extreme both for and against secession. There are those in Catalonia who see a separation from Spain as unwise, risky, rife with problems

which could potentially lead to drastic economic losses. There are others who believe that seceding from Spain is the only way to achieve due recognition for its linguistic rights, its cultural heritage, and for paying into what many deem as more than their fair share of Spain's GDP.

The arguments for and against Catalan independence bring to mind the traditional Catalan sensibility of “El Seny i La Rauxa”⁴. It is said that the Catalan equivalent of “yin-yang” is “El Seny i La Rauxa.” In Catalonia, “El Seny i La Rauxa” is the balance of an individual's identity: the “Seny”, representing the pragmatic, purposeful, and the sensible side and the “Rauxa”, representing the impulsive, the emotional and carefree side. Neither is considered negative aspects of one's identity, rather both are reflective of Catalan values. The back and forth rationale for independence often encompasses this uniquely Catalan notion of “El Seny i La Rauxa”. “El Seny” represents those who have realistic notions about secession from Spain. Those who are using “El Seny” may look at the positive or negative economic impacts of secession, tax breaks, and the role that an independent Catalonia might play in the European Union and in trade. “La Rauxa” is the emotional side of Catalonia's independence movement, those who invoke their “Rauxa” in the struggle for independence tend to state that they “feel different” than Spain. “La Rauxa” sensibility often claims that Catalonia's heart and soul are in its distinct language, its ethnolinguistic revival and pride essential after surviving the oppressive regime of Franco. This “Rauxa” stance on Catalan secession yearns for acknowledgement, it's an emotional separation from a Spain that never accepted the region as equal and whose

⁴ El Seny literally means “sensible and wisdom” and La Rauxa literally means “sudden action or impulse”. These literal definitions, however, do not fully describe the notion of the El Seny i La Rauxa, which is difficult to translate directly.

central government once prohibited its people to speak Catalan in the streets for fear of imprisonment.

There are those who want to have realistic expectations, and make pragmatic decisions about Catalan language use in an increasingly pluralistic region with scores of native Spanish speakers coming in as immigrants, especially from Latin America. However, there has been some impulsive, emotional debate regarding the protection of Catalan language, which many view as a minoritized language. This political undertone surrounding Catalan language use and its debate often serves to alienate some non-native Catalan speakers from embracing the language and using it as their everyday language.

Post-Franco, the *Generalitat* has worked hard to revive the Catalan language and culture. Language policy and planning in Catalonia has been quite successful according to many researchers and policy makers (Clots-Figueras & Masella, 2013; Fishman, 1989; Hornberger, 2009; Pennycook, 2009; Pujolar, 2010; Woolard, 2008). Woolard (2003) elaborates on the status of Catalan, stating “Catalan owes its survival rate, striking for a minoritized language, in large part to its status (that) of a prestigious ethnic identity associated with relatively high social-class standing” (p. 86).

One area where Catalan language policy and planning (LPP) has been of concern is in its public use, which has taken on a typical trajectory of minority languages and is dominated by Spanish. Catalan, for many, is still considered an “insider’s language,” despite intense LPP in Catalonia to promote Catalan for public communication (Pujolar, 2007, 2010; Woolard, 2003, 2008). Woolard’s (2003) assertion that it is possible to assimilate in Catalonia using Spanish, almost exclusively, rather than Catalan. This assertion is one that I found to be true living in two distinct segregated, immigrant

barrios in Catalonia over the course of twenty years. Woolard (2008) sums up Catalan's position as an "everyday language" in a very poignant statement:

Catalan is indeed in a paradoxical position. Ethnic authenticity and identity value contributed to its survival under conditions of subordination. But now this value is in conflict with the universalistic ideology of anonymity that typically characterizes hegemonic public languages. Authenticity and the link to identity that it sustains can also actually constrain the acquisition and use of Catalan as a second language by a larger population. (p. 18)

Persistent LPP in Catalonia, most notably in the schools, has come a long way. Catalan, a prohibited language for forty years, is now the primary language of instruction in nearly all public schools. This achievement in its educational system substantiates the claim by many that Catalan has undergone a successful reversing of language shift and loss (Fishman, 1989) since its repression under the Franco regime. The process of "catalanization" was completed, according to the Catalanian Department of Education, in 1999; ten years after intense immersion programs were set up around Catalonia. In order to complete obligatory schooling in Catalonia, one must pass a Catalan competency exam. It is also essential to pass Catalan proficiency exams to obtain certain types of employment. The significant growth in the use and prestige of Catalan shows its revival, despite challenges which Catalan LPP faces in the future (Carrasco et al., 2011; Clots-Figueras & Masella, 2013; Woolard, 2003, 2008).

Catalonia: A Distinct Linguistic Context

To understand some of the complexity of Catalonia's linguistic community, Woolard (1989, 2003, 2008) provides extensive research which focus on the ethnic and

class meanings of both Catalan and Castilian Spanish in Barcelona, shedding light on some of the language ideologies and communicative practices unique to Catalonia (Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). Its language policies reflect a deep recompense for years of Catalan language oppression which aims to create cultural hegemony, and a platform for “one language-one nation.” However, many young people, especially in the working-class neighborhoods around the outskirts of Barcelona, still identify themselves as ethnically “Spanish” and prefer to use Castilian Spanish over Catalan (Marshall, 2007; Woolard, 1989, 2003). Woolard’s (1989, 2003, 2008) ethnographic case studies explore the contradiction in language identity among those who self-identify as Catalan native speakers, but linguistically accommodate many Castilian Spanish speakers around them. In consequence, Catalan language use around Barcelona is viewed almost as an “insider’s language,” not one to be adopted by “non-natives.” According to Woolard, (1989, 2003, 2008) it is Catalan native speakers’ linguistic “accommodation” that has actually pushed Catalan out of the public sphere of discourse and diluted efforts to use Catalan to promote cultural hegemony. The complex language positioning which exists between Castilian Spanish and Catalan in Catalonia’s society leads to more complex language choices that “new” immigrants make while negotiating their own space as members of Catalonia’s “Communities of Practice” (Gee, 2012).

“New” Immigrants to Catalonia: Late 1990’s to Present

As outlined in Chapter 1, before the “new” immigration boom of the late 1990’s, Catalonia’s migrants were mainly Castilian Spanish-speaking, Andalusians from rural, agricultural areas of Southern Spain. These migrants from other regions of Spain came to

Catalonia, mainly, in the 1960's through the 1980's, and settled in and around Barcelona to work in the textile industry and in other semi-skilled trades (Pujolar, 2010; Woolard, 1989, 2003, 2008).

The wave of “new” immigrants in the late 1990's was due to various political changes and laws in the European Union. Initially, after Spain entered the European Union in 1986, Western Europeans, mainly those of high socioeconomic status, settled on Spain's touristy coasts. However, after entry into the European Union, Spain also experienced a rapid demand for cheap labor in construction, domestic work, and agriculture. These jobs were not typically desired by Spanish workers and thus, workers from “developing” nations filled the demand for cheap labor. In addition, it became easier for “new immigrants” from Latin American, for example, to obtain a tourist visa to enter the European Union and move about freely to find work in any nation that was part of the Schengen Agreement⁵ (Alscher, 2005; Marshall, 2007).

Spain's employment market was in high demand for domestic workers; nannies, maids, and caretakers for the elderly or homebound. Women from Latin America, experiencing financial crises at home, looked to Spain as a better option for work than the U.S. In the late 1990's Spain also had fairly liberal immigration regularization and periods of complete amnesty and subsequent legalized status for thousands of foreign-born laborers (Alscher, 2005; Corona et al., 2013; Marshall, 2007; Portes, 2011; Prenda & Diaz, 2011; Trenchs-Parera & Newman, 2009). Between 1995 and 2000, the population of Latin American immigrants in Spain doubled and between 2000 and 2005,

⁵ A treaty in Europe which essentially abolished internal border checks

there was a 500% increase in immigrants from Latin America.

Figure 1

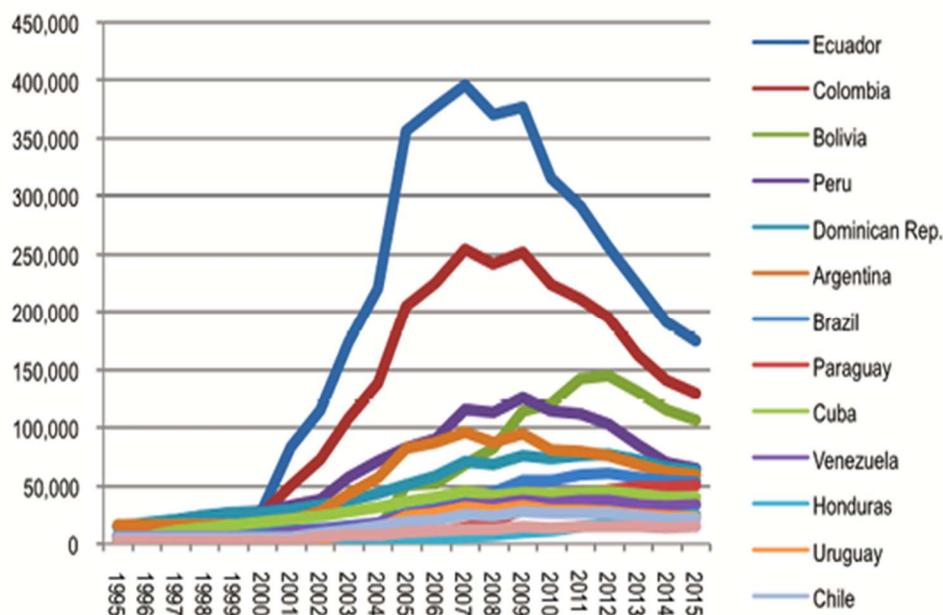


Figure 1⁶ shows the sharp increase of Latin American immigrants in Spain around the year 2000 due to economic demand and liberal immigration laws. Particularly relevant to this study in Sant Domenech and fieldwork conducted with immigrants from Honduras, President Manuel Zelaya of Honduras and vice president Maria Teresa Fernandez de la Vega of Spain met to solidify a deal forgiving Honduras of debts to Spain in exchange for Spanish companies to develop economic projects in Honduras and for migrants from Honduras to fill manual labor and other jobs in the domestic sector in Spain with legal means in 2007. This deal helped precipitate the increase in immigrants from Honduras to Catalonia, Spain. Furthermore, many immigrants looked to Spain to

⁶ Figure 1 shows Latin American Immigrants to Spain from 1995-2015. Registered with Work Permits or as Permanent Residents. Source: Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración, Ministerio de Empleo y Seguridad Social

escape dangerous gangs and violence in Central America. A press release by Amnesty International (2016) reported that homicides in Honduras in 2015 were at a rate of 63.75 in every 100,000 people, and worldwide refugees seeking asylum from Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala elevated between 2010 to 2015 by 597% due to gang violence.

Catalan Language Planning Directives Amidst “New” Immigration

Before the massive influx of “new” immigrants to Catalonia in the late 1990’s and immediately Post-Franco, Catalonia set up the campaign for “linguistic normalization” in 1983 to revitalize and recompense for over forty years of Catalan language repression under the Franco Regime. After the “Llei de normalització lingüística” (Linguistic Normalization Law) was passed, students in Catalonia had to achieve a Certificate of Basic Educational Attainment in both Spanish and Catalan. Educational textbooks and teaching materials in schools were adjusted and translated from Spanish into Catalan and teaching staff needed to pass a Catalan language proficiency exam. In fact, after 1989, educational staff who do not pass the Catalan language proficiency exam could lose their position or be denied employment (Clots-Figueras & Masella, 2013; Pujolar, 2007, 2010; Woolard, 2003).

After the influx of “new” immigrants to Catalonia in the late 1990’s, Catalan language planners and the Department of Education shifted their approach to Catalan language education and implemented the “Pla per la llengua i la cohesió social” (Plan for language and social cohesion) to aid in “new” immigrant students’ language transition from home to school. This plan, alongside an “intercultural model”, were used to shift the focus of learning Catalan as “compensatory” to one that promoted “social cohesion”

in a Catalonia that was becoming increasingly diverse (Departament d'Educació, 2008; Huguet et al., 2011; Marshall, 2007; Pujolar, 2010; Woolard, 2008). In addition, the “Pla per la llengua i la cohesió social” mandated that “Aules d'Accollida” (welcome classrooms) be implemented in schools to meet the psycho-social and linguistic needs of immigrant youth. Educators, school administrators, and language planners had little time to build programs specific to the changing needs of students in Catalonia. At the beginning of the 21st century, Catalonia's Department of Education had to meet some difficult policy and planning challenges given that the number of foreign born students in all of Spain's classrooms rose by 800% in just ten years (Departament d'Educació, 2008; Carrasco et al., 2011; Marshall, 2007; Pujolar, 2007, 2010; Trenchs-Parera & Newman, 2009; Woolard, 2003, 2008).

As Catalan language planners continued to look for solutions to offset the influx of large numbers of Spanish-speaking immigrants from Latin America into Catalonia, the government of Catalonia carried out Catalan language planning directives aimed at promoting Catalan as the “language for everyone,” a language which provided social cohesion. Marshall (2007) states, “Additional complexity is added to the case of language contact between Latin American Spanish and Catalan by the fact Latino new immigrants are arriving in Catalonia during a key stage of the normalization of the Catalan language” (p. 151). Apart from the large influx of Spanish speaking, Latin American immigrants residing in Catalonia, overall, it should be noted that they settled in predominantly Castilian Spanish speaking, working class *barrios*, with cheap and plentiful housing which commonly existed as segregated enclaves of Latino diasporic communities. These neighborhoods, once set aside for the “old” immigrants from

Andalusia and Extremadura in the 1960's and 1970's tended to facilitate segregation along linguistic, societal, and geographic boundaries, far from "Catalanized" areas of large Catalan cities. Notable research on Catalan language use in segregated, marginalized neighborhoods indicates that despite mandatory Catalan proficiency in "official" spaces, and its high prestige, Catalan language use by those who are not "ethnically" Catalan, is far from popular in casual, public settings (Marshall 2007; Mendiburu, Guitart, & Badenas, 2010; Silverstein, 1998; Woolard, 2003).

CHAPTER 3: Theoretical Framework

Immigrant language practices in multicultural and multilingual contexts are intricate and often involve many layers and variables that determine language choice. Therefore, finding a comprehensive, conceptual model to address the many factors which impact these language practices across dynamic, highly situational spaces, may prove to be a challenge. Given the complex nature of examining Honduran immigrants' language practices in and out of school in Sant Domenech, within the greater region of Catalonia, Norton's (2015) conceptual model of investment emerged as a valuable framework for this dissertation. The model of investment has been instrumental in helping to understand the language practices of the participants in this study, examining data through the model's three overlapping spheres of influence: identity, ideology, and capital.

Model of Investment Defined

In 1995, Norton Peirce stated that second language acquisition research had not developed a "comprehensive theory of social identity that integrated the language learner and the language learning context" (p. 12). From Norton Peirce's (1995) seminal case study of six immigrant women in Newton, Canada, the concept of "investment" developed as an alternative for describing the term "motivation" in second language learning. The term "investment" provides a more comprehensive view of motivation than Gardner & Lambert's (1972) work on integrative and instrumental motivation (Block, 2007; Norton Peirce, 1995, 1997). Norton Peirce (1995) and other key proponents of the social turn in second language acquisition (SLA) research believe psycho-linguistic, cognitive SLA theories were, at the time, limited and not particularly critical (Block, 2007; Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991; Firth & Wagner, 1997; Liddicoat,

1997; Norton Peirce, 1995, 2011). Drawing from Bourdieu's (1984) field theory, the model of investment goes beyond a second language learner's own mind, beyond intrinsic or extrinsic motivation, and conversely, proposes that L2 learners "invest" in language, with the potential "currency" of cultural capital. Norton Peirce (1995, 2000) notes that the more emotional investment a learner has in the target language, the more likely they are to cultivate their second language skills.

Norton Peirce (2011) emphasizes that language learners and their identities are constantly shifting and that their "investment" in the target language could be undermined or validated based on societal inequalities and power relations as "the individual language learner is not a historical and unidimensional, but has a complex and sometimes contradictory social identity, changing across time and space" (p. 238). The model of investment allows for a more in depth, multifaceted perspective of a second language learner's motivation to use and develop proficiency in the target language. In addition, the model of investment places a language learner's motivation in the target language as variable, and dependent on a particular social context. Norton (2000) states that investment "presupposes that when language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with target speakers, but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world" (p. 10). Norton's model of investment helps distinguish the difference between the more traditional, cognitive perspective of language learners' level of "motivation," and adds social foci to the discussion of second language acquisition. Norton's model of investment allows us to look at the external forces affecting language learner's motivation in the target language, in a more critical, socially situated manner (Block,

2007; Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991; Firth & Wagner, 1997; Liddicoat, 1997; Norton Peirce, 1995, 2000, 2011).

To that end, theoretical frameworks in SLA which are solely based on cognitive, psycho-linguistic perspectives place language learning in the “mind of the learner”, emphasize language development, and use integrative motivation as a means by which to explain the success of the language learner in the target language (Block, 2007; Bourdieu, 1991; Firth & Wagner, 1997; Liddicoat, 1997; Norton Peirce, 1995, 2000, 2011).

Although integrative motivation and cognitive language development are established aspects of second language acquisition theory, the psycho-linguistic construct of language learning, by in large ignores, the social “playing” field (Bourdieu, 1984), which is significant in the lived experience of a second language learner. Herein lies the heart of the discussion on the validity of Norton’s model of investment: Is there a need for a model which takes into account the social field where language learners perform “linguistic acts” determined by varied context? Do second language learners negotiate use of a target language based on more than just their proficiency in said language? Norton’s model of investment provides a compelling avenue for the exploration of L2 learner motivation, one that encompasses the issue of socially mitigating factors in L2 learning and proves particularly useful for the purposes of researching L2 acquisition in multilingual, multicultural settings.

Situated Language Learning and Communities of Practice

To understand the significance of Norton’s (1995, 2000, 2015) model of investment as a framework for this dissertation, it’s important to discuss the idea of situated learning. Post-structuralist thought deems it necessary to place a language learner

in social contexts and to scrutinize the power of societal institutions and linguistic “gate-keeping” in the analysis second language acquisition and communicative practices. The basis for situated learning theory relies on the notion that learning is always relational, interactional, contextual, and involves a co-construction of knowledge (Bahktin, 1981; Hymes, 1974; Lantolf & Pavlenko, 1995; Vygotsky, 1978; Wegner, 2000; Wertsch, 1985). Gee. (2004) notes that “social practices create what we can call socially situated identities” and in particular, “situated learning theory requires us to see that people's activities are very often part of larger "communities of practice,” or “groups of people ongoingly engaged in shared tasks or work” (p. 33). Similarly, Lave & Wenger (1991), conclude that knowledge and subsequently, learning, are “embedded in cultural practices”, built by social interaction. That is to say, “a community of practice is an intrinsic condition for the very existence of knowledge.” Particularly relevant to this dissertation, L2 learners may be part of any number of Communities of Practice (CoP). Moreover, L2 learners, at first, may demonstrate Legitimate Peripheral Participation (LPP) in a CoP (Bahktin, 1981; Hoadley, 2012; Miller & Zuengler, 2011). The idea of LPP proposes that 1) a learner needs to have access to “experts” or autochthonous speakers and 2) that peripheral language learners should be “legitimized” in a CoP, until they can identify with the community enough to speak and participate more directly. For L2 learners, CoPs which allow for both active participation and for Legitimate Peripheral Participation are ideal for the co-construction of knowledge and possibly, the strengthening of their identity as members of a particular CoP. The isolation of L2 learners from a CoP (whether imposed by others or by the learner themselves) based exclusively on their ability to serve as active participants would block access to valuable

interaction with “expert” native speakers and limit key linguistic observations, essential for L2 learners (Hoadley, 2012; Lantolf & Pavlenko, 1995; Miller & Zuengler, 2011). Nonetheless, those who critique the importance of CoPs in language learning indicate that the benefits of active participation and LPP are undoubtedly interrupted by issues of power relations and social status. For example, Miller & Zuengler (2011) argue that power relations, namely in classroom contexts, need to be evaluated when CoP concepts are applied to L2 learners, who could be peripheral learners moving towards more active participation in the CoP:

We find it necessary to complexify (sic) the spaces of access to classroom practices by considering how participants are positioned by others, as well as how they adopt, resist, or reframe their positionings...we examine the process by which access to participation is sought, granted, or denied and deemed legitimate or not in the dynamically constructed power relations of classroom interaction. (p. 132)

The critique of CoPs and power relations is precisely why ideologies and capital are key components of Norton’s model of investment, providing evidence for further analysis of Bourdieusian field theory alongside discussions of language learning.

Identity and Language Learning

Norton (1995, 2001, 2011, & 2015) incorporates language learner’s identity and/or identities as an integral part of the model of investment. Blot points out that identity and language are (2003) inextricably connected and states:

Identity is always and everywhere formed in the dialogue with others, symbolic or real, who are different, whose difference from you and yours from them is made

manifest in the claim for identity...one's social identity is embodied in the discourse structure created to give voice to a people. (p. 9)

Current views on language identity indicate that it is socially constructed, fluid, dynamic and changeable over time. Moreover, multiple identities and even hybrid identities may be constructed by language learners and/or identities may be constructed for them by others (Block, 2007; Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton, 2000, 2011, Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004).

Language identities may be observed through language practices both in academic, formal contexts, as well as in social, informal communications in and outside of school. Post-structuralist thought on language identities challenges the notion of a biological, homogeneous, singular, fixed identity among individuals. Ricento (2006) offers an observation about the unitary, one-dimensional theories of motivation and language identities and states the following:

In terms of investment, an individual's identity in L2 contexts is mediated by the reactions of others to that individual's social and cultural position, which, in turn can influence that individual's motivation to learn in ways that are not predictable using standard psychological or social categories. (p. 898)

Relevant to this dissertation, immigrant language learners and their identities are constantly shifting, their "investment" in the target language undermined or validated based on societal inequalities and power relations in any given context. An individual language learner's identity is not unitary, fixed, nor is it defined by the past. Rather language identity has a past, present, and future which often manifests as a complex and

sometimes contradictory social identity, changing across time and space (Block, 2007; Bourdieu, 1984; Norton Peirce, 2003, 2011). Wenger (2000) concurs that identity is a socio-historical connection between individuals and that

an identity is not an abstract idea or a label, such as a title, an ethnic category, or a personality trait. It is a lived experience of belonging (or not belonging). A strong identity involves deep connections with others through shared histories and experiences, reciprocity, affection, and mutual commitments. (p. 239)

Language Identities and Institutions

Institutions, notably, educational institutions, may influence the acculturation of newcomers and are often key sites of identity struggle and negotiation. Potwoski (2004) states:

No matter how well run a language program is, if students' identity investments compete with their investments in developing the target language, or if the classroom environment denies them opportunities to participate in ways that are acceptable to them, their target language growth will not be as great as educators might hope. (p. 95)

Education institutions can be a nexus of “social indexing” activity and linguistic and identity markers are measured against what is deemed “appropriate” or the “norm” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). At the same time, it is possible that certain index markers in language use, which have been historically “looked down upon”, may actually invoke a shared kinship in a particular group identity struggle with oppression or domination by a majority language group (Canagarajah, 2011; Jaffe, 2009).

To enrich our understanding of language identity and displays of multiple identities, discussions involving all types of indexicality and index markers are crucial. Language identity is certainly a complex, intricate collection of social relationships, some of which are “forced” upon L2 learners by institutions (Bahktin, 1981; Bourdieu, 1984, 1991; Gee, 2001). Certainly, the notion of identity overlapping with capital and ideology in the model of investment helps us to better uncover L2 students’ language identities, ideologies, and ultimately, their language choices in any given social context.

Language Ideologies and Investment

The second sphere of influence in Norton’s model of investment is ideology. For purposes of this dissertation, language ideologies are essential for connecting L2 learners’ communicative practices to greater societal influences and powers. Ideologies may be held by an individual or by a group, such as those put forth by an institution education or governmental, for example. Broadly defined, language ideologies are how language is used in a particular society based on one’s cultural beliefs about said language. Silverstein (1979) tells us that language ideologies are “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (p. 193). Ricento (2006) provides a definition of language ideologies as a “shared framework of social beliefs that organize and coordinate the social interpretations and practices of a group and its members” (p. 50), whereas Irvine (1989) defines language ideologies as a “cultural system of ideas and social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (p. 255). The varied definitions that go along with language ideologies indicate the complex task of researching these beliefs (Kroskrity, 2010; Mar-Molinero & Stevenson, 2006; Woolard &

Schieffelin, 1994; Woolard, 2005).

Language ideologies can be sites of “production of concepts” and “socially locatable” through which “people imagine their participation in a language community” (Silverstein, 1998, p. 420). Through “micro-level” language structures and the “transformation of discursive practices” language ideologies can be the key to understand how people experience cultural continuities or interruptions, such as the case in language loss and shift (Schieffelin, Woolard & Kroskrity, 1998; Woolard & Shieffelin, 1994). Ultimately, evidence seems to suggest that a language learner’s identity can influence their language ideologies and reciprocally, language identity may construct language ideologies (Gee, 2012; Kroskrity, 2010; Woolard, 1998).

Discourse with a Capital D

Language ideologies promoted in schools are often hegemonic and legitimize dominant language and culture. Therefore, a brief look at Gee’s (1989) concept of Discourse is worthwhile in any discussion regarding language ideologies and further aids in understanding the significance of ideology as part of Norton’s (2015) model of investment. Gee (1989) defines “Discourses” with a capital D as a sort of “identity kit” which comes complete with the appropriate costume and instructions on how to act, talk, and often write, so as to take on a particular role that others will recognize (p. 9). Gee (1989) proposes that individuals in society interact and communicate through language, and carry with them their own linguistic “tool kit”. This “kit” is comprised of more than just utterances, it also includes certain manners of speaking, gestures, dress, and variance in lexicon (Gee 1989, 2001, 2004; Mills, 1997). Gee’s (1989) notion of tool kits enables us to study a variety of different Discourse communities. Gee (1989, 2001, 2012) defines

one's "primary Discourse" as "a discourse attained early in life" and "part of being socialized into a family of a given type." Eventually, one's primary Discourse becomes "the words, deeds, things, thoughts and feelings" when individuals are just being themselves, not any type of specialist, just being an "everyday" person" (Gee, 1989 pp. 14-15). L2 learners whose primary Discourse is not compatible with "academic language" or whose Discourse is not legitimized by an educational institution often feel "swamped" and see "academic language as the monster in the closet" and "as a mountain of disconnected, decontextualized skills" (Gee, 1989, p. 25). Consequently, L2 learners whose primary Discourse is an entirely different language from that of the school, can experience yet another hurdle to academic success. Gee (1989) cautions schools when

teaching academic varieties of language outside Discourse people are acquiring through practice and participation is a sure-fire way to get people to dislike and dis-identify with such language and not learn it. Not teaching academic varieties at all (i.e. linguistic hegemony) is a way to ensure that children who do not have support outside of school for the acquisition of such varieties will fail in the content areas. (p. 25)

Gee's (1989, 2012) notion of a secondary Discourses involves looking at the language that individuals pick up as they go through life, and their Discourses connected to institutions such as school, church, and the workplace. Gee (1989) states that when individuals act within secondary Discourses they "become specialists in the sense that they play special roles and identities as part of the work of institutions" (p. 15). As previously mentioned, language ideologies in schools are often hegemonic and dictated by the ideologies of the dominant majority. Hence, secondary Discourses, those often

found in academic settings, are often dictated by social status and solidarity. Secondary Discourses substantiates the notion that L2 learners are impacted by the beliefs they acquire about a certain language or its variant. These beliefs, essentially language ideologies, may subsequently determine their linguistic choices and dictate the perception of the target language's prestige or social status in any given society. In terms of investment, hegemonic language ideologies and incompatible Discourses may decrease the relational engagement of L2 learners in educational settings, resulting in a lower emotional attachment to the target language.

Language Ideologies and Educational Institutions

Educational institutions are prime speech communities to examine the interaction of language in the “social game” (Bourdieu, 1984; Erickson, 2004, Gee, 2004; Hymes, D., 1972). Schools, as institutions, as well as teachers, staff, parents and peers can play a significant role in forming language identities and ideologies. This influence over pupils may be in an explicit way such as the case of 1) manipulating pupils to adopt the dominant language ideology of the dominant culture and/or 2) oppressing those pupils who do not adopt the language ideology and not legitimizing the identity of the dominant culture. Wortham (2008) notes how “educational language use produces social groups, sanctions official identities, differentially values those groups and identities, and sometimes creates hybrid identities and unexpected social types” (p. 47). Language ideologies, similar to language identities, evolve and change over time. A Herderian notion of language ideologies, for example, doesn't account for “bottom up” social change that has happened historically and continues to happen throughout the world (Erickson, 2004). Moreover, language ideologies are important for understanding “the

social relations signaled through language use” whilst an L2 learner’s language identity may construct language ideologies (Gee, 2012; Kroskrity, 2010; Woolard, 1998).

Bourdieusian Capital and Investment

Another overlapping sphere of influence in Norton’s (2015) model of investment is the notion of *capital* (Bourdieu, 1984, 1991). Bourdieu’s field theory allows L2 learning to be contextualized in a broader, social “game”, describes power structures in societies, and how individual “players” interact within these structures. His theory is comprised of various notions: habitus, field, and doxa (Wacquant, 2005). By acknowledging that an individual’s “habitus” may be influenced by their social class, their education, their upbringing, and their past choices, it’s possible to analyze their linguistic interactions as “agents” in society called a “field.” Bourdieu argues that individuals are *consciously* aware of how to move about in society in order to attain some type of capital, and suggests that power structures in society are upheld because individuals, ultimately, want to “maximize pleasure” and “avoid pain.” The term coined by Bourdieu to describe the aforementioned phenomenon is “symbolic violence” (Bourdieu, 1991; Wacquant, 2005). Within field theory, Bourdieu describes the concept of social capital as: the resources individuals hold based on their group membership, social networks, and relationships. Social capital is often Bourdieu’s field theory incorporated into the model of investment helps us to understand how language learners who violate their “place” in society or act “inappropriately” in the “social game” might become marginalized (Bourdieu, 1991; Gee, 2001; Wacquant, 2005).

Bourdieu’s ideas are integral for seeking out the impact of external influences such as societal power relations, cultural hegemony, and social status on L2 language

learning and substantiates its place in the model of investment. Bourdieu's notion of capital stresses the need to uncover an L2 learners' motivation to learn a target language outside of their own mind (Bourdieu, 1991; Erikson, 2004; Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Watson-Gegeo, 2004). Watson-Gegeo (2004) state how the nature of the "power game" is associated with group identity and social theory and writes, "Culture is not uniform and unchanging; it is variable, an ongoing conversation embodying conflict and change, shaped by the dialectic of structure and agency inherently ideological, and prone to manipulation and distortion by powerful interests" (p. 336). For L2 learners, investment is certainly related to their "the sense of being acknowledged", a legitimization of their language identities, a fostering of their desire for social agency. Gaining valuable social and cultural capital through investment in a target language will give them "currency" for participation in various CoPs as well as the "social game" (Bourdieu, 1984; Gonzalez, Moll, & Amanti, 2005; Norton Peirce, 1995; Shin, 2013; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008).

Transnationalism and Language Learner Investment

The field of transnationalism is an important area of research to discuss when examining the communication practices of immigrants in an increasingly globalized and technology driven world. It may be necessary to re-conceptualize the idea of migrants' assimilating and adopting one language or one nation. Many immigrant language learners are not necessarily breaking all ties with their homelands and scholars in the field of transnationalism critique those migrant studies which overlook the selective, purposeful transnational practices among migrants and children of migrants at various stages in life or contexts (Blommaert, & Backus, 2013; Canagarajah, 2011; Schiller,

Basch, & Blanc, 1995). Transnationalism permits us to examine migrant language learners' face to face and digital interactions across national boundaries, and acknowledges that many migrant youths have a "wider range of identity options" in an increasingly globalized, technology-based world globalization. Transnational theories aid us in understanding individuals who have a sense of a "multi-dimensional cultural self" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Ricento (2005) adds the following about the transnational language learner:

L2 learners as members of a static, national culture group has been widely criticized as transnational character develops. Topics such as: language revitalization, language hybridity, translanguaging, diasporic languaging, and how migrants' language intersect with their autochthonous neighbors ought to be augmented in the literature surrounding language identities and ideologies. (p. 11).

Language learners who display transnational identities and literacies, for example, may not follow the traditional boundaries of the "native" L1 and subsequent acquisition of an L2. They may be more apt to construct hybrid languages, develop identities that don't subscribe to one nation or one culture, and may use language that is socially positioned and simply part of their linguistic repertoire. González (2016) emphasizes the need to open up notions of communicative practices and "flows" found within different communities and states, "Rather than assuming languages are discrete entities, bounded and unified, as we now engage in 'superdiversity', new ways of highlighting the permeable boundaries of languages include 'translanguaging', 'codemeshing', 'contemporary urban vernaculars', 'flexible bilingualism', 'metrolingualism' and

‘dynamically lingual education’” (p. 11). In addition, Vertovec (2004) points out that new migrant transnationalism contributes to a “fundamental reconfiguration of the conceptual nexus identities-borders-orders” (p. 984), while Levitt (2004) states, “Scholars increasingly recognize that some migrants and their descendants remain strongly influenced by their continuing ties to their home country or by social networks that stretch across national borders” (p. 1002). The field of transnationalism and possibilities for transnational identities and communicative practices are provocative where perceptions of traditional, second language acquisition bound by national boundaries are challenged by the notion of simultaneous multi-linguaging and social networking across multi-lingual, multi-cultural contexts.

Relevant Literature: Latin American Immigrants in Catalonia

Latino-Spanish: A New Linguistic Repertoire

Current scholarship on Latin American immigrant youth in Catalonia suggest that these teens experience some difficulty adjusting from Latin American Spanish to Castilian Spanish and Catalan all at the same time. Reports that identify Latino youth in Catalonia who have adopted a hybrid variety of Spanish, “Latino-Spanish,” denote that these groups of teens use inventive communicative practices because of their desire to maintain their familial, ethnic identity and solidarity within an “urban, Latino” diaspora in Catalonia. One of the ways in which Latino immigrant youth in Catalonia have preserved their primary, home language while negotiating both social and academic settings in Barcelona is through translanguaging (Carrasco et al., 2009; Corona et al., 2013; Huguet & Janes, 2008; Marshall, 2007; Pujolar, 2010; Trenchs-Parera & Newman, 2009).

Corona et al. (2013) have identified three key factors which affect Latino youth's Catalan communicative practices: peer influence, socialization, and preservation of a Latino identity through linguistic markers. In essence, an emergence of a new "linguistic repertoire" among Latino immigrant teens residing in Barcelona is social, by nature, and characterized by a flexible, multilingual discourse based on a Latin American variety of Spanish with borrowed phrases from Castilian Spanish and Catalan. Corona et al. (2013) define "Latino-Spanish" as such:

The repertoire that we have called "Latino-Spanish" emerges in contexts in which high school teens show some resistance to the linguistic forms of re-socialization that the school offers, mainly in Catalan, but not exclusively. It is a translocal repertoire, based on hybridity and translanguaging, which seems to become a useful resource for social identification regarding the school and its official linguistic resources: Catalan and Castilian. (p. 191)

The "invention" of language in communities of young people, such as those in Catalonia and across the globe, are "redefining ethnolinguistic identity" and "re-localizing" languages that have been traditionally perceived as "separate languages." (Makoni, & Pennycook, 2007). Although "experimenting" with language is a phenomenon that has been captured in a variety of contexts by sociolinguists, there still exists an "apprehension towards translanguaging" and these types of "flexible" communication practices by educational institutions and positivist language planners (Dovchin, Sultana, & Pennycook, 2015). The mixing of three languages in one utterance to form "Latino-Spanish" is socially constructed, and challenges the notion of a "traditional" Discourse community in the context of Barcelona. The phenomenon of

“Latino-Spanish” reported by Corona et al. (2013) alongside other “experimental” linguistic repertoires among “new” immigrants throughout diasporic communities in Europe, has the potential to invoke criticism and concern for “standard academic language” during a time where there is a large influx of non-EU immigrants in the peripheral areas of large European cities. Certainly, translanguaging among immigrant youth in Castilian Spanish, Latino Spanish, and Catalan may evoke fear of endangering the “purity” of Catalan. In Catalonia, prescriptivism, in the form of “Catalan only” public schooling, is propagated by Catalonia’s Department of Education, in part, due to the internal secessionist politics of the region.

Though “Latino-Spanish” is not necessarily legitimized in academic settings, “Latino-Spanish” seems to have been accepted among small groups of teens in localized communities, permitting them to navigate through the ethno-linguistic landscape of Catalan and Castilian Spanish in search of social capital among these groups. “Latino-Spanish” may afford Latino youth immigrants the opportunity to express their mother tongue, cultural identity, and maintain a certain solidarity with their fellow Latinos living in Catalonia (Blommaert, & Rampton, 2011; Dovchin et al., 2015; Gee, , 2012; Marshall, 2007; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Woolard, 2008).

Latino Youth “Resistance” to Catalan

Among the current studies on the communicative practices of Latino immigrant youth in Catalonia, an “active resistance” against the use of Catalan has been suggested. For example, Newman’s (2011) qualitative investigation of Latin American immigrants and Huguet & Janes’ (2008) quantitative studies on Latin American immigrants in Catalonia, find a “notable dislike” for Catalan among the participants of their studies.

Huguet and Janes (2008) report that “students coming from Latin American countries showed the least positive attitudes towards Catalan” (p. 69). Furthermore, studies by Newman (2010), Huguet & Janes (2008), and Trenchs-Parera & Newman (2009) all explore Latino immigrant youth “actively resisting” the use of Catalan and argue reasons for the resistance as both pragmatic and involving integrative motivation. The qualitative studies which have focused on Latino youth in Catalonia describe how “resisting” Catalan language might be a purposeful vehicle for maintaining 1) a linguistic repertoire which includes a Latin American variety of Spanish 2) a “Latino identity” in Catalonia.

The most prevalent research on Latino youths’ communicative practices in Catalonia tend to draw inferences based on questionnaires and surveys, rely on quantitative research methods, and group all Latin American countries together. Also problematic is the limited research on Latino adolescents between the ages eleven and seventeen, as the most numerous studies on Catalan use and L2 language acquisition among Latino immigrants focus on primary school settings or among adult immigrants (Del Olmo, 2010; Prenda & Diaz, 2011; Relaño, 2009). Additional qualitative, L2 acquisition studies related to Latin American immigrants in Catalonia which focus on bilingualism, language ideologies, and identity are required to properly explore the suggestion that Latino youths are “actively resisting” Catalan, and if so, why?

A sociocultural, constructivist framework to explain Latino youths’ acquisition of Catalan and subsequent investment in Catalan both in and out of school contexts are also needed to round out the current scholarship on Latin American youths in Catalonia such as “Funds of Identity” cited by Subero, Vujasinović, & Esteban-Guitart (2016). The multi-layered exploration of diasporic youth communities, in general, around Catalonia

are best carried out through in-depth, ethnographic studies in local communities.

In summary, current studies acknowledge that Latino youth immigrants in Catalonia have varied language identities and ideologies towards Catalan. They also identify varied ways in which Latino youth “experiment” with Catalan through “inventing” and “borrowing.” Reports claim that Latino youth demonstrate a “disinterest” or “lack of awareness” about the politics and status of Catalonia and its independence movement, which may directly or indirectly impact their investment in using Catalan in their everyday communication (Corona et al., 2013; Newman, 2011; Trenchs-Parera, 2009; Unamuno, 2003; Woolard, 2008). The intent of this study is to add to the relatively small body of qualitative literature on language, identities, and ideologies of Latino youth immigrants, specific to Catalonia, Spain. This study is aimed at providing a perspective from a unique context, within Catalonia, and focuses on secondary school students in a marginalized neighborhood dominated by immigrants. The data presented for this study is intent on examining Catalan language use from a sociocultural standpoint, and from a student driven perspective.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

Research Site

Crossing into Sant Domench under the Renfe bridge we hear the sounds of motos, see older siblings walking their younger brothers and sisters home from school, often stopping on a bench to eat the last bit of bocadillo from tin foil. Everyone sitting out at the cafes with their Estrella Damn beer or café con leche, mid-afternoon drink accompanied by olives and chips. We pass by Nelson's barbershop where his Colombian bachata music is blaring and the door is always open, kids from Sant Domenech high school sit on the sofas waiting for their friends to get their fade haircuts a trim or just to hang out. His wife comes out to tell me how she can make my eyebrows look better and Marina and I stop in for one Merengue pass with Nelson across the hair covered floor before waving adios, and crossing the dry river bed farther into the neighborhood. We see the elementary school where kids from Morocco, from Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and Catalonia all play soccer together using a mix of Castellano and Catalan to communicate and pass the ball. We stop at our favorite Café Pont de Trobada, where we pet the dogs of patrons outside, and Theresa barks orders in her thick Honduran accent and small frame to the servers inside. They are about to put the fútbol game on Canal + and they are getting the projector ready for later. No, it's not a Barça game, but a Real Madrid match. I order a café con leche and Theresa gives Marina, my eight-year-old daughter extra chocolates, while Paty, the cook sneaks a hello wave from behind the kitchen window. I look around and the clients are happily enjoying tapas or cafés with sweets. Ronald begins his shift, he stops by and asks Marina how her school day went,

gives me a kiss on the cheek, and hurries out to wait on a group of young college students debating upcoming elections in Catalan out on the patio. We finish our snack and say our goodbyes. We leave to pick up bread, the best baguettes of bread in the barrio around the corner at the Indian woman's shop, who is helped by her sister-in-law and young daughter the same age as Marina. She asks how Marina is doing in school, and tells me that she is worried her daughter isn't getting enough English in school. She packs our baguettes tenderly in their packages, and says she hopes they can move on from Sant Domenech to be with more family in England. She is beautiful in a traditional sari and the lilt in her voice is pronounced as she speaks with me in a heavily accented Castellano. We stop off to get a DVD next door at the "Videomátic" where we can select from the newest Hollywood titles and where the films are available in English, Castellano, Catalan, Arabic, Chinese and more. I realize I need eggs and head down to the Halal butcher shop. The owner, with his tea sets spread out around the shop says "hola", and hurriedly attempts to cover the "conejos" in his display case with wax paper as Marina once told him she was shocked to see bunnies butchered like that. He says in Castellano that he remembered to cover all of the eyes of the animals for Marina and hands her a Chupa-a-Chup lollipop while I get some olive oil and eggs. His wife smiles at me with kind eyes from behind a veil and a curtain in the backroom. We cross the street and see more neighbors. These ones live on the top floor of our apartment complex. The large apartments with gardens passed down from generations, when Sant Domenech was once its own town and only train track connected it with the center city. We speak to them in Castellano as they inquire about our school day and health in Catalan. We see the municipal sports arena in front of our house filling up with after school club sports.

The weekend before, the sports arena housed large, male only prayer groups for Ramadan and also boasted as the polling place for the September 27th elections to determine whether Catalan voters wanted to separate from the rest of Spain. The rowdy bar on the corner near our apartment complex had alcohol fueled fights spilling onto the street as early as 6pm as the Mossos d' esquadra sat observing in front of the sports arena waiting for any major disturbance to cease. We often passed the Mercado Xinés on our way home which was always open during siestas and past seven at night. They sold everything from light bulbs, to plungers, to t-shirts, to Catalan Independence flags and school supplies. It was like an "everything for a Euro" type store. Marina would always smile to the clerks with a "zai zen" and "ni hao" but often the response was a short "hola" or "bon dia" in Catalan. The younger employees would respond back and smile to Marina when she attempted to speak in Mandarin in a meek voice. (~Field notes, 10/15)

One of the most challenging parts of this study was the complexity of the setting: multiple sites of struggle and language in contact intersecting in Catalonia among a Honduran diaspora community, within a particular neighborhood, and finally, at a particular high school. The layers of community within community which surrounded the study participants made the examination of their language ideologies and identity quite complicated to sort out. Nevertheless, using ethnography as a tool to gather data in this intricate setting allowed the data collection to be rather fluid, crossing the various micro and macro communities influencing the world of the research participants. Living in Barri Sant Domenech, allowed full immersion in the community, beyond weekly interviews with the study participants at Sant Domenech High School. Ethnography

permitted for more participant observations of language practices via “lived experiences” (Gilmore, P., 2011).



Figure 2 "Chinese Market" in Sant Domenech

Figure 3 Catalan Separatist Flags near Sant Domenech

Why Barrí Sant Domenech?

Census information and city hall publications about the neighborhood provided compelling reasons to focus on Barrí Sant Domenech as a research site for Latino youth immigrants. According to the Institut de Govern i Politiques Públiques (Institute of Government and Public Policy) (2008) at the Universidad Autònoma de Barcelona, the immigrant population of the city central to Barrí Sant Domenech grew from 8.2% in 2000 to 13.5% in 2005 and the migrant population in the neighborhood just next to Barrí Sant Domenech rose tremendously from 6.1% in 2000 to 37.5% in 2007. The migrant population in and around Barrí Sant Domenech was quite high in comparison with the

rest of the city. The predominant language heard on the street in Barrí Sant Domenech is Castilian Spanish or other varieties of Spanish with a “peppering” of Catalan words. Entering local a local bar or café, all menus and signage would be in Catalan; however, the primary language spoken the customers is some variety of Spanish.

Stateside investigation into Barrí Sant Domenech, as a neighborhood, indicated that it would be an ideal research site for this study. With its high migrant population at 22.4 % of the overall neighborhood population, compared to 7% in Catalonia, on the whole, Sant Domenech would provide many possibilities for recruiting participants for this study. Also noteworthy were the large number of migrants from Latin America in the area. Research stateside yielded information reporting that of the 16,358 inhabitants of Barrí Sant Domenech, 36.3% were born outside of Spain, resulting in around 6,000 of the local residents. This was an elevated number from the 21% of foreign born residents in total city, and from 2007 to 2012, the number of foreign born residents in Barrí Sant Domenech had risen by 1,324 people. The demographics of the neighborhood were changing, with an increase of residents largely between the ages of 25 and 35 years of age by the year 2012, most of whom were young males (Idescat, 2015). Furthermore, Barrí Sant Domenech was one of these most densely populated neighborhoods in the city, undergoing rapid demographic changes, affecting the neighborhood’s labor market, housing prices, and business ownership (Idescat, 2015). Recent studies from the University of Barcelona (2008) also suggested that Barrí Sant Domenech was “at risk” for ghettoization and for greater isolation from the center city; citing rather poor access to public transport and a population that was in a constant state of transition. Barrí Sant Domenech, as a research site, distinguished itself as a model for “superdiversity” among

other neighborhoods with high immigrant populations around the periphery of larger cities in Catalonia (Blommaert, J., & Rampton, B., 2011).

Sant Domenech High School

Sant Domenech High School was situated at the end of street of where our apartment complex was located. It was a plain brick building with a tall fence and a buzzer which was controlled by the secretary inside via camera. The school was quite clean, but stark. Upon entering from the street filled with Castellano, one heard all adults speaking in Catalan, including the secretary who would buzz me in almost daily as well as the welcome school classroom teachers who helped me by putting me in contact with my student participants and allowed me to observe their classroom full of over 23 different languages. Again, my functional Catalan was no match for their heavily accented Catalan in this region, and when I attempted to meet them halfway with Castellano, they always responded to me in Catalan including email correspondence. I always found this odd given that they knew I was a researcher from the U.S. who was only in the region for a short period of time. However, as a model to their students, they never “broke” into Castellano and both teachers were born and raised and lived in small towns in the area which was very “Catalan” and did not live in the Sant Domenech neighborhood...~Field Notes, 9/15

Sant Domenech High School is located at the far western edge of Barrí Sant Domenech, away from the city center, with only a busy intersection and a park separated it from crowded housing units. It was a five-minute walk from my apartment to the high school, passing a few shops, a pharmacy, a health center, and bars. The stark, concrete

high school buildings of fairly modern architecture had few windows to the outside. The inner campus, which housed the main buildings, was protected by vertical iron bar fencing. The structure of the school itself was in good condition, with no broken windows, relatively small amounts of graffiti tags, and free of litter. The campus was surrounded by vacant lots and empty soccer fields. Very few students could be seen loitering around the school's exterior, with the exception of a few students, listening to music and smoking in the park across the street.

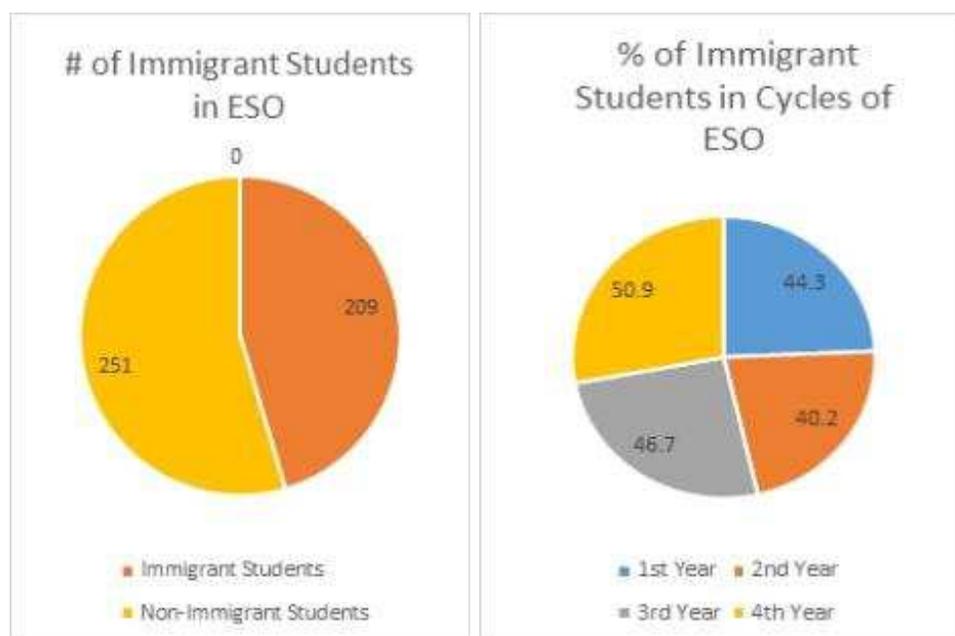


Figure 4 Vacant lot next to Sant Domenech High School

Figure 5 The exterior of Sant Domenech High School

Sant Domenech High School provided various levels of secondary education. Firstly, it provided Educación Secundaria Obligatoria (Compulsory Secondary Education, henceforth ESO). In Spain, it is obligatory for students to attend four years, also called cycles, of ESO. ESO begins around age 12 and students finish at approximately 16 years of age. Secondly, Sant Domenech High School provided programs for students after completion of ESO: 1) *a bachillerato* (college preparatory program), for students intending to take university entrance exams after two years, and a 2) *ciclo formativo*, a vocational program, designed to lead to a technical diploma. Initial research on the student population of Sant Domenech High School indicated that there were migrants from 39 different countries attending the ESO. Upon arrival in Barrí Sant Domenech, demographic data was provided by both the administrators and staff of the high school. The accumulated demographic data from the school's website, the neighborhood city hall, and school administration's statistics solidified the decision to utilize Sant Domenech High School as a research site to examine the language ideologies, identity, and communicative practices of Latin American immigrant students learning Catalan. The following pie graphs (Figure 6) illustrate the number of migrant students at Sant Domenech High School, overall, and was provided for purposes of this study by the Director of Studies at Sant Domenech High School. The graphs illustrate that the number of migrant students at the high school was almost equal to that of non-migrant students (45.4%), close to half and half. The graphs indicate that the highest percentage of migrants at Sant Domenech High School were in the 3rd and 4th cycle of ESO, suggesting they were older in age, and that the stakes of completing coursework and acquiring enough Catalan to graduate were very high.

Figure 6 Immigrant Student Demographics at Sant Domenech High School



Aula d' Acollida at Sant Domenech High School

The Aula d' Acollida (AA) was a self-contained, pull-out class program at Sant Domenech High School. It was a class which consisted of all day Catalan instruction for students new to the school, region of Catalonia, and/or the country of Spain whose native language was not Catalan. The AA class at Sant Domenech High School was the largest in the area. The diversity of its students and linguistic backgrounds was noteworthy according to the student demographic data provided by the school's Director of Studies. The program utilized Individualized Educational Plans (IEPs), which are often implemented in the U.S. for Special Education students. These plans were based on the students' previous years of schooling, their native language, and their initial Catalan language skills. The AA room functioned part of the day much like a resource room, where the students were welcome to come during their free time to work on computers,

use reference materials, and complete assignments with assistance from the instructors. In addition, each individual student was monitored closely by a team of language teachers and sometimes by a social worker in the case of refugees and newly arrived students. When a student came to Sant Domenech High School who were previously unschooled, had little to no schooling, or who spoke a language that was vastly different from Catalan, s/he would be required to spend more hours in the AA learning more Catalan language skills until they could be placed in “regular” classes for part of the day and be deemed proficient enough in Catalan to take courses at Sant Domenech for content instruction. It was up to the AA teachers and teachers at the school to decide this, not a state or nationally mandated test.

The Aula d’Acollida at Sant Domenech was very welcoming and “home-like” true to its name. Each individual student’s academic as well as psychosocial needs were closely monitored by their instructors and a social worker. The AA teachers at Sant Domenech spent much time planning their lessons to maximize the amount of time their students would spend in “regular” classrooms learning content areas such as Science and Math. In fact, the dedication of the instructors of the AA were illustrated in discussions with participants of this study, who displayed an overall positive attitude about the AA program at Sant Domenech as well as the program’s two teachers. The coursework in the AA was divided each day into the same schedule (see Figure 7). The majority of the day was spent on Catalan language skills: reading, writing, grammar, speaking, and listening. Very little time was spent on content instruction, unless a student had been allowed to take a Math class, for example, in the “regular” area of the high school, and wanted to get some extra tutoring in their free time from their AA teachers.

Figure 7 Aula d' Acollida at Sant Domenech: Daily Schedule

TIME	SUBJECT
8:00AM-9:00AM	Treball Individual (Individual Work)
9:00AM-10:00AM	Treball Individual (Individual Work)
10:00AM-11:00AM	Lectura (Reading)
11:30AM-12:30PM	La Llengua Quotidiana/Expresion Oral (Conversational Catalan/Oral Expression)
12:30PM-13:30PM	Treball per Projectes (Project work)
13:45PM-14:45PM	Joc de Llengua (Language games)

A list of student demographics including: name, year in school, and “A-D” classification (noted in previous section, was provided by the AA teachers to aid in both recruitment of participants and in providing data on AA students to inform this study.) Planning observations and student interviews was a logistical challenge because some of the study participants would only visit the AA for one to two hours per day. However, juggling these complex, individualized schedules were ultimately beneficial to the AA students, allowing them to maximize their time out the AA, socially constructing knowledge and acting as LPPs with their Catalan speaking peers. Due to the highly individualized student schedules, semi-structured interviews were generally planned

around the *treball individual*⁷ or *jocs de llengua*⁸ and observation of students in the AA class during *la llengua quotidiana*⁹ was set up to observe the student participants practicing their Catalan speaking skills. During other class periods, students were often working silently or on their own projects with the AA teachers acting as guides and resources.

Participant Recruitment

Initial contacts were made stateside to begin the recruitment of participants in this study. However, the recruitment process was the most productive after my arrival in Catalonia. Email correspondence was initiated with Sant Domenech's school director and set groundwork for the study; however, no real plan was set beyond initial face-to-face meetings upon arrival in Catalonia. The most intensive recruitment of participants began one week before fall classes with the AA teachers' assistance. During this period, the director of Sant Domenech High School also allowed full access to the school, introductions to the ESO faculty were made, basic statistics were provided about the school and the administration. The first week of school was spent making observations in the AA class, mainly, and taking field notes. Also, there was some informal conversations with teachers in the school's cafeteria, an effort to get a feel for the environment, and rapport building with key teachers. The establishment of collegial relationships with these key teachers at Sant Domenech later enabled access to student participants for interviews and observations and in garnering parental support for their

⁷ Individual work

⁸ Language games

⁹ Everyday language (conversation)

child's participation in the study.

The AA teachers aided the recruitment of participants for this study, speaking with potential participants during the school day, obtaining contact numbers of parents, and helping gain access to the families of participants in order to further explain the study as well as consent forms.

Visits to the school were made two to three times in the first two weeks; visits that were intended to specifically introduce myself to staff and students, and to build rapport with study participants and potential study participants. Any questions about myself, why I was there, etc. were provided at that time. Many faculty members at Sant Domenech encouraged this study, served as critical colleagues, and allowed me to pull student participants out of their classes one day a week to complete in-depth interviews.

Participants

The participants in this study ranged from ages 12-16 years of age. Fifteen participants were drawn from a pool of Latin American students attending ESO at Sant Domenech High School. Of the 15 participants who were part of this study, 12 were enrolled in the Aula d'Acollida and three were not, but attended ESO at Sant Domenech. The purpose of this study entailed gathering in-depth information about Honduran students' identity and language use, and assembling strong narratives and student voices from the Honduran diaspora in Barrí Sant Domenech. Focusing on a small group of students, building trust and strong rapport with these individuals was key. The original intention for this study was to highlight Latin American youth from a variety of countries. However, after gaining an understanding of the large Honduran diaspora and

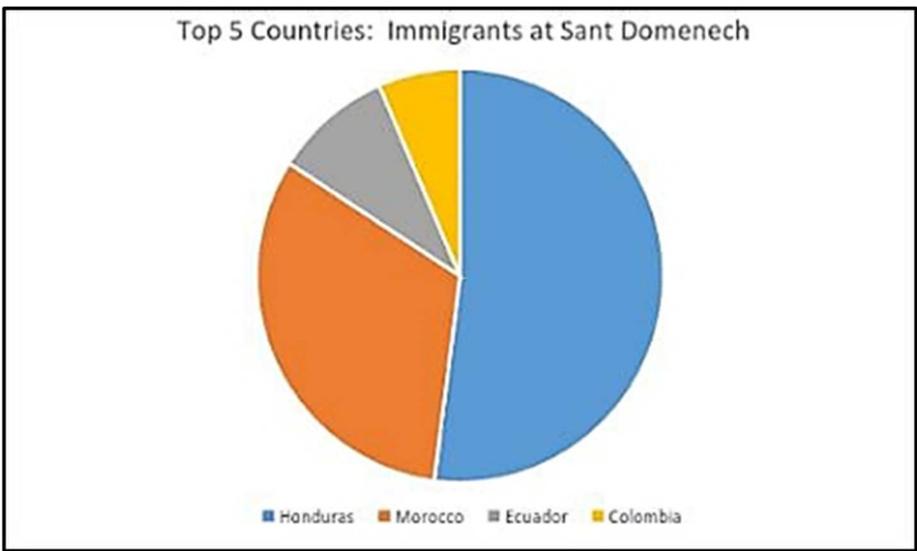
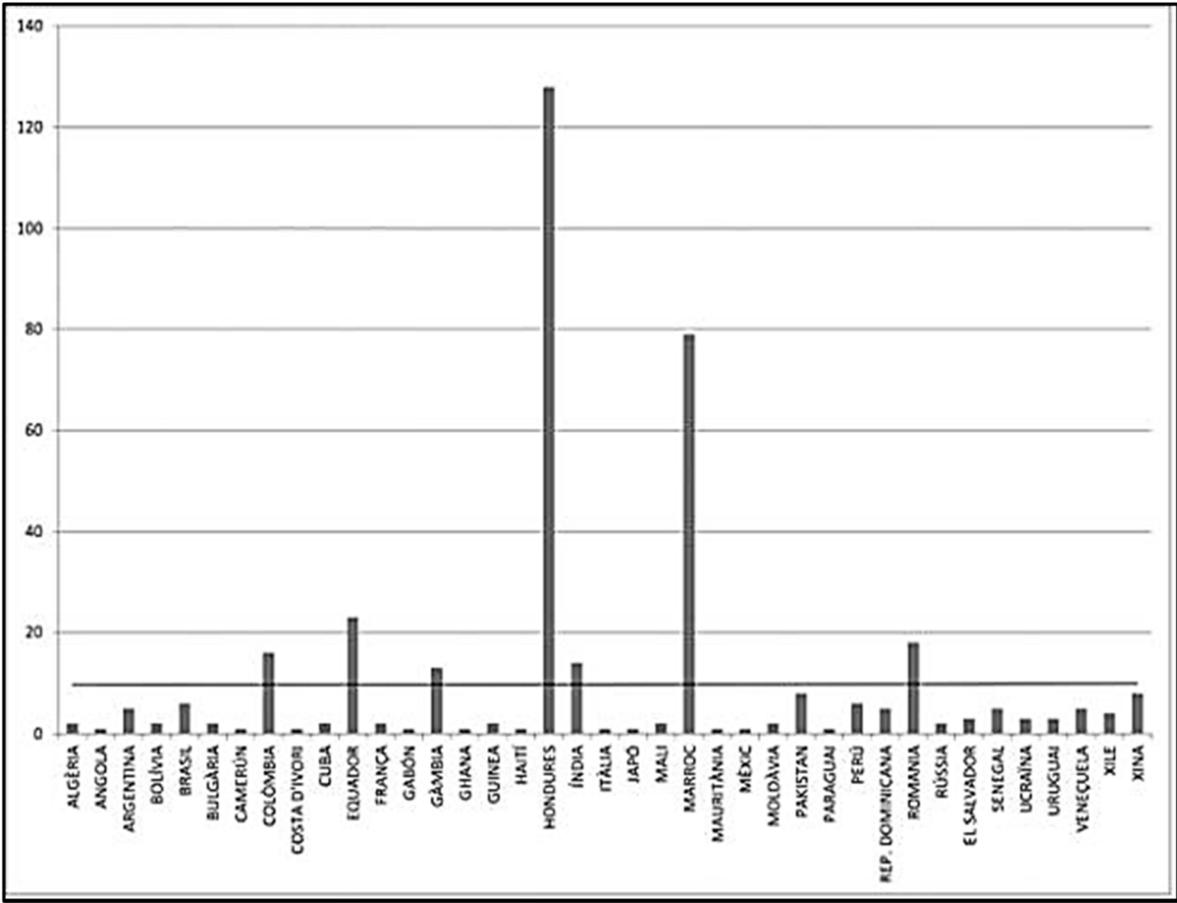


Figure 8 Ratio of Honduran Immigrants in relation to other immigrant groups in Sant Domenech

Figure 9 Number of Honduran students in relation to other immigrant groups in Sant Domenech



its strong presence in the community and at Sant Domenech High School, the decision

was made to collect data from Latino students of Honduran origin. As illustrated in Figure 8, they made up over half of the immigrant students attending Sant Domenech High School. In addition, the chart in Figure 9 was provided by the Director of Studies at Sant Domenech High school, which illustrates that over 120 students among 209 migrant students among 460 total students attending ESO were of Honduran origin (~26% of total ESO population).

Figure 10 List of Study Participants (pseudonyms)

	Nationality	Age	Gender	Years in CAT	AA
1. Francisca	HON	16	F	1+	Y
2. Luis	HON	16	M	7	N
3. Alma	HON	16	F	-1	Y
4. Oscar	HON	14	M	-1	Y
4. Leo	HON	16	M	3	N
5. Danny	HON	16	M	9	N
6. Yareli	HON	14	F	1+	Y
7. Esau	HON	14	M	12	N
8. José	HON	14	M	13	N
9. Jessica	HON	14	F	N/A	N
10. Emmanuel	HON	16	M	1+	Y
11. Nelson	HON	15	M	2+	N
12. Ana	HON	15	F	3	N
13. Nicole	HON	16	F	N/A	N
14. Cristián	HON	16	M	N/A	N
15. Kevin	HON	15	M	-1	Y

Research Site and Participants

Previous knowledge of Catalonia's educational institutions, its language planning and policies, and history of Catalan as a vehicular language of instruction in schools aided in establishing relationships with the administration at Sant Domenech High School and helped to convey the purpose of this study. Building relationships with the Latin American students at the research site seemed to be facilitated by some commonality in our "American" backgrounds and a preference for using Spanish in everyday conversations. My experience as a high school language teacher also afforded me some credibility with the other teachers at the high school as well as with the students. Working with Honduran students at Sant Domenech was facilitated by the fact I spoke Spanish fluently, and did not need an interpreter. The Honduran students understood that I too, was not a native Spaniard nor was I a native Catalan speaker, and this created a link between us which seemingly strengthened our bond and enabled rich, in-depth conversations during interviews.

In-Depth Interviews

The primary method of data collection for my research were semi-structured in-depth interviews (*see APPENDIX A for example questions*). The interviews were conducted in Spanish and digitally recorded. Each interview lasted approximately forty-five minutes to one hour. In the initial stages of research, building bonds with the participants in the study was of primary concern; therefore, the school café seemed the most informal location to get to know each other. During those interviews, other students were not present; only the café servers were there working behind the counter making

snacks, coffee, and juice.

In the first week or so of data collection, participants were invited to sit down and have a snack and “just talk”. These interviews sometimes diverted from structured questions to unstructured conversations around topics of identity, migration, language use, family, social life, and peers. Unstructured conversations were permitted to occur with the intended purpose of establishing confidence and rapport with the participants. In fact, whenever the interviews seemed more like conversations, comments or unanticipated topics would arise that proved relevant to this study’s research questions. (Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Patton, 2002; Seidman, 2006). Reserving space in either a conference room or the language office to speak confidentially with participants was eventually made possible with the help of Sant Domenech’s staff. These spaces were private, free of distractions, and accessible to me throughout the school day. Depending on the student, more time was allowed to establish questions that were personal in nature and with specific respect for their feelings, identity, and language ideologies. The questions asked during the initial phase of interviews were simple and biographical, addressing participant’s age, time in Catalonia, hometown, family members, etc.

Finally, participants’ school schedules were logged and a regular schedule of interviews and observations was designed. If a participant’s workload was too high or presence in class was needed for Catalan conversation practice at a previously scheduled interview time, flexibility was allowed, and postponement of the interview was made. In total, interviews ranged from thirty to ninety minutes with participants, at least twice a week, for nine weeks, and approximately 200 hours of in-depth interviews were digitally recorded with participants (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, Seidman, 2006).

Observations in the Aula d' Acollida

Another valuable data collection tool utilized in this study was participant observation. The original design of this study included spending time coming in on one or two days every other week to speak to all participants. However, because of the variable nature of the students' AA schedules and the openness of the teachers in that classroom, visits to participants' classes increased to three to four times a week, fewer interviews were conducted each day, and observations changed to one hour or more daily. Student-teacher interaction charts, diagrams which illustrate the utterances between teachers and students, were used during classroom observations which tracked the languaging between AA students (in particular, Honduran students) and their peers as well as their teachers.

Journaling

At initial interviews, writing journals were distributed to participants. The journals were for them to reflect on interviews, document any language perceptions, encounters, feelings, and topics that arose between our meetings. There were only two of the fifteen students who regularly used the journals to write and draw about their thoughts and ideas. The rest of the students' journaling was scant and/or irregular.

From participants' journal entries, new areas of inquiry and questions were often generated. This encouraged participant engagement in subsequent interviews. Artifacts such as journal entry drawings were collected and analyzed (Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Patton, 2002). This added more themes and patterns to the data set, which may not have come out of face-to-face interviews (Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Patton, 2002; Seidman,

2006).

Questionnaires

Over a three-month period, participants were given three separate questionnaires that surveyed their language use varied contexts in either Catalan (CAT), SP (Honduran Spanish), or Castilian Spanish (CS). The questionnaires were very basic (*An example of one questionnaire can be found in APPENDIX B*). These questionnaires did not yield particularly detailed results. However, when students did respond to the questions of different contexts in which they used Spanish or Catalan, they distinguished between Spanish, (Español), Castellano (Castilian Spanish), and Catalan, a noteworthy linguistic distinction, which led to subsequent new lines of questioning for weekly in-depth interviews.

Field Notes

Field notes were kept in a handwritten notebook, where students' language practices were observed and noted during the school day, language interactions around the school community were recorded, and conceptual memos written after conducting in-depth interviews. In addition to handwritten field notes, a Dictaphone, and a handheld smartphone were used to record notes and reflections digitally, particularly regarding the interplay of Catalan, Castilian Spanish, and Honduran Spanish intersecting in various contexts around Barrí Sant Domenech.

Street's (2008) notion of conceptual memos was useful in organizing the field notes for this study. The tables below were created by scanning field notes every few

days and uncovering key ideas which then yielded reflective questions. Figure 11 below illustrates two examples of observational field notes in a table. Note the field notes on the left and the reflections and questions to the right, leading to the construction of conceptual memos.

Figure 11 Table of Field Notes (Data and Reflection)

<p>1. Meeting with Cap d' Profesorat for recruitment of students outside the AA. October 2015. Sant Domenech High School. I sat in the administrator's office this afternoon to seek help in finding students of Latin American, specifically, Honduran origin at the school outside of the AA. Although, very helpful with his time, as we scrolled through the demographics of students of Latin American origin, he began to make statements about each student.</p> <p>I noticed that he was "cherry picking students" as their name, school photo, and academic placement in the A, B, C, or D track came up. He would say things to me like, "this one? No, not good for your study." "This one? Good luck getting her to talk about anything about her makeup and clothes." Regardless of his comments, I wrote down the names of all the students who came up on the computer under my demographic set anyway. He also made an interesting comment after we finished going through at least twenty names. He stated, "in general, the Latin American students here are very carpe diem, and they don't think about university or their future."</p>	<p><u>Reflections/Questions</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Do Honduran students construct their own identity or is it constructed for them by the institution? ● Why would the administrator not get to know the students' stories? Why is "carpe diem" a negative term here to describe the collective Honduran student population? ● How do Honduran and other Latin American students actually differ in their behavior at school which would prompt the administrator's rather prejudicial comments? ● Are the "good kids" for the study he suggested only students who have assimilated to the most to Catalonia and learned Catalan the best? ● Marginalization ● Racism ● Tracking ● Limitations on recruitment for study ● Follow up on students "not recommended." ● Compare and contrast with my participants' hopes for university and future.
<p>2. Late October, 2015. Llengua Quotidiana. AA. Sant Domenech High School.</p>	<p><u>Reflection/Questions</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The dialogue memorization for conversation

<p>J is the instructor today and it seems most students are following the dialogue about food, until he begins to drill them in pronunciation and he loses their attention. A continues to use Castellano and laughs when she cannot quite pronounce the difference between planxa and platja. Students seem to understand the activity, actively engaged in writing and copying in their books.</p> <p>The dialogue they are to practice is rather mundane and it is not a dialogue they have thought up on their own today. If they had less interruptions and more time, it seemed that J, the teacher, had planned that they would go from the model dialogue to creating their own dialogues in Catalan. They practiced pronunciation. I joined along. J corrected their pronunciation, but selectively as to not make them too inhibited. A continues to essentially speak in Castellano. J suggests they record their speech/dialogues. More than a few students were not comfortable with this, but he insisted that it was helpful to listen to themselves.</p>	<p>Catalan seems a bit audio lingual dated?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● There was much time concentrating on pronunciation and it seemed not enough time on the students' producing their own meaningful and contextual dialogues. ● "A" especially resisted this lesson and spoke Spanish throughout. Laughed at the pronunciation of planxa vs platja in Catalan. Active resistance? Or passive resistance for fear of "losing face"? ● The students found it very intimidating to record their own voices in Catalan, even when it was a small group. They all were learning Catalan, but the difference in levels of understanding and those who know Romance languages at an advantage? ● Much Spanish interference occurred when pronouncing Catalan. Is this due to Barri Sant Domenech using Spanish for much of its interactions in the public sphere?
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Data Coding

The in-depth interviews conducted with the research participants were recorded, transcribed verbatim, and open-coded. The interviews were then translated by me from Spanish to English. The transcripts were analyzed, first, for recurring themes and patterns related to my original research questions such as how the Honduran youth perceived their ethnolinguistic identity, their language use, and their language ideologies

(Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Transcripts were also analyzed for patterns which indicated the participant's investment (Darvin, R., & Norton, B., 2014) in learning Catalan. Any passages which were deemed of particular interest or which helped frame the participants' language use, ideologies, and identity according to Norton's (1995) model of investment were noted. An example of initial coding levels with transcripts are illustrated in Figures 12a and 12b below based on data relevant to this study's research questions.

Figure 12a Transcripts and Coding Example One

<p>Es una oportunidad (estar en Cataluña) que tengo. Porque muchos como yo... eh..viven en Honduras y no tienen esta oportunidad que tengo yo. Bueno es lo que pienso yo. Me gustaría conseguir cualquier trabajo...bueno algo en cosas como carpintería, albañilería, paleta...no importa pero me gusta trabajar.</p>	<p>CODES</p> <p>Positive outlook on Cataluña.</p> <p>Opportunity</p> <p>Collective Honduran Identity</p> <p>Economic Opportunity</p> <p>+ Work, -School</p> <p>Manual labor work</p>	<p>TRANSLATION</p> <p>It's an opportunity (to be in Catalonia) that I have. Because many like me...eh they live in Honduras and they don't have the opportunity that I have. Well, that's what I think. I'd like to get any job...well anything in things like carpentry, bricklaying...it doesn't matter but I like to work.</p>
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Figure 13 Transcript and Coding Example Two

<p>Mi madre me dijo que necesito saber el catalán para ir al bachillerato y luego a la universidad. Igual a mí me gustaría ir a Madrid a la universidad ...en Honduras siempre quería estudiar ser ingeniero de agricultura,</p>	<p>CODES</p> <p>Matriarchal/family roles</p> <p>Catalan good for academics</p> <p>Future schooling outside of Catalonia</p> <p>Homeland identity</p>	<p>TRANSLATION</p> <p>My mom told me that I need to know Catalan to go to college prep high school and later to college. Maybe I'd like to go to Madrid for college...in Honduras, I always want to study to be an agricultural engineer, but my mom told me that maybe they don't have that here.</p>
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pero mi madre me dice que igual no hay esto aquí.	Matriarchal/family roles	
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In order to increase the validity of the study, critical friends (Marshall & Rossman, 2011) at the local university in Catalonia were asked to review some of the preliminary data collected from participants, whose identities remained anonymous. These critical friends confirmed the accuracy of preliminary translations and discussed different angles for follow up interviews to help reach saturation with the smaller number of students in this study (*More examples of data coding can be found in APPENDIX C*).

Data Analysis

While examining the data, a first level of codes was applied to transcripts and field notes which were subsequently condensed from rather detailed lengthy codes into three or four overarching categories within the Norton's (1995) model of investment which highlighted the participants' lived experiences in Catalonia. These categories emerged after cutting and pasting of quotes, seeking new perspectives, and listening multiple times to participant interviews with the intention of gathering participants' essential opinions, acknowledging my positionality as a researcher, and reducing preconceived notions of their ideologies.

A secondary layer of categories started to form during the data analysis process based on previously coded data. The primary coded transcripts were analyzed for key words and concepts (noted below) and a narrower set of categories emerged. Concepts and phrases which saturated the interview transcripts, student journals, and field note observations were deemed significant and these narrower, secondary set of categories, added depth to the data analysis and included data coding such as:

Honduran Identity: *familia, madre, mi país, mi tierra, Honduras, hondureños, mi gente, queridos, comida típica, reguetón, reggaetón cristiano, problemático, problemas de mi país*

Spanish Language Practices: *castellano, catalán, español, en escuela, en casa, barrio, aula d'acollida, obligación (or variations), respeto, echar ganas,*

Catalan Language Capital: *trabajo (or variations), conseguir, papeles, económico, oportunidad, paz, seguridad, maestros, profesores, nos ayudan, racismo*

The data was loosely examined under the lens of Norton's (1995) model of investment, (identity, capital, and ideologies), to aid in the analysis of the students' communicative practices. However, in a few instances, student responses didn't quite fit the model or new spheres of investigation were warranted due to the unique context of the research site. Although Norton's model of investment (1995, 2015) was helpful in data analysis and often substantiated anticipated notions about students' investment in Catalan, these unique, transnational youth were slightly beyond the scope of the model of investment. The participants in this study showed some similarities to other research among adolescent migrants living on the fringes of larger cities in Europe, immersed in the Digital Age (Blommaert, J., & Rampton, B., 2011). It became more apparent throughout the data analysis process that something more than just language ideologies, identity, and capital as touted by the model of investment was impacting the participants' communication practices. The Honduran students in this study had been marginalized both geographically and culturally, and expected to navigate in spaces where one, clear national identity, that of Catalonia, has been under constant debate; thus, adding more

intersections and spheres to the model of investment. The Honduran youths in the study also presented characteristics of maintaining transnational identities and questioned the need to assimilate under the nation state of Catalonia. They also exhibited a strong need to share and maintain a collective memory/identity of their homeland.

CHAPTER 5:

Honduran Youth Identity, Ideologies, and Experiences in Sant Domenech

Brief Portraits of Honduran Youth in Sant Domenech

The following descriptions of Honduran youth in Sant Domenech are brief snapshots of the participants in the study who comprised the majority of the recorded interview hours in the study. These youths' short portraits illustrate a cross-section of the fifteen Honduran students who participated in the study.

Danny

Danny diplomatically declared that there were “good people and bad people in every country,” and felt that immigrants from Central America were often misunderstood in Catalonia. A sixteen-year-old from the capital of Honduras, Danny lived with his mother and younger siblings in Sant Domenech, and had been in Catalonia from the age of seven. He had spent two months in an elementary Aula d' Acollida after arriving in Barri Sant Domenech before he was placed into “mainstream” classes. When asked how his family would describe him, he quickly responded that they labeled him as a “troublemaker” and a “big mouth.” Conversely, he described, during interviews, that his friends would say he was “serious” and “attentive” in class. My own classroom observations and field notes of Danny tended toward the latter characterization. Danny's identity, he said, was “neither here nor there.” At home, his family cooked traditional Honduran food, and he listened to “Honduran music”, and Honduran slang “came out” at times, according to Danny. Danny wasn't completely comfortable being labeled “only

Honduran,” and strived to keep an open mind about his peers at school and around Barrí Sant Domenech, regardless of their background.

Danny, always dressed in sweatpants, a tank top, and sports gear spent most of his free time at the gym preparing for weightlifting competitions. He spent every afternoon training at the local gym after picking up his siblings from elementary school, and spoke of the gym as a type of escape for him. At the gym, Danny revealed that he communicated with other athletes in either Spanish of the Honduran variety or Castilian Spanish. He made the comment that most “Latinos” at his gym spoke in Spanish and that in his view, “African” and “Moroccan” athletes seemed to use more Catalan as a lingua franca while training. For Danny, speaking Catalan came easily. However, he believed that he could still improve his writing skills at school and lacked some basic vocabulary in Catalan even after residing in Catalonia for seven years. Danny’s short-term goals included finishing ESO and enrolling in a *ciclo formativo* in order to become a mechanic. Danny communicated in Catalan because he “needed to finish ESO.” Danny wasn’t “feeling” Catalan as a language, he explained, and simply thought it was “practical.” I asked Danny if Catalan would be needed for him to work as a mechanic in his future career, and he declared that he would likely have a “boss who was a Catalan” if he stayed in Catalonia. However, if he were to move to the “U.S. or any other part of Spain, that Catalan wouldn’t serve a purpose.”

Alma

At first, Alma was nervous, timid, and in my field notes, I wrote that she was “uncomfortable” and “serious” in the classroom and during interviews. She was quiet

and observant and unlike her classmates, often avoided greeting me around Barrí Sant Domenech. Alma had been living in Catalonia for less than a year when I interviewed her, and adapting to her new environment, new school, and new language was proving difficult. Alma spent much of our initial interviews crying about personal problems going on at home and with her older sister, whom she described as “the person in this world who takes care of me most.” She stated that she was making friends “little by little” in Sant Domenech, but the initial period in Catalonia when her beloved sister was still back in Honduras was especially painful for her. Reunification with her mother and father in a third country was not an easy adjustment. Alma’s father had been working in the U.S. for a time, and then explained it was decided that it was “best for all of them” to go to Catalonia, where Alma’s mother had a steady, fairly well-paying job in the domestic sector. Once in Catalonia, however, the familial reunion was not an easy transition, and problems were exacerbated by her father’s inability to find work. Alma lamented that her father spent every day in the café or bar or at home, and that although he had “papers”, she was upset by his unhappiness and unemployment status. His role in the family changed when they reunified in Catalonia; Alma’s mother was the worker and he was the parent at home, making meals, spending time with Alma playing trivia on the phone or watching TV.

Alma claimed that her friends in Catalonia would describe her as “really quiet,” but that her friends in Honduras knew the “real her,” the girl who was always happy, laughing, and “joking most of the time.” She expressed to me that her life was “boring,” spending much time watching television with her dad at home. Alma felt that her personality seemed to have changed completely since moving to Catalonia; “llevo más

peso” she often disclosed in interviews, that she was “heavily burdened” and got angry and frustrated easily. In Honduras, she expressed that she was “never quiet, not one minute,” her eyes welling up with tears during interviews when talking about how she felt “misunderstood” in the Aula d’ Acollida at Sant Domenech High School. For Alma, learning Catalan was just an added “burden” to an already rocky transition to Catalonia and during the reunification of her family, causing her a great amount of emotional stress.

Nelson

Nelson, a fifteen-year-old from San Pedro Sula, Honduras was a recent graduate of the Aula d’ Acollida at Sant Domenech and claimed that most of his friends still remained in the program. He was often observed hanging around the AA before and after patio and snack breaks at Sant Domenech High School. Nelson’s Honduran accent was very pronounced, although he had lived in Catalonia for three years, and I noted that he continued to use “vos” instead of “tú,” and had him explain some Honduran slang that I didn’t know during interviews. Nelson expressed that he didn’t “feel accepted” in the “normal class” after leaving the AA, and was having a difficult time keeping up on his school work. He related that he still had challenges following homework assignments dictated at the end of class, and felt frustrated because he would get in trouble for this.

Nelson’s mother had left for Catalonia when he was only three years old and his younger brother was only two. His father left when he was 5 months old to work in the U.S, so he described his “true family” as his grandparents back in San Pedro Sula. He still communicated with his grandmother via Facebook weekly. Nelson emotionally recalled how his grandmother told him, “above all else” to take care of his little brother

and that it wouldn't be long before he would get older and "become a man." Arriving in Catalonia, Nelson explained he was very optimistic and recalled looking around and thinking, "wow, we are in Spain", "everything is rich", "everyone is rich!" After living with his family for some time, he described how he realized that everything was "pretty normal." "I've been here three years" he said, "but living with my mom, I'm still not used to it." Nelson, after three years, was still adjusting to life in a new country and the reunification with his mother. He studied hard at school and was studious, however, he felt he didn't quite "fit in" at either school or at home, having always lived with his grandparents in Honduras.

He thought going to Sant Domenech High School was so different than the school he attended in Honduras, that it was "like the movies" with the changing of classes, changing teachers, and a different type of free time on the school campus. Nelson laughingly recalled thinking that everyone spoke Catalan in Spain, and described still not quite understanding why the use of Catalan in school. Nelson spoke endearingly about holidays celebrated at his old school in San Pedro Sula, and stayed attached to his Honduran roots by getting involved with Barri Sant Domenech's Honduran Community Associations. For example, he participated in a drum corps which performed for different typical Honduran holidays celebrated in Catalonia. Nelson hoped to pursue a career in the hospitality/hotel industry and learn French, as he stated he thought it would aid him in this occupation.

Emmanuel

In Tegucigalpa, Honduras, Emmanuel lived with his aunt, several cousins, and his

older sister. He was surrounded by violence and poverty in Tegucigalpa, and often expressed how he felt fortunate to have not followed the “mal camino” (bad path) in Honduras. He referenced a quasi-biblical proverb on more than one occasion about “idle hands being the Devil’s playground,” and often expressed worry that he wouldn’t find employment after graduating Sant Domenech High School.

Emmanuel had lived in Catalonia nearly a year at the time of this study.

Emmanuel always dressed in a “reggaeton” style, wore his hat backwards, and layered silver chains over his sports jackets. He was a quiet, mature sixteen-year-old who remembered arriving in Barcelona *en route* to Sant Domenech with much anticipation, stating he remembered looking around the first evening of his arrival and thinking how “beautiful everything was.” Emmanuel often chuckled nervously when our interviews related to his family and their reunification process in Catalonia. He was uncomfortable, at times, talking about his family back in Honduras and often seemed to hold back his responses, or shut down completely, likely out of fear he might show emotion. He told me that he had lived in the same house in Honduras his whole life. Then, at sixteen, he was reunited with his biological mother across the ocean to find that things weren’t so “beautiful,” as he put it. He was not only in a new country with a new language, and new surroundings, but also with a “new family”, “new dad”, and a “new life” which he explained made him feel “sad,” “sentimental,” and “strange.”

Emmanuel also expressed difficulty going to school at Sant Domenech after he had previously dropped out of school in Honduras for a year to work as a bricklayer. It was observed that Emmanuel was not particularly motivated in the Aula d’Acollida, often arriving late, tired, and with a bit of a negative attitude. The AA teachers often questioned

why he wasn't engaged or participating. His fellow classmates from Honduras, especially in focus group interviews, often chided him for not "applying himself" or being "dumb" which affected Emmanuel's overall willingness participate in group discussions with myself and his classmates. However, when Emmanuel and I sat down for one on one interviews, and spoke about lighthearted things, such how the word "dude" varied in different countries, he opened up and became more confident sharing his own opinions and perspectives. My field notes reflected comments about Emmanuel's "poor confidence," "self-doubt," and "apathy." Emmanuel had low expectations of his own academic abilities, and expressed although he wished he could go on to the university after high school, he had a lot of reservation about the possibility of his going on to school after completing ESO at Sant Domenech High School.

Yareli

Yareli, an open, outgoing girl of fourteen from Tegucigalpa told me that when she first arrived in Catalonia that everything was "new to her" and she knew "no one." She stated she found this frustrating and wanted a social life. Yareli told me that she refused to attend Sant Domenech High School until her mother "made her." Once in the Aula d' Acollida and making social connections, she expressed that everything was "fun" and "all the boys wanted to be friends with her." At the time of this study, Yareli had been in Catalonia approximately one year. Yareli was raised as an Evangelical Christian and was quite involved in church activities in Barrí Sant Domenech. She was also involved in social events with her family which were organized by the Honduran Neighborhood Association.

Yareli, stated in interviews that she sought attention from males at Sant Domenech High School, but at the same time, she relayed stories of unwanted male attention both in Honduras and at school in Catalonia. Yareli said that she was dedicated to her studies more than ever at Sant Domenech because she had gotten “mixed up with some trouble” when she first arrived in Catalonia, gotten expelled from school, and had much conflict at home with her mother due to incidents at school involving fighting with other girls, etc. She stated that she had “calmed down” quite a bit, and in interviews, Yareli stated that she wanted to apply herself in school, have fun, and get good grades.

Yareli stated that reaching her one-year anniversary of living in Catalonia was bittersweet as she said she left “all her loved ones” in Honduras and missed them, yet she felt happy and safe in Catalonia. She stated that she had been separated her whole life from her biological mother and had lived in Tegucigalpa with her maternal grandparents. Yareli said that she didn’t even remember when her mother had left Honduras and her relationship with her grandparents was “perfect,” and that they were like her “real parents” because they had always taken care of her and felt closer to them than her mother. She had three younger siblings: two half-brothers, who were born in Catalonia, and one younger sister who journeyed with her to Catalonia from Honduras with an aunt.

José and Esau

José was fourteen years old, from Tegucigalpa, Honduras, but came to Catalonia when he was a year old. He spoke Spanish with a Castilian accent, using common words unique to Castilian Spanish such as “hombre” (an interjection like “oh, man!”) and “vale” (okay), as well as “venga” (c’mon!). José explained that he had “lost” his Honduran

accent, even though at home everyone still spoke “Honduran Spanish.” At home, he denoted, “Honduran words come out, or Latino words, perhaps.” José’s family still celebrated Honduran traditions in the home, though the family unit that came from Honduras, originally, was no longer intact. His parents were separated and he described how he lived half of the month with his mother, half the month with his father and most weekends with his father. José’s younger sister was born in Catalonia, and they often communicated in a mix of Castilian Spanish, Honduran Spanish, and some Catalan. At home, José revealed that with his parents he spoke mainly “Honduran Spanish” and yet there was a mix of Castilian Spanish at times. José stated that he still used the Honduran expression “vos” or Ud.” with his mother. He stated that his parents came to Catalonia for “economic opportunity” and chose not to further elaborate on his parents’ employment situations. José claimed that people in Catalonia were “quite reserved” compared to Hondurans, and described the country of his birth as “salvaje” (wild). The only family that he mentioned who still resided back in Honduras was his grandmother and that otherwise all eight of his closest family members all resided in Catalonia. José worked with his dad, but didn’t specify to what degree. Apart from work and school, José excelled in track and field. He told me that he wished to work in a factory and buy a motorcycle after graduating from Sant Domenech High School.

Esau, like José, was also fourteen and came to Catalonia when he was two years old. He lived with his parents and his older brother, and described how he and his brother spoke “Spanish from here” referring to Castilian Spanish, but that his parents spoke “Spanish from Honduras”. Esau’s family maintained Honduran culture at home, conveying how they made traditional Honduran food, and still celebrated Honduran

holidays. It was difficult to detect any Honduran accent in Esau's speech, and he had adopted the distinguishing marker of Castilian Spanish where "z", "c" are pronounced as "th". Esau thought that people living in Catalonia had a better standard of living than Honduras, and that he felt lucky to be out of Honduras and have no issues with "electricity going off", "lack of utilities", no "shortage of food." Esau also recalled Honduras as a country that was mostly "rural and agricultural" and believed he was "privileged" to have an "urban life, as opposed to a rural life." Esau, like his friend José, also wanted to get his motorcycle license after finishing ESO at Sant Domenech. However, unlike José, he wanted to continue with his schooling, attend *bachillerato* in sociology and then go on to university. He and José were friends partially due to their bond as serious track athletes and time spent training at a local "polideportivo" (sports center).

Oscar

Oscar was a very quiet, studious student in the AA class. He was very well dressed, almost "preppy" or "pijo," as they say in Catalonia. Oscar often took a while to interview due to his quiet nature and lack of confidence. Much of my discussions with Oscar were superficial, at first, as it took him quite a bit of time to warm up to the idea of speaking with an adult about his own opinions and feelings. He was fourteen years old, and had lived with his grandparents in Honduras. Separated from his mother for five years while she was working in Catalonia, Oscar didn't have frequent contact with his mother. He stated that most of the conversations he had with his mother during their separation were on the phone, but admitted that his mother communicated pretty

regularly with his grandparents. Talk of the separation period between him and his mother made him visibly upset, and revealed that he “cried with joy” upon seeing his mother back in Tegucigalpa. Oscar remembered that it was his birthday when his mother arrived in Honduras to bring his brother and him back with her to Catalonia. Maintaining friendships in Honduras was important to Oscar, and he often talked with friends via WhatsApp and Facebook. Oscar felt that he was getting a “better education” in Catalonia than in Honduras and that he had more academic opportunity at Sant Domenech High School.

Oscar lived with his mother, stepfather, and his younger brothers. He said he still didn’t have “a lot of good friends” in Catalonia yet and that he couldn’t wait until his friend from Talanga, Honduras came to Catalonia to join him. In his spare time, Oscar went to the park, played soccer, or rode his bike around Barrí Sant Domenech. During our conversations, Oscar was clearly close to his family and felt comfortably reunified with his mother. Furthermore, Oscar was delighted that his mother helped him with his homework, especially in Catalan, and that his family participated in activities on the weekend together. Oscar was happy in Catalonia, though still adjusting. He admitted that he was sometimes “lonely” back in Honduras and that life and school were both difficult there without his mother.

Francisca

Arriving in Catalonia when she was fifteen from Talanga, Honduras, Francisca was suddenly living with her biological mother for the first time in over a decade. One of the more outgoing participants in the study, Francisca was eager to talk to a “teacher from

Los Estados” (The States). In my initial field notes and observations from the Aula d’ Acollida classroom, I wrote that Francisca was “dominant”, a “bully”, and “interrupted [others]” in the class. When she and I finally had the opportunity to sit down in the high school café on our first interview, I imagined that she might go off texting as WhatsApp was admittedly her favorite pastime. I thought she might become distracted while we spoke as she was often off task in the Aula d’ Acollida. This was not the case, however, during my individual interviews with Francisca. My initial observations of Francisca were perhaps true to the “front” she had to put up among her classmates at Sant Domenech High School. However, as the layers of Francisca’s identity, ideologies, and social positioning were peeled back during our one on one conversations, I discovered that Francisca was a very sensitive young woman, a friendly teenager, and dreamer. Francisca had lived in her older sister’s shadow most of her life, and although she loved her older sister very much, she felt she was never “the favorite.” Francisca’s older sister had accompanied her to Catalonia, but was already working as an *interna*¹⁰ and was hardly ever at home. Francisca spoke of her family in Honduras with great fondness, often crying during our interviews, as she felt lonely or missed those relatives who had raised her back in Honduras. She told me that because her beloved grandmother had decided to remarry, the warm, loving household where she grew up had turned into “a hell.” Francisca was very emotional and distraught telling me about her journey to Catalonia. The factors contributing to her arrival in Catalonia were traumatic due to a number of familial problems that were out of her control.

Francisca yearned to talk with a trusted adult about the changes going on in her

¹⁰ Live-in Domestic Worker

life from home, to school, to boys, to academics. Francisca seemed to have very strong emotional ties to Honduras throughout our interviews as well as through my observations of her in the Aula d' Acollida. Francisca's socialization was limited to texting or social media because she divulged that both her mother and sister worked from five in the morning until late, past midnight. As an *interna* (live-in domestic worker), her older sister didn't live at home and she only got to go out with her and walk around on Saturdays, her sister's day off. Francisca, although very animated and sociable in her "safe zone," the Aula d' Acollida with other Honduran friends, she was literally and figuratively isolated from Catalan society. This isolation was apparent in observing her around her "mainstream" high school classes and in our discussion about how little access she had to visit the city center. Francisca was a relatively new arrival to Sant Domenech High School, residing in Catalonia for only around eighteen months. She dreamt of becoming a pharmacist and maybe "marrying some boy from "Los Estados."

"Catalanization" of Hondurans in Sant Domenech?

The Department of Education in Catalonia generated a report in 1999, which declared that the entire population of Catalonia was almost fully "Catalanized" after ten years of intense "immersion" programs set up around Catalonia. The Catalan Government, or the *Generalitat* insisted that maintaining Catalan as the language of instruction in all public schools would help to reverse the repression of Catalan for over forty years under the Franco regime and bring Catalan back as a dominant language in Catalonia. In many ways, Catalonia was highly successful in their language planning: by the time I conducted this study in the fall of 2015, Catalan was essential for obtaining high paying, white collar jobs. Catalan has maintained prestige as the language of

upward mobility in Catalan society. Most importantly, for Honduran students in Barri Sant Domenech, Catalan proficiency is needed in order for them to pass a Catalan competency exam as part of their obligatory schooling. In addition, Catalan proficiency exams are required to enter into *bachillerato* and any public university in Catalonia.

Catalan Language Use at Sant Domenech High School

The Honduran students who participated in this study, in general, preferred using their native Spanish than Catalan to communicate with friends and staff at Sant Domenech High School. For example, Francisca, described that her sole use of Catalan was at school, and even in the Aula d' Acollida, she didn't go out of her way to practice Catalan. When I discussed Catalan use around the high school with Oscar, for example, he stated that he rarely spoke Catalan, not even at school. He recognized he had to try and speak Catalan on occasion to be viewed as a considerate interlocutor in an academic setting

(Oscar):...solamente con los profes por respeto (hablo catalán). Con los demás...da igual. No sé, por ahora lo veo como una obligación. *[only with the teachers out of respect (do I speak Catalan). With everyone else...it doesn't matter. I don't know, for now, I see it as an obligation]*

Emmanuel stated that he didn't speak Catalan because he really didn't understand anything people were saying in Catalan, not even in the Aula d' Acollida.

(Emmanuel): Aunque me hablen en catalán, respondo en castellano, ¿Sabes? *[Even though they speak to me in Catalan, I respond in Spanish, you know?]*

He told me that he essentially “faked it” at school the best he could. My field notes reflected his indifference towards practicing his Catalan. I wrote that Emmanuel had difficulty pronouncing Catalan and that some of his friends from Honduras would accuse him of “not even trying” when he was in the Aula d’ Acollida. In contrast, Yareli, for instance, really seemed to demonstrate an interest in speaking Catalan and excelled in the Aula d’ Acollida. I wrote in my field notes that she was one of the more enthusiastic students in the AA when it came to perfecting her Catalan. I also noted that she was one of the most “on task” students in the Aula d’ Acollida. I also noted in my observations of her in the classroom that she responded to the instructors in Catalan when they asked the majority of the time, and that she was very “participatory.” She let me know during our interviews that she really loved the instructors in the Aula d’ Acollida and that when she wouldn’t change much about the class except to have a little more access to computers. Yareli had this to say about studying Catalan:

(Yareli): La Aula d’ Acollida es muy buena, es reforzamiento. Nos ayudan hablar más catalán, nos ayudan mucho. Nos ayudan compartir y ser amistosos. Mira, soy una de las personas que le gusta el catalán, ¿Sabes? Hay personas que piensan que es feo, pero yo no. Creo que es muy importante porque imagínate estás en un lugar donde solo hablan catalán, o quieres un trabajo en que necesitas al catalán...personalmente lo veo importante. No sé, me gusta.

[The Welcome Classroom is really good, it’s reinforcement. It helps us speak more Catalan, it helps us a lot. It helps us share and be friendly. Look, I’m someone who likes Catalan. You know? There are people who think it’s ugly, but not me. I think it’s really important because imagine that you are in a place where

they only speak Catalan and you want a job where you need Catalan. Personally, I see it as important. I don't know, I like it (Catalan)]

Catalan Use and Finding Common Ground

Although very few of the Honduran youth used Catalan in the streets of Barrí Sant Domenech, Danny pointed out to during an interview that due to the diverse nature of the neighborhood, using Catalan sometimes served as a “lingua franca.” Danny also noted the advantage of using Catalan to unite people while playing sports:

(Danny): ¿Cuando estoy en entreno? Con mis amigos que están ahí hablamos castellano y con el entrenador también pero catalán también pero a veces viene alguien así como un día vino un catalán y tuve que explicar todo el entreno pero en catalán. Me sentía satisfecho porque podía hablar en catalán.

[When I'm at training? With my friends that are there, we speak in Spanish and the coach as well, but Catalan (is spoken) too but sometimes someone comes like one day a Catalan came and I have to explain the whole training but in Catalan. I felt happy that I could speak in Catalan]

Leo, although not yet a fluent Catalan speaker, echoed Danny's opinion about using Catalan to facilitate friendships and social relationships with people outside of school:

(Leo): Bien. Aquí, hay que saber el catalán. Saber un poco de catalán. Tengo amigos aquí en el barrio que me dicen...pues que piden que hable catalán... algo así. Tengo amigos que no saben nada (de catalán) y otros amigos que lo hablan

bien. Escribirlo... todo es importante. Parlarlo (sic).

[Good. Here, you've got to know Catalan. Know a little of Catalan. I have friends here in the neighborhood that say...well they ask me to speak Catalan...something like that. I have friends that know nothing (Catalan) and other friends who speak it well. Writing it...all of it is important. Speaking it.]

Catalan for Academic Success

(José): Supongo que el catalán lo necesito y quiero quedarme aquí (en Cataluña) y pues estar en Cataluña tienes que saber el catalán para la escuela. En el trabajo, no necesito el catalán como mecánico. Hablo castellano con todos

[I suppose that I need Catalan and I want to stay here (in Catalonia) and well, to be here in Catalonia, you have to know Catalan for school. At work, I don't need Catalan as a mechanic. I speak Spanish with everyone.]

This comment by José reflects the attitude of many of the Honduran students interviewed at Sant Domenech High School. In order to graduate high school at all, one needed to know Catalan. Although perhaps not necessary for daily life, staying in Catalonia to further one's studies or for work, knowing Catalan was advantageous. In terms of Catalan's "academic currency," most Honduran students could agree. Oscar told me he sensed that Catalan would open up possibilities for him to become an engineer, which was his dream. However, after a year in Catalonia he was still figuring out whether or not he needed to learn Catalan:

(Oscar): Aquí (en Cataluña) tengo más oportunidad. Tengo la oportunidad de aprender el catalán, luego inglés o el francés. Mi madre me dijo que necesito el

catalán. *[Here (in Catalonia) I have more opportunity. I have the opportunity to learn Catalan, later English, or French. My mom told me that I need Catalan.]*

(Ellen): ¿Para que aprender el catalán? *[Why learn Catalan?]*

(Oscar) Honestamente...no lo sé. Porque dice mi mama que igual un día voy a viajar a un lugar donde solo hablan catalán y ¿Cómo les voy a entender? (riéndose)

[Honestly, I don't know. Because my mom says that one day I'm going to travel someplace where they only speak Catalan and how will I understand them? (laughing)]

(Ellen) ¿Y sabes dónde hablan catalán, exactamente? *[And do you know where they speak Catalan, exactly?]*

(Oscar): Mi madre me ha dicho, en Cataluña. *[My mom told me, in Catalonia]*

(Ellen) ¿Sabes si hablan catalán fuera de Cataluña? *[Do you know if they speak Catalan outside of Catalonia?]*

(Oscar) No sé. Honestamente. A veces los domingos si estamos con familia, mi hermano pequeño sabe el catalán y a veces le hablo en catalán para practicar. El catalán, importante.. ¿Muy importante? No...porque se puede vivir aquí sin catalán. Porque donde yo vivo... donde yo ando.... hay muchos hondureños en el barrio. Hay un montón que en solo castellano habla.

[I don't know, honestly. Sometimes on Sundays if we're with family, my little brother knows Catalan and sometimes I speak with him in Catalan to practice. Catalan, important...Really important? No...because you can live here without

Catalan. Because where I live...where I hang out...there are a lot of Hondurans in the neighborhood. There's a ton that only speak Spanish.]

Oscar and Esau sounded similar in their opinions about Catalan: don't shut the door on learning it, but don't worry too much about it either:

(Esau): Imprescindible, no creo que sea (el catalán). Pero dentro de Cataluña, poder saberlo...puede servir. *[Absolutely necessary, I don't think it is, but in Catalonia, it's good to learn it, it helps]*

I asked Esau if it was "imprescindible" to know Catalan at Sant Domenech High School. He said that all of his teachers spoke to him in Catalan, save for a few words in Castilian Spanish to clarify:

(Esau): Pero yo les hablo en castellano ...depende en el maestro. *[But I speak to them in Spanish...depending on the teacher].*

I questioned him a little more about his communication with staff at the high school. He told me that he, as well as many others, knew which teachers were native Spanish speakers or preferred Spanish and which were Catalan speakers:

(Ellen): ¿Piensas que todos los maestros saben hablar castellano? *[Do you think that all of the teachers know how to speak in Spanish?]*

(Esau): Definitivamente, sí. Solo eligen no hablarlo. *[Definitely, yes. They only choose not to speak it.]*

Nelson, although obtaining a high enough proficiency level of Catalan to leave the Aula d' Acollida a year before the study, stated he only used Catalan for school and always

spoke Spanish at home. When I asked him if he had any friends who were Catalan speakers, he responded:

(Nelson): Sí, los tengo. Yo sé el catalán. Pero solo lo uso con los profes y nadie más. Siempre en castellano, hablo yo. Con gente así, fuera del instituto. No uso el catalán mucho. Por WhatsApp, por Facebook, todo en Castellano. Aunque me hablen en catalán, hablo en castellano. No sé. Yo lo veo igual saber el catalán y no saberlo. A mí, me da igual. Yo solo lo sé por obligación.

[Yes, I have them (Catalan speaking friends) I know Catalan. But I only use it with teachers and no one else. I always speak in Spanish. With people, like, out of school. I don't use Catalan much. On WhatsApp and Facebook, all in Spanish. Even though they speak to me in Catalan, I speak in Spanish. I don't know. I see no difference in knowing Catalan and not knowing it. For me, it doesn't matter. I only know it out of obligation.]

Mother Knows Best

Honduran students at Sant Domenech High School who made up the majority of my research participants. These were students who had only been in Catalonia 1-2 years, immersed in an Aula d' Acollida, learning Catalan most of the day with other teen immigrants. These students had been cared for since infancy by their relatives in Honduras, while their biological mothers immigrated to Catalonia to work as *domésticas* or *intérnas* to support their families back in Honduras. Now as teens, these students were reuniting with their biological mothers across the ocean, far from Honduras, after many years, due to the increasingly violent situation in Honduras. The reunifications between

mothers and Honduran teens in Barri Sant Domenech intensified during the time I conducted this study. Honduran mothers living in Catalonia saw their children as growing more vulnerable as they moved into adolescence. Teens in Honduras were falling prey to gangs, risking assault while walking to school, and losing opportunities to receive an education or find work. As a result, their mothers sent for them to come to Spain, as illustrated in the cases of Francisca, Yareli, Nelson, and Emmanuel, many of the Honduran youth in Sant Domenech came to Catalonia due to the increase in violent crime in Honduras. Their exodus from Honduras seemed to coincide with their biological mothers' establishment of residency after a decade of working in Catalonia. The conditions of escalating violence in Honduras and new European migratory patterns (mentioned in Chapter Two) appeared to be the impetus for many of the Honduran teens in Barri Sant Domenech to reunite with their biological mothers, who had previously immigrated to Spain during the economic "boom" in the late 1990's, early 2000's. During that decade, there was a high demand for Latin American domestic workers and fairly lax visa restrictions (Alscher, 2005; Marshall, 2007; Retis, 2016).

Me Siento Obligad@ a Mi Madre

A salient feature among the Honduran youth in Sant Domenech was a sense of obligation to do what their mothers asked whether or not they agreed with it or liked it. It was their debt to pay to their biological mothers. They felt they owed their mothers for bringing them to a safer environment, and a land of greater opportunity. Although many of the Honduran teens in the study were grateful to their mothers for all of their sacrifices and for years of remittances sent to Honduras, they still found it awkward, at times, to

fully feel “en casa” (at home) or “confianza” (comfortable, familiar) with their own mothers as they had spent most of their lives apart. Alma discussed the difficulty of the reunification process in Catalonia and the changing roles of family members after reunification:

(Alma): Mi hermana mayor dice que quiere ir por Honduras otra vez. No quiero que se vaya porque es la persona que me cuidaba todo el tiempo...no mis padres...ella. Supongo que no regresaría y me quedaría con mi padre y mi madre pero claro, sin ella, (llorando)...no sé, tengo más confianza con ella que mis propios padres como ella estaba conmigo todo este tiempo, en fin... me quiero ir con ella (llorando)

[My older sister says that she wants to go back to Honduras. I don't want her to go because she is the person who took care of me all the time, not my parents...her. I suppose I wouldn't go back and I would stay here with my dad and my mom but, of course, without her (crying) ...I don't know...I trust her more than my own parents because she was with me all this time....anyway...I want to go with her...(crying.)]

For Alma, her sister had always acted as her caretaker and she was very connected to her, much more so than to her own parents. It caused her great distress that her older sister might return to Honduras and that she would be left with her parents in Catalonia. Many of the Honduran teens in this study shared with me the plethora of disagreements and fights they had with their mothers as they adjusted to a new household with new, often stricter, rules. In some cases, students were living with their new stepparent or siblings for the first time. These familial changes combined with learning Catalan and living in a

new country was often incredibly frustrating for the students in this study. In Yareli's case, she initially fought often with her mother. However, she told me she learned to appreciate and respect her mother's wishes after more time in Catalonia. It took her and her mother a lot of time to get "reacquainted." Even though Yareli felt indebted to her mother for taking her out of a dangerous situation where she suffered threats of violent assaults as a young woman in the capital of Honduras, she missed living with her grandparents. When she began school at Sant Domenech High School, Yareli shared with me that she had had problems with a boy at school which, unfortunately, strained her already fragile reunification and rebuilding of her relationship with her mother:

(Yareli): Bien con mi madre pero se fueron las cosas en la casa también por causa de ese chico en el instituto....en la calle. Me sentía, no sé. No sé. Todo ese tiempo mientras tenía problemas con ese chico, en casa siempre plaito! Plaitos, plaitos, plaitos. Me he comportado mucho mejor y las cosas están mucho mejor con mi madre. ~Yareli

[Good with my mom but things went bad at home because of that boy at school....in the street. I felt, I don't know...I dunno...All that time that I had problems with that boy, at home there were always fights. Fights, fights, fights. I've behaved much better and now things are much better with my mom]

Nelson had been living in Catalonia for over 2 years and told me that it was much different living with his mother than his grandmother back in San Pedro Sula, Honduras:

(Nelson): Mi madre es un poco estricta, bueno, porque quiere lo mejor para mí. No sé. Cuando me regaña, me siento como me da igual que me regañe....si no

estuvo conmigo, pues... si fuera mi abuela.... ¡Uuuuuu! Esto sería diferente (riéndose)...No me dejaría yo que mi madre me pegara...pero mi abuela sí. Mi abuela es como mi mamá en muchas maneras.

[My mom is a little strict, well, because she wants the best for me. I don't know. When she scolds me, I feel like it doesn't matter that she yells at me...if she wasn't with me, well if it were my grandma, wow!... that's different! (laughing). I would let my mom hit me, but I'd let my grandma, yes. My grandma is like my mom in many ways.]

Francisca was struggling to assimilate in Catalonia on various levels, the most salient being the struggle to reunify and reacquaint herself with her biological mother, her new step-father, and new step brothers. Francisca claimed that her mother was very strict with her about going out with boys, friends, or outside of the house. This adjustment to living with her mother was a source of frustration for the sociable, talkative teen. However, Francisca told me that she knew her mother knew what was best. She felt her mother worked very hard without having a man in her life for many years and admitted that she felt her mother was trying to protect Francisca from “bad men” based her own failed relationships and hardships raising children on her own before marrying her stepfather in Catalonia. Francisca told me on various occasions that although she appreciated the sacrifices that her biological mother had made for her. She admired her mother, that she had accomplished everything on her own and had had three children without her father present in their lives. Francisca explained that because of her mother’s hard work, she and her older sister never lacked for anything in Honduras. However, there was a certain disconnect between her and her mother in Catalonia. This disconnect seemed to affect her

psychosocial well-being:

Con mi hermana, mi relación es muy bonita, ¿vale? Yo peleo con ella mucho pero igual confío mucho en ella y creo que es la persona en que más confío. Es la persona que siempre ha estado conmigo. Mira, Me dice mi madre que yo tengo que confiar en ella (su madre), ¿vale? Pero o...sea, yo no soy capaz de contarla a ella mis cosas simplemente no la tengo confianza (su madre) porque me jode estos diez años. Son diez años en pasar y como voy a venir a mi madre y decir, “mama, me gusta este chico” porque no me siento bien y con mi hermana sí.

[With my sister, it's a beautiful relationship, okay? I fight with her a lot but at the same time I trust in her a lot and I think she is the person I trust the most. The person who has always been with me. Look, my mother says that I have to confide in her, ok? But I mean...I'm not capable of telling her my stuff basically because I don't trust her because these ten years have screwed me. It's been ten years past and how am I going to come up to my mother and say, "I like this boy" because I don't feel right and with my sister, I do.]

Mom Says I Need School for “Papers”

Although Nelson told me that he really never cared when his mother scolded him, he did feel a sense of obligation to his biological mother; after all, he said, it was her idea that he learn Catalan and continue at Sant Domenech High School. It was his mother who had brought Nelson to Catalonia as his other options in Honduras were quite bleak, especially as he entered into adolescence:

(Nelson): Me siento paz, paz aquí (en Cataluña.) Aquí aunque sea por la noche o

la madrugada no te va a pasar nada. En Honduras ha habido casos en que he ido con mi abuela y de repente te escuchas (sic) balas, tiros, y...(pausa) da miedo. Y también da miedo de las noticias. Hay mucha muerte, muchos asaltos. Todo eso. Da miedo.

[I feel peace, peace here (in Catalonia). Here even if it's nighttime or the middle of the night, nothing will happen to you. In Honduras, there's been times when I've gone with my grandma and all of sudden you hear bullets, gunshots....and scary. And also, the news is scary. There's a lot of death, assaults...all of that. It's scary.]

Emmanuel, like Nelson, stated he was having difficulty following his mother's rules and often felt that he wasn't in his "propia casa" (own home) with her. Both teens knew that going to school was their best option to obtain proper paperwork to stay in Catalonia. The job prospects for males in Catalonia was lower than females in certain sectors such as manual labor. Nelson, Esau, and Emmanuel all admitted that a key motivation for keeping up their studies at Sant Domenech High School was due to their mothers' desire for them to obtain work and permanent residency visa. Emmanuel respected his mother's opinion, and stated that it was because of his mother's urging that he quit working as a bricklayer in Honduras and begin high school in Catalonia:

(Emmanuel): Mi madre me explicó que para trabajar y conseguir papeles y todo esto que tenía que estudiar y dijo para conseguir todo eso...a estudiar. Ella dijo si quería mejorar, hacer algo más...para llegar un poquito más alto...hay que echarle ganas.

[My mom explained to me that in order to work and get my papers and all of that that I would have to study and she said that get all of that...to study. She said that if I wanted to be better, do something more, to get a little higher...I'd have to put in some effort]

Emmanuel had really enjoyed working as a bricklayer for at least a year back in Honduras and for him, school and studying was a bit difficult. However, he respected his mother's wishes, he listened to her advice, and he went to Sant Domenech High School. Almost every day that I was in the Aula d' Acollida observing, Emmanuel showed up to class. Despite questioning whether or not he belonged at school or whether or not he fit in, he did what his mother thought best.

Feeling Safe

(Yareli): Yo cuando estaba en Honduras, sufría mucho sabes y habían (sic) hombres que querían llevarme a otros lugares ¿Sabes? Y esto es muy malo pues. Mi madre se preocupó mucho y decidió traerme. En Honduras hay personas que hacen daño a los demás y aquí en España hay, pero no como en Honduras, ¿sabes? Son más atrevidos en Honduras que aquí. No sé, aquí hay más seguridad. Había también niñas malas que buscaban peleas, y estas cosas.

[When I was in Honduras, I suffered a lot, you know? And there were men that wanted to take me to places, you know? And well, this is really bad. My mom was really worried and decided to bring me here. In Honduras, there are people that hurt other people and here in Spain, they're here, but not like in Honduras, you know? They're bolder in Honduras than here. I don't know, there's more security

here. There were also bad girls who were looking to fight and those things (in Honduras).]

Yareli's relationship with her biological mother had improved over the course of this study. In turn, Yareli seemed to participate more in class, get less frustrated by her peers during disagreements, and seemed to focus on doing well in the Aula d'Accollida. She told me that she was committed to staying in Catalonia, that she did not want to go back to Honduras.

Emmanuel, although unsure of how he would continue to motivate himself through high school when he really wanted to go back to work, told me he considered himself lucky to be in Catalonia. He told me that he felt he had an opportunity in Catalonia that others wouldn't get in Honduras if things continued to deteriorate in his home country:

(Emmanuel): Ay...no quiero que vaya así.... el peligro y el presidente, jod.

Pobreza hay... pero más violencia y mucha pandilla...aunque a la hora en que iban a traerme acá, quería que mi abuela no me deje venir. Pero cuando pienso en eso de que salen de las pandillas y de que hay menos policía, mucha muerte, era mejor para nosotros venir acá (a Cataluña)

[Oh...I don't want it to go this way...the danger and the president, fuck. There's poverty...but more violence and lots of gangs...even though when it was time to bring me here (to Catalonia) I wanted my grandmother to not let me come. But when I think about that and what comes from the gangs and that there are less police, a lot of death, it was best for us to come here.]

Once, Emmanuel and I sat down in October of 2015, after I gained a little more of his trust and he told me about how scared he was to stay “idle” and not work. He worried about staying in school and about whether or not he would continue on the “right” path:

(Emmanuel): Para los jóvenes ...hay oportunidades....creo que uno ...pues... sabe, como muy pequeño, si van a seguir en mal camino o buen camino [*For young people there are opportunities....I think that a person....well...you know...like really young, if they're going to go down a bad path or a good path*]

(Ellen): ¿Es fácil caer en mal camino? [*Is it easy to fall into a bad path?*]

(Emmanuel): Sí. En Honduras sí (riéndose). ¿Más que aquí? No sé. Aquí, pues...es bien complicado por lo del trabajo y rellenar los papeles también. Cualquier trabajo de cosas carpintería, jardinería, de paleta y todo de estas cosas. No me importa. Lo que sea pero. Lo que me gusta es trabajar

[*Yes, in Honduras, yeah (laughing). More than here? I don't know. Here, well...it's really complicated because of work and filling out papers (working papers) too. Whatever the job if it's carpentry, landscaping, bricklaying and all of those things. I don't care. Whatever...but. What I like is to work.*]

Emmanuel felt he was in less direct danger in Catalonia than in Honduras.

However, I believe he was telling me that he worried he would fail school or dropout and not be able to find work. He had a hard time in the Aula d' Acollida in terms of learning the language and getting back into schoolwork. Emmanuel tried to tell me in his own way that his greatest fears no longer revolved around violence or gangs in Honduras, but fear of failing in a new country, of disappointing his mother, or being able to make a living.

Cultura Catalana: ¿Per a Tots?

An interesting dialogue arose conversations with many of the Honduran teens in this study; dialogues which illustrated that they were often very unfamiliar with Catalan symbols or traditions that were central to separatist ideals of unifying Catalonia under a monolingual, hegemonic, Catalan national identity. This dialogue arose from discussions about “typical” Catalan culture with the Honduran students following a weekend in Barcelona where I celebrated *La Diada*, a national holiday in Catalonia, with my daughter and friends. Returning to interviews after the weekend, I decided to ask the student participants more about “quintessential” Catalan cultural traditions. I made the erroneous assumption that the participants were taught about these traditions in the Aula d’ Acollida at Sant Domenech High School. For example, Danny, having gone to primary school in Catalonia. However, the participants’ length of time in Catalonia was identified as a fairly insignificant factor in their feelings of “Catalan-ness” and emotional, “Rauxa” attached to Catalan cultural practices. The nature of Danny’s responses, for example, about “Catalan culture” were significant, and he was noted to be open- minded about adding Catalan culture to his transnational, hybrid Latino-Spanish, Honduran identity. When Danny discussed his knowledge of Catalan culture, he responded as such:

(Ellen): ¿Y qué sabes de lo que es “la cultura catalana”? [*And what do you know about “Catalan culture?”*]

(Danny): Muuuu poco. Sé que hacen festa major (sic), las ferias del pueblo, que...la comida un poco. [*Verrrry little. I know they do the big festivals, town carnivals, that...the food a little*]

(Ellen): ¿Sabes, por ejemplo, sobre las sardanas? [*Do you know about, for example, the Sardanas (traditional Catalan dance)?*]

(Danny): ¿Sardanas? Sí, un baile tradicional. [*Sardanas? Yes. A traditional dance.*]

(Ellen): ¿Las has visto jamás? [*Have you ever seen them?*]

(Danny): Me han explicado (sic) y me han enseñado videos. Nada más. Bueno, sé que hacen esto de los castillos humanos. [*They've explained them to me and showed me videos. Nothing more. Well, I know that they do human towers*]

(Ellen): ¿Castellers? ¿Y lo has visto una vez? [*Human towers? Have you ever seen them?*]

(Danny): Sí, lo he visto [*Yes, I have seen it.*]

(Ellen): Y la Diada, ¿Sabes que es? ¿El 11 de Septiembre? [*And the Diada..Do you know what it is? September 11th?*]

(Danny): ¿La Diada? No, pues no. No. La verdad es que no. [*The Diada? No, well, no. The truth is no.*]

(Ellen): ¿Y sobre la independencia de Cataluña de España, últimamente es gran tema. ¿Sabes algo de esto? [*And about the Catalan independence from Spain, lately it's a big topic. Do you know anything about this?*]

(Danny): Sí, pues lo he visto por la tele. Pero no sé...tiene que decidir ellos. No sé...(muy callado) [*Yes, I've seen it on the TV, but I don't know. They have to decide themselves. I don't know (speaks very quietly)*]

(Ellen): Dijiste “ellos” ¿A quiénes se refiere? [*You said “they.” To whom are you referring?*]

(Danny): Pues... a los catalanes...si quieren independizar. [*Well...the Catalans, if they want to become independent.*]

(Ellen): ¿Piensas que te afectaría a tí? [*Do you think it would affect you?*]

(Danny): No, no me afectaría. [*No, no. It wouldn't affect me*]

In essence, Danny stated he felt no real need to understand or affiliate with the cultural traditions of Catalonia; traditions which were practiced often and symbolic of a strong movement in Catalonia towards national unity and self-determination. Danny spoke of these traditions as if they were not his own, and Catalan independence as something that wasn't “his” to embrace. His opinion reflected a transnational, Latino hybrid identity: He was in the middle, diplomatic, and stated that Catalans (which did not include himself) should decide about the issue of secession from Spain.

On the other hand, Yareli, the youngest Honduran student in the study, was still unaware of most Catalan traditions likely due to her lack of exposure and understanding of their symbolism in the greater scope of Catalan politics. When Yareli and I spoke of cultural traditions, in general, there was little to no mention of “typical” Catalan culture. She usually directed our conversations about culture to that of Honduras, of their Independence Day and parades, and about her life back in Tegucigalpa. In fact, she urged me to listen to a few new musical groups, all of which were Latino Christian Reggaetón or Latino Christian pop in Spanish. I listened as she suggested I write down some “great music!” Vikosis, Marcos Vidal, and Alex Zurdo; all Latino Christian music. I asked her if

she ever listened to Spanish (from Spain) groups and she giggled, “No!” She stated that sometimes she listened to the radio in Catalan just to try and understand, but that she didn’t like it and this it was “así...pasiva” (like...(boring, slow)). Yareli was much more interested in telling me about music she knew from Central America than talking about music in Catalan. I asked her if she had ever seen *castellers*, the human towers of Catalonia, or listened to the traditional Sardana, a Catalan dance, accompanied by music and performed in plazas around the center city. She seemed confused, bored, and didn’t know what I was talking about. Discussing Catalan traditions with Yareli showed that over the course of a year in Catalonia, the uniting forces of Catalan cultural traditions which were very different from the rest of Spain, were not part of her every day lived experience. Yareli, although keen on learning the Catalan language to further her studies, had no idea what was meant by the Catalan *Diada* or anything else that culturally, Catalans held dear to their hearts. When I asked Yareli if she knew about the upcoming independence vote in Catalonia, she perked up for a minute, and shook her head in disapproval. This was something she had heard about, although didn’t understand it in much depth. She described how the independence movement in Catalonia made her scared:

(Yareli): Creo que están haciendo mal en votar por la independencia.

Imagínate...un voto por mí, uno por ti...quiero más votos...creo que es malo...podría quedar como Honduras. Haciendo guerras. No sé. Yo creo que es muy malo.

[I think they are doing a bad thing in voting for independence. Imagine...one vote for me, one for you...I want more votes...I think it’s bad...it could end up like

Honduras. Making wars. I don't know. I think it's really bad.]

After significant discussions about Catalan culture arose in a smaller set of interviews, I decided to ask Nelson what he knew about *Castellers, Sardanas, la Diada*, and all things related to typical Catalan traditions. Although Nelson spoke Catalan well and had graduated from the Aula d' Acollida, he had no idea what these quintessential Catalan symbols or traditions really meant to the greater Catalan community. I told Nelson that in addition to these cultural symbols and traditions which gave Catalans so much pride, that the Catalan language, itself had been prohibited under the Franco regime for over forty years. After having to show him on my phone's *Wikipedia* that, indeed, Catalan had been a prohibited language, he was pretty shocked. He was very interested to hear that Catalan had actually been banned and stated,

(Nelson):...para mi... en mi vida, la lengua catalana no es importante, pero respeto a sus tradiciones y sí, resulta esa cosa de estar prohibida muy interesante. Pienso en respetar a las tradiciones de los demás o sea como respetan a mí...¿Sabes? y me hablan en español y tal pues. Y hay profesores algunos que les interesan cosas de Honduras que aquí no hay entonces, a ellos se sorprende también.

[...for me...in my life, the Catalan language isn't important, but I respect their traditions and, yes, it turns out that thing of it being prohibited is really interesting. I think about respecting the traditions of others, I mean, like they respect me, you know? And they speak to me in Spanish and everything. And there are teachers, some, who are interested in things about Honduras that don't exist here, so they are surprised as well]

I asked José, and later Esau, who had both been in Catalonia since preschool, how they felt connected to Catalan culture. José, in particular, told me that he could care less. He stated he was born in Honduras, but spent his whole life in Spain. He didn't consider attached to either culture. Esau stated he would describe to others that he was Honduran or Spanish, but never Catalan. I asked both students about the typical Catalan traditions and their responses reflected, mainly, indifference:

(Ellen): Vale, yo te voy a decir una tradición típica de Cataluña y a ver si sabes que es...*[Okay, I'm going to say a typical Catalan tradition and see if you know what it is...]*

(Jose): Vale *[Okay]*

(Ellen): Sardanas

(Jose): Es un baile. Pero a mí no me gusta. En el colegio lo tenía que aprender pero en mi opinión...no me gusta. *[It's a dance. But I don't like it. In elementary school I had to learn it but, in my opinion, I don't like it.]*

(Ellen): Castellers

(José): ...cuando las personas se pone encima de uno a otro, hay un montón de gente y hacen castillos humanos. Me da igual. *[When people climb on top of each other, there's a ton of people, and they make human towers. I could care less.]*

(Ellen): De la independència...de Cataluña *[About the Independence....of Catalonia]*

(José): Si quieren ellos independizarse... creo que me iría de Cataluña. *[If they*

want to be independent, I think I would leave Catalonia.]

I asked Esau in the same way I had asked José about typical Catalan traditions:

(Esau): ¿La sardana? Es un baile que nos enseno cuando era pequeño. No me gusta. ¿La Diada? ¿Cuál? ¿Ah... de la independencia? No sé exactamente. Para la independencia de Cataluña me haría un favor.... como hago atletismo y solo tendría que representar a Cataluña y no a todo España. Pero aparte del nivel de deporte me da bastante igual.

[Sardanas? It's a dance they taught us when I was little. I don't like it. The

Diada? Which one? The one about independence? I don't know exactly.

Catalonia's independence would do me a favor because I do track and field, and

I'd only have to represent Catalonia, not all of Spain. But apart from sports aspect, I could really care less.]

After attempting to uncover the students' knowledge or affinity for typical Catalan traditions, I questioned whether these traditions were promoted in educational institutions as inclusive activities, "per a tots," (for everyone) as they say in Catalan? Who owned Catalan language and culture? Despite the careful planning in place to enforce Catalan as the language of Catalonia, the language of all school children, the Honduran youth in Sant Domenech, in general, stated that weren't emotionally attached to quintessential cultural activities or practices related to the language they were learning. They appeared to lack "Rauxa" with regard to Catalan culture. The majority didn't seem to relate, personally, to the repression that the Catalan language had gone through or, in turn, they were shocked to hear that the repression had even existed. The Honduran teens

at Sant Domenech High School didn't feel palpable struggle that Catalans expressed, daily, to be recognized as "not Spanish" and "culturally different" from the rest of Spain.

Measuring "Honduran-ness" in Sant Domenech

There were a variety of perspectives among participants on what it meant to be Honduran in Barrí Sant Domenech and in Catalonia. Francisca, as well as Emmanuel, were very vocal in their opinions and manner of dress that defined "Honduran-ness." Dressed in a way which was typical of a Honduran "reggaetón style" at Sant Domenech High School, Emmanuel always wore a backwards baseball cap, fade haircut, sporty streetwear, a couple of gold chains, and a "cool attitude," which outwardly marked a solidarity with the neighborhood hondureños. He stated that he didn't contemplate assimilating "into a Catalan" in language, mannerisms, or style any time in the future:

(Ellen): ¿Perderías el castellano al estar aquí más tiempo? [*Would you lose Spanish being here longer?*]

(Emmanuel): Jamás nunca. Es una lengua propia, pienso que por mí, nunca lo voy a olvidar [*Never ever. It's my language, and in my opinion, I'll never forget it*]

(Ellen): ¿Tu hermano menor...¿posiblemente? [*Your younger brother...possibly?*]

(Emmanuel): No. Tampoco. Simplemente no lo va a perder. No, no podría ser catalán, siempre seré hondureño y hay muchos que aman a mi país como yo [*No. Him either. Just, he's not going to lose it. No, I couldn't be Catalan, I'll always be Honduran and there's a lot of people that love our country like me.*]

Francisca embodied a student who identified herself as "fiercely Honduran." According

to Francisca, to be anything or show anything else, to assimilate, even in speech, showed a type of betrayal to her “país” (country) and phoniness.” She expressed that she was “Honduran to the core. She felt that she shouldn’t “fake” being someone else. In this same vein, her language use and behavior in the Aula d’ Acollida reflected her personal beliefs. I wrote in my field notes that she rarely spoke Catalan, even though it was a Catalan language immersion class. When she was asked multiple times by the instructors to use Catalan, not Spanish, to answer to a question in Catalan, she reluctantly gave in and complied. She spent most of the time in AA class chatting to her classmates in Spanish of both in Honduran and Castilian Spanish. Francisca illustrated, in these moments, neither “Seny” nor “Rauxa” towards Catalan language use. It wasn’t unusual for her to say things to her AA instructors such as, “¿Podemos leer este libro en castellano, por fa” (Can we read this book in Spanish, please)? “¿Por qué no podemos leerlo en Castellano” (Why can’t we read it in Spanish)? In an attempt to measure “Honduran-ness” and “Honduran identity” in this study, Francisca offered the following:

(Francisca):...la identidad, yo la tengo, por mi personalidad. No sé es lo que viene a mi mente. Yo sé que muchas ideas de identidad, de donde tú eres originalmente, vale, y pues yo me siento muy orgullosa de ser hondureña

[...Identity, I have it, because of my personality. I don’t know, it’s what comes to mind. I know I have a lot of ideas about identity, where you’re from, orginally, ok, and well I feel very proud to be Honduran]

(Ellen): ¿Te sientes que aún que tengas una forma de identidad relacionada con España? *[Do you feel you have any type of identity related to Spain yet?]*

(Francisca): No, no, no, no...¡Que va que va! Yo soy hondureña y ya está. Para que venir aquí y presumir que no soy. Soy hondureña, hondureña y ya está. Creo que la identidad en este caso es la manera en que tú te comportes (sic). También tu propia identidad es como las personas te miren, si te miren que eres creativa si eres aparte, si eres de aquí...ESO es identidad. Personas en el instituto me ven muy alocada sabes, que me gusta mucho hacer reír las personas, que me gusta divertirme sin exceso, que me gusta.....simplemente me gusta ser feliz. Mira, he cambiado un poco el acento como ahora, digo, “venga” que en mi país no lo dice o no digo “ahorita” porque no se usa aquí.

[No, no, no, No way! No way! I am Honduran and and that's it. Why come here and show off that I'm not. I am Honduran, Honduran and that's it. I think identity in this case is the way you act. And your own identity is like, how people see you, if they see you as creative, if you're an outsider, if you're from here...THAT'S identity. People at school see me as really silly, you know? And that I like to make people laugh, that I like to have fun but not over the top..that I like to.....simply be happy...Look, I've changed my accent a little like now I say now, “venga” (c'mon) that they don't say in my country and I don't say “ahorita”(right now) because they don't use it here.]

Francisca's level of comfort in Catalonia outside of Barrí Sant Domenech and outside of the Aula d' Acollida was low. Her relational engagement with the rest of Sant Domenech High School was also low. She remained set on only socializing with other Honduran students and texting all day to her Honduran friends from Barrí Sant Domenech and family back in Honduras. Yareli and Nelson weren't as vocal as

Francisca and Emmanuel about their Honduran pride, but both were part of musical dance and drum corps which practiced traditional Honduran music and performed at Honduran celebrations and parades celebrating Honduran traditions and holidays. All of the Honduran youths in this study referred to Honduras as “mi país” (my country) and referred to Honduras as their country of origin, spoke of “their” (Honduran) food which they enjoyed in their homes, Honduran music and artists which they enjoyed on a daily basis. Figure 14 illustrates some of the maintenance of cultural activities of the Honduran Diaspora in Barrí Sant Domenech.

Figure 14 Honduran Parade in Sant Domenech



“Old” vs “New” Honduran Youth in Sant Domenech

While interviewing two Honduran students, José and Esau, who had spent the longest time living in Catalonia, I gained an understanding of a certain divide among

Hondurans at Sant Domenech High School. José, who had no trace of a Honduran accent and appeared to be very assimilated into Spanish culture in both his manner and dress, told me that he was not one of “those” Honduran students. I asked him to explain what he meant by “those”:

(José): Con hondureños, hondureños no me llevo... yo no sé porque..pero nunca he llegado a esto. Hablan diferente y son como más problemáticos. *[With Hondurans, Hondurans, I don't get along well...I don't know why ... but I've never got to that. They speak different and they're like, more problematic.]*

(Ellen): ¿Esto es una opinión común en el instituto? *[Is that a common opinion at (Sant Domenech) the High School?]*

(José): Bueno sí, por el idioma o no por ellos mismos, no sé. Porque suelen tener la mentalidad de los grupos, de las Maras, todo esto. También lo de peleas. Nunca llegan a hablar o algo. Hay peleas. Con los hondureños, hondureños no llevo tanto *[Well, yeah, because of the language and not because of they, themselves. I don't know. Because they often have a group mentality, of the Maras [gang]), and all that. Also, the fight stuff. They never just talk or anything.]*

After speaking with José about his dislike for “new” Hondurans and his disassociation with any of them, I wondered if it had to do with the length of José's stay in Catalonia, so I followed up on this by questioning another “old” Honduran, Esau. I asked Esau what he thought about this idea of “hondureño, hondureños” being problematic:

(Esau): Yo al contrario de José, yo con los latinos llevo bien, la mayoría son

hondureños. Llevo bien con los hondureños, fuera del instituto tengo muchos amigos que son hondureños. Son los más con quien llevo que catalanes, por ejemplo.

[I'm the opposite of José, I get along well with Latinos and the majority are Honduran. I get along well with Hondurans, outside of high school I have a lot of Honduran friends. I get along best with Latinos compared to Catalans, for example.]

Subsequently, I asked Danny what he thought about “old” Hondurans not associating with “new” Honduras. Danny had stated to me on occasion that he felt, “en el medio” (in the middle) in terms of his Honduran-ness. Danny had been in Catalonia for nearly a decade, but felt he was judged by “los problemas de mi país” (the problems of my country (that of Honduras)) and related stories of suffering discrimination as a Honduran immigrant outside of Barrí Sant Domenech. For instance, he recounted a time he tried to enter a dance club in the city center with his brother and cousin,

(Danny): Un día quería entrar y me dijo, “No. tú no puedes entrar.” Yo dije, “¿Por qué?” y él dijo “por la forma de vestir a lo mejor llevas drogas o algo así” y después si me buscó...y tal... si llevaba droga o algo. Al final no llevo nada porque yo no fumo. ¿Mi forma de vestir? Lo de siempre. Pues suelo ir con camisas apretadas, pantalones y estilo diferente...el peinado. En ese incidente llevaba cadena e iba con los auriculares... nada más. Nos vieron como raros a nuestro grupo. Él me dijo, “¿De qué país eres? ¿Por qué quieres entrar?” Y le dije, “Pues para pasar el tiempo.”

[One day I wanted to get in and he said, “No, you can’t come in.” I said, “Why?” and he said, “because of the way you dress and you’re probably bringing in drugs or something like that.” And then he searched me and everything if I had drugs or anything. I didn’t have anything because I don’t smoke (marihuana). My dress? Like usual. I always wear tight shirts, pants, and a different...hairstyle. That time I was wearing a chain and headphones...nothing more. They look at us like we were weird. He said to me, “What country are you from? Why do you want to come in?” and I said, “well, to hang out.”]

I questioned Danny on another occasion why he thought some people, even other Hondurans, would look down on other Honduran immigrants in the neighborhood. What was different about them, in his opinion, which would provoke negative interactions? He offered the following perspective:

(Danny): Los hondureños suelen ser muy simpáticos. Por ejemplo, si te vas a relacionar con un catalán o un español suelen ser muy...muy cerrados.

[Hondurans are always nice. For example, if you hang out with a Catalan or a Spaniard, they tend to be...really, really closed minded.]

(Ellen): ¿Cómo manejas esto, entonces? *[How do you deal with this, then?]*

(Danny): Bueno poco a poco.... pero se conceden, sigo siendo simpático, alegre y al final pues... mira, que eres buena persona. Porque a lo mejor se puede llegar al tener un pensamiento mal de ti que a lo mejor no es verdad....por forma de vestir, forma de expresarse. Lo sé porque me ha pasado varias veces. *[Well, little by little....but they give in, I keep being nice, friendly, and in the end...well..look,*

that I'm a nice person. Because maybe they could have a bad feeling about you and maybe it's not true...because the way you dress and act. I know because it's happened to me a lot.]

I asked him how he would self-identify given that the way he dressed: the fade haircut, tight shirt, chains, and sport clothes, he seemed to fall in with the “new Honduran crowd”. Despite outward appearances, however, Danny maintained that he felt somewhere “in the middle” living in Catalonia and stated he had experienced racism due to his outward appearance and country of origin:

(Danny): Hay racismo. Hay poco pero hay. Por la piel, la manera de vestirse y los diferentes paises también. Depende en el país que sea.Honduras, pues hay más racismo porque hay muchos problemas allí y piensan que tú también eres problemático. En la ciudad central, no tanto en Barrí Sant Domenech.

[There's racism. There's not much, but it exists. Because of skin (color), ways of dressing and different countries too. Depending on the country it is...Honduras, well, there's a lot of racism because there's so many problems there and they think you are also problematic. In the center city, not so much in Sant Domenech neighborhood.]

Key Themes Identified

There were some key themes from interviews, observations, and questionnaires with Honduran youths in Sant Domenech which suggested that their communicative practices were highly situational and dictated by more than just their proficiency level in speaking Catalan. Their reasons for using Catalan were varied, and not always in line

with a high or low proficiency level in Catalan. Firstly, their Catalan use was limited almost exclusively to school. The youths used their “Seny” to dictate this Catalan use at school, and felt Catalan use at Sant Domenech High School would bring them both better grades and economic capital. Some of the Honduran teens used Catalan because they felt they needed to respect their peers at school, their teachers, and the country which had given them refuge from violence and instability in Honduras, illustrating some emotional, “Rauxa” sensibility towards using Catalan to respect their classmates and teachers at Sant Domenech High School. Some of the Honduran teens were motivated to learn Catalan because they wanted to invest in their academic future where Catalan proficiency is obligatory, and gain access to higher education and a wider range of employment opportunities.

Furthermore, Catalan use and effort to learn it often stemmed from a desire to improve their relationship with their biological mothers during a reunification process in Catalonia. These mothers often insisted that taking Catalan in school, staying in school, and learning Catalan would benefit the youths’ families, overall. Honduran youths in Sant Domenech seemed to feel a great debt of gratitude towards their mothers. They may not have always gotten along with them, but they had a lot of respect for what their mothers had sacrificed by leaving Honduras and working for many years in Catalonia. Another theme identified transcripts of interview with Honduran youth in Sant Domenech was a lack of knowledge, regardless of length in residence, about quintessential Catalan cultural activities: *Sardanas*, *Castellers*, and *la Diada*, markers which united a Catalonia searching for a separate, national identity which made them distinct from the rest of Spain.

The political discourse surrounding Catalonia's independence from Spain was ever present during this study, and cultural features which were "distinctly Catalan, not Spanish" were very present in the city center beyond Barrí Sant Domenech, at the local university, in Barcelona, yet absent among Sant Domenech High School's immigrant population. Honduran youths who were relatively new to the country knew essentially nothing of Catalan traditions and cultural practices. Students who had come from Honduras in primary school were noted as having a basic knowledge of Catalan traditions, but were indifferent to them, or even stated that if "Catalan no existiera, me daría igual" (if Catalan didn't exist, I wouldn't care).

Whether the Honduran students at Sant Domenech wished to study Catalan or not, they were obligated to spend the majority of their day in a self-contained AA classroom with other immigrant students learning to read, write, and speak in Catalan. Despite the Honduran students' ability to communicate in Spanish with instructors and their autochthonous peers at Sant Domenech High School, the *Generalitat* has mandated that all immigrant high school students who are non-native Catalan speakers take intensive Catalan language course in an Aula d'Accollida. Students can only leave the self-contained Aula d' Accollida when deemed fluent enough in Catalan to take courses in the "mainstream" area of the high school.

Honduran youths in Barrí Sant Domenech were navigating their teenage years in a Catalonia which was experiencing a separatist movement from the rest of Spain, a politicization of the Catalan language which embodied patriotism for an independent Catalonia, and an overall increase in xenophobia in Europe due to the largest displacement of people from violent conflicts since World War II. In Barrí Sant

Domenech, Honduran youth were simultaneously trying to cope with living a new country, with a new language, and new living situations.

All that was happening outside of the Honduran Diaspora in Sant Domenech, seemed beyond the lived experiences of the students participating in this study. In fact, the lack of exposure to Catalonia's struggle for a separate identity, and the lack of knowledge about Pre-Francoist Catalan language repression in Sant Domenech High School left the Honduran youths learning Catalan out of obligation, with "Seny", but no "Rauxa" or no emotional attachment. Examining the language use, identities, and language ideologies of the Honduran youth in Barrí Sant Domenech was a complex issue because the majority of these students expressed little to no personal/emotional/psychological/cultural investment in the Catalan language.

CHAPTER 6:

Conclusions, Implications, and Suggestions for Future Research

Conclusions

The Honduran youth in Sant Domenech held complex ideologies and identities which influenced their communicative practices and impacted their lived experiences in Catalonia. Their situated identities within Catalan society were varied, multi-layered, and often contradictory. Many students commented on maintaining what could be described as a transnational, hybrid identity where they continued to foster their Honduran identity in a diasporic community, continued to practice traditions of their homeland, and participate in cultural activities on Honduran national holidays while still identifying as Latino youth born or living in Catalonia. For some of the Honduran teens, maintaining ties to Honduras meant celebrating holidays at home with traditional Honduran meals and music. For others, their emotional attachment and transnational, Honduran identity reached far beyond holidays and food; “Honduran-ness” marked their speech, their dress, their peer groups, and their social media activity. Investment in the Catalan language was constrained by the type of capital desired by each student, and the feasibility of access to this capital was based on their individual “habitus.” The Honduran youths’ language practices in Sant Domenech, embodied, in my view, the Catalan concept described in Chapter Two as “El Seny i La Rauxa.”

The Catalan notion of “El Seny i La Rauxa” could be appropriately applied to the Honduran students’ communicative practices in this study and this very Catalan sensibility used to describe their linguistic choices. The Catalan concept of “El Seny i La

Rauxa” applied to this study is also based on personal experiences and time spent in Catalonia over the past twenty years. “El Seny” represents the notion of the rational, the prudent, and actions which are purposeful, have foresight, wisdom and use “common sense” as a guide. The other side of “El Seny” is “La Rauxa,” and in Catalan terms, it isn’t a negative trait, but one that accompanies “El Seny” throughout one’s life. “La Rauxa” is that part of us that is emotional, sometimes irrational, representing actions which spring “from the heart,” and aren’t necessarily dictated by common sense. “La Rauxa” forms the part of us which throws “Seny” to the side, and provokes simple reactions to circumstances before us. “La Rauxa” is living for the moment, whether it’s a moment full of joy or pain. Honduran youth in Sant Domenech exemplified the Catalan mentality of “El Seny i La Rauxa” to guide their communicative practices in both Catalan, Castilian Spanish, “Honduran” Spanish, and the hybrid speech in between, using “Seny” or “Rauxa” to guide their linguistic choices in any given situation.

It seemed fitting to emphasize and reify this Catalan concept within the larger discussion about Latino youth immigrant assimilation and acculturation in Catalonia. Placing this quintessential Catalan concept as part of the discussion about non-native Catalan immigrants’ use of Catalan could be beneficial as a counterpoint to those studies which suggest “Honduran-ness” in Catalonia is somehow incompatible with the region’s values and national identity. Honduran youth language practices in Sant Domenech are neither incompatible nor a threat to Catalonia’s core identity. Using the Catalan sensibility of “El Seny i La Rauxa,” to describe communicative practices and negotiated identity of Honduran Youth in this study are based on an observance of both their pragmatic language choices (Seny) and those which were based on their continued

emotional attachment (Rauxa) to their home country of Honduras.

El Seny in Honduran Youth Communicative Practices

Honduran Youth Investment in Catalan: Access to Cultural and Economic Capital

The Honduran youth in this study displayed an interest in learning Catalan as a means of acquiring both cultural and economic capital. Participants in the study, on the whole, invested in Catalan because they equated Catalan proficiency with educational achievement, ultimately leading to economic capital upon high school graduation. All participants in the study expressed a desire to graduate from ESO, and either advance to the *ciclo formativo* to apprentice as mechanics, work in the hospitality industry, or learn the construction trade. Others hoped of passing proficiency exams in Catalan well before graduation, enabling them to enter *bachillerato*, apply to university, and gain employment as pharmacists, engineers, or teachers.

After listening to the many hours of interviews for this study, participants expressed a feeling of “Seny” about the importance of gaining Catalan proficiency, and they were aware that Catalan language proficiency meant they could move onto better employment opportunities in Catalonia. In terms of cultural and economic capital, some students had already experienced the “currency” Catalan could give them in the job market, such as Esau using Catalan at his father’s workplace, José sitting for *bachillerato* exams, Yareli, Alma, and Francisca expressing how Catalan proficiency permitted their mothers and sisters to secure good paying jobs in the domestic sector. Danny, feeling a sense of accomplishment and pride at the gym when he could communicate in Catalan with “Catalans,” while his other Latino friends in Sant Domenech could not. Thus, the

common sense, “Seny” attitude that the Honduran youth adopted towards investing in Catalan language greatly emphasized academics: graduating from the Aula d’Acollida, later from Sant Domenech High School, and finally becoming upwardly mobile in socioeconomic status through their occupations in Catalonia. That said, the students experienced some obstacles which barred their access to full language proficiency as well as to the cultural capital needed for their academic success. For example, many students felt overlooked by school staff at Sant Domenech to guide them in their path towards their “dream jobs.” In fact, some students really didn’t know if the career they wished to pursue even existed in Catalonia. Other times, the students were barred access to social and cultural capital because of their unwillingness to subscribe to a “Catalan identity” or give up a bit of their “Honduran-ness.” Many Honduran youth in Sant Domenech expressed they felt they needed to choose one identity and couldn’t be forced to make a choice to “be Catalan” or “Honduran.” Norton’s (2015) investment model reinforces these sentiments by the Honduran youth in this study, that Catalan language investment could be undermined by external forces such as dominant, hegemonic cultures as well as by societal and institutional powers. In the case of Sant Domenech, systemic racism towards Honduran youth also impacted the students’ investment in Catalan.

Honduran Youth Investment in Catalan: An Obligation/Sense of Duty

The prominence of mothers’ influence on Honduran students’ academic decisions in Sant Domenech was another feature to emerge from this study. Many participants expressed they felt they needed to learn Catalan to please their mothers who requested that they stay in school to help process their immigration status, and to open up better employment opportunities if they learned Catalan. Many of these mothers, according to

their children, had lived and worked in Catalonia for over a decade and took care of elderly Catalans. Some of these women's daughters, like Francisca and Alma, emphasized that their mothers were insistent that they gain proficiency in Catalan so that they could gain employment in Catalonia and help out the family financially. Others took their mother's advice on learning Catalan very seriously and felt that their mothers' years of experience in Catalonia gave them authority over their own desires about their educational future. "Seny" could be identified in both the mothers' and youths' ideologies about Catalan as a useful language for school and economic success in Catalonia. However, "Rauxa" could also be identified as underpinning these ideologies, as they ultimately stemmed from an emotional attachment to their mothers and sense of obligation and duty to their family. All of the students, regardless of length of time residing in Catalonia, underscored investing in Catalan out of obligation. This obligation was mixed. Some, like Emmanuel, felt an obligation to his mother for bringing him to Catalonia for better job opportunities and a chance to avoid gang violence and a "mal camino" (bad path) in Honduras. Francisca, for example, also felt a sense of obligation to her mother to graduate from Sant Domenech High School. She admitted that her mother's decade long sacrifice working alone in Catalonia, away from her family, was driving her to attempt to learn Catalan, despite not particularly enjoying it. Francisca noted that she was "never without" in Honduras. As she adjusted to life with her biological mother again, she recognized that her mother cared deeply for her and felt obligated to meet her expectations. She noted that economic success in Catalonia meant that their family in Honduras could reap the benefits of her, her sister's, and mother's remittances.

Apart from familial obligations, Honduran youth in Sant Domenech stated that they were inclined to learn Catalan out of an obligation to a host country that had received them, given them a sense of peace and security, and opportunities which were no longer an option for them in their native Honduras rife with violence and poverty. They often invested in learning Catalan or attempted to become proficient due to a sense of obligation to their native Catalan teachers that had gone out of their way to welcome them to “their country.” For instance, Nelson, Jose, Esau, and Leo, stated time and again that when they received respect from teachers and staff at Sant Domenech High School for who they were and where they were from, it was only natural that they show that same respect towards their instructors’ language and culture. As Nelson said in our conversations, “they respect me and my background, so I can at least learn “their” language.”

Gatekeeping and External Factors on Catalan Language Investment

Sant Domenech High School was a site of linguistic struggle and strong language ideologies. The dominant status of Catalan was always at play in the students’ lives whether they were extremely proficient in Catalan or not. Danny, for example, admitted, that even though he spoke the Catalan language very well, he wouldn’t give up his “Honduran-ness”, accent, dress, and mannerisms for access to social capital among native Catalans. Often times, students reported limited access to economic and cultural capital even with high Catalan proficiency because they chose to maintain their “Honduran-ness” in terms of their Discourse, dress, and mannerisms. Some Honduran students felt they were marked no matter what due to their country of origin, their outward appearance, and skin color. Francisca, for example, said even if she knew more Catalan

that she would never “try and pretend” to be Catalan. She would always be Honduran, despite completing the required coursework to become proficient in the Catalan language. She was an astute observer of the reality of things at Sant Domenech High School. She could try all she wanted to speak Catalan fluently, but that no one could deny she was “Honduran to the core.” Francisca took a certain pride in this “Honduran-ness,” but it was also observed that it was not necessarily a choice she could make due to systemic racism and negative attitudes by teachers and administration towards students like her who made no apologies for their background, country of origin, or “markedness” as Latino teens residing in Catalonia.

La Rauxa and Honduran Youth Communicative Practices

Spanish Language Choices in and Out of School: Social Capital

The choice to use Spanish, specifically Honduran Spanish, among study participants in Sant Domenech served a two-fold purpose with respect to social capital. For adolescents, social capital is the often most important capital to access. Honduran youth in Sant Domenech observed that it wasn't necessarily advantageous to invest in Catalan for social networking, displaying a “Seny” about Spanish language choice and social capital in Sant Domenech. They made realistic assessments of their social circles and where Latino Spanish held high social currency in their immediate neighborhood. Firstly, Honduran students at Sant Domenech were in the majority among of Latin American immigrants at the school and in the neighborhood. The choice to use Honduran Spanish gave them access to social capital as they were surrounded by a large Honduran diasporic community with strong associations which sponsored parades,

cultural events, Honduran national holidays, and music clubs. The Honduran diasporic community in Sant Domenech also included the strong presence of the evangelical church. The church helped out fellow Honduran immigrant with clothing, food, or employment needs. It also provided physical space for social interaction and networking, and even memorial services in Sant Domenech for family members back in Honduras who had passed away. The emotional attachment to Honduran Spanish, and maintenance of Honduran cultural practices guided the “Rauxa” side of the Honduran teens’ language practices in these specific contexts.

The second way that the Honduran youth in this study gained social capital by using Honduran Spanish in Sant Domenech was inside the Aula d’ Acollida at the high school. The Aula d’ Acollida was dominated by youth of Honduran origin, and it was the site for much socialization and “posturing” of Honduran pride and Latino style. In the AA class, Honduran Spanish was often used for flirting, for expressing frustration or happiness, and as some Honduran youth noted, “se me escapa” (it just comes out), exhibiting a “Rauxa” sensibility towards their linguistic choices in the program. It was an entirely different story when these same youths were observed in “mainstream” Catalan classes like a math class, where the most charismatic student in the AA class would shrink into a corner, trying not to be noticed once placed in an all Catalan language class. Occasionally, one of the Honduran youth in this study stated they would use Catalan to gain entrance to a *discoteca* or festival in the City Center. By and large, however, once inside the locale, socialization would take place using Latino Spanish.

Maintenance of Honduran Spanish via Technology

It was not difficult for the Honduran youth in Sant Domenech to maintain a

Honduran variety of Spanish due to the large diaspora from that country in the neighborhood. Notably, the student participants used Honduran Spanish to communicate via WhatsApp, Facebook, and Instagram. They used transnational literacies to maintain relationships with their friends and family back home in Honduras as well as with other Honduran youth in the diaspora. They also communicated via text message and internet phone calls through WhatsApp and Facebook to exchange ideas, information about Honduras' economic and political situation, town gossip, and the newest in music. The inexpensive technology around Sant Domenech, including free WiFi at cafés and bars allowed the Honduran youth to be constantly connected with their Honduran roots.

Implications

The Case for the Aula d Acollida in Catalonia

Aules d' Acollida or similar submersion type models for L2 learners are problematic, and put the programs' students at risk for marginalization and low relational engagement at their schools (Suarez-Orozco, C., M., Todorova, Irina, 2008). However, the AA at Sant Domenech High School modeled some very positive pedagogical practices, and served as an initial "safe space" where Honduran youth in this study stated they felt comfortable in a class where they were all "new" immigrants to Catalonia. The AA teachers made students feel welcome, in general, at Sant Domenech High school. They took measures to acknowledge every one of their students' countries of origin with world maps around the room and projects which connected students' native languages to Catalan phrases, for example. They also developed individualized educational plans (IEPs) for each pupil which took into account their linguistic background and years of

schooling. The notion of an IEP for each student in an AA is one that allows for individualized growth and language development. The IEP approach in the AA at Sant Domenech High School contrasts with other self-contained models in that it advocates for inclusion in “mainstream” class as soon as possible, making the most of students’ time in classrooms learning content, and gaining valuable time for Legitimate Peripheral Participation (Lave, J., & Wenger, E., 1991).

The Aula d’ Acollida at Sant Domenech High School, with its IEP type programming for students and value placed on AA teacher input, allowed for Honduran teens to leave the AA for a few “regular” classes when they felt they were ready, thus illustrating a fairly student-centered, flexible model adopted by the high school. Furthermore, support for immigrant student populations extended beyond “graduation” from the AA program, as AA teachers continued to be a resource for immigrant students even after they left the program, providing students with linguistic support, access to computers, and Catalan language books during their own breaks or afterschool. The AA teachers at Sant Domenech often spoke with students in the AA class about any home or social troubles they encountered while transitioning to their new home in Catalonia, and they were observed as having a good rapport with the students, in general.

The Honduran youth expressed a love for their Aula d’ Acollida at Sant Domenech during interviews, stating that it was a classroom “where all of their friends were”, “where they felt safe to express themselves”, “where everyone else was an immigrant”, and “where they continued to connect with other Hondurans.” AA teachers were observed dedicating much time to their students, and also helped gently push the students out to regular classes when they believed them to be ready. A giant flower with

paper petals of each student was kept in a corner of the AA classroom, and when students were deemed proficient to leave the program, they would take the petal with them, signifying they were all a part of the same unit, each petal different, yet part of a whole.

The Case against the Aula d' Acollida in Catalonia

However well-intentioned transitional language programs have been in Catalonia, programs like the AA are, in principal, both isolationist and segregationist. Critics of these self-contained, submersion language programs cite that they tend to focus solely on language (syntax, morphology, phonology) and don't allow enough time for instruction in content areas. When immigrant students are placed in the AA, they are often there all day, save for snack breaks or Physical Education class. Thus, they are isolated from constructing knowledge, socially, with more Catalan dominant speaking peers. Any program like the AA in Catalonia is meant to be a temporary program for new immigrant students, but may end up trapping students in the program for years if students are not progressing in Catalan enough to be deemed proficient for mainstream classes. Furthermore, their proficiency in Catalan may depend on a host of external forces and identity factors which may interrupt a full investment in the language. In addition, critics of self-contained AA programs noted that they provide students with only one or two models of natural language, that of the AA instructors. All of these issues, in turn, delay "new" immigrants from joining their Catalan speaking peers so they can might serve as natural language models. Submersion programs like the Aula d' Acollida do not allow for Legitimate Peripheral Participation in the school's Communities of Practice (Lave, J., & Wenger, E., 1991). From a sociocultural standpoint, newcomers to a country ought to be co-constructing knowledge and languaging with their autochthonous peers in school;

thus, creating a more cohesive, inclusive classroom and school environment and legitimizing the funds of knowledge of the immigrant student upon arrival (Subero, D., Vujasinović, E., & Esteban-Guitart, M., 2016).

Another drawback of the AA program and others like it is the immense pressure felt by AA instructors to prepare students to become proficient enough in Catalan at a fairly late period in their high school career, placing students in jeopardy of not graduating on time. It was expressed by teachers at Sant Domenech High School that they felt it nearly impossible for them at times to teach enough Catalan for students to leave the AA in only a year or two. The AA teachers offered a suggestion for changes to the AA program at Sant Domenech which included a continuing education program in Catalan language and support available to students after graduation from ESO, in the *ciclo formativo* and *bachillerato*. This idea, they felt, would allow newly arrived students more equal opportunity and time to gain Catalan proficiency in order to make important next steps, such as entrance examinations, for their future careers. At sixteen years of age, students would most likely leave ESO and enter the workforce, or go on to take high stakes entrances exams for the *ciclo formativo* or *bachillerato*. By giving both the students and teachers a near impossible timeframe to pass proficiency exams in Catalan, the current transition from ESO to college prep schooling essentially sets “new” immigrant students in Catalonia up for failure, and little opportunity for the chance and post-secondary education.

Francisca, for example, stated she would leave the AA within the year, yet had mixed feelings about it: she wanted to be able to graduate, but also expressed fear at whether or not she knew enough Catalan to pass her “regular” classes. This sentiment

was not atypical among the students in this study as the nature of self-contained submersion programs like the AA keep students isolated, often invoking fear and uncertainty in students and their ability to interact and be successful in “normal” classes. Pushing students into a situation where they are uncertain and have doubts about their preparedness in content areas is something which ought to be addressed at Sant Domenech High School along with increased and lasting communication between the AA teacher and “regular” classroom teachers following up on students graduating from the AA.

By isolating “new” immigrants from their peers and minimizing their opportunity to socialize and engage, naturally, with the rest of the school community, the school sends a clear message to these students that they are “linguistically inferior” against a monolingual model. This message, by and large, contributes to a culture of segregation, discrimination, and racism in schools that have large immigrant populations such as Sant Domenech High School. For the immigrant student who is isolated and marginalized far too often results in them dropping out of school altogether. Marginalized immigrant students may experience low relational engagement within the school community, leading to negative attitudes towards school and academics, and ending in hopelessness and/or frustration.

In Catalonia, immigrant students who remain in the AA for longer than necessary are not given access to key social capital which could potentially motivate them to learn more Catalan while still maintaining their Spanish. Among the Honduran youth at Sant Domenech High School, for example, peers and social groups were identified as heavily influencing their communicative practices. Therefore, if an AA student felt that investing

in Catalan would bring them social currency within the school community, their consistent use of the language would undoubtedly be more commonplace.

Permitting Bilingualism and Translanguaging in School Settings

The prescriptive and forceful nature in which teachers and staff used Catalan with Spanish speakers at Sant Domenech High School was notable. Likely influenced by the political climate of separatism in Catalonia as well as the notion that Catalan, as a minoritized language, needed protection much of the staff overtly refused to accommodate Spanish speaking students. Though Castilian Spanish could be used with Honduran youth to facilitate communication and rapport, the AA teachers never wavered in their use of Catalan both in and out of the classroom. They used it exclusively, even if native Spanish speakers asked them to clarify something in Spanish and never “broke down” and accommodated Spanish speaking students which was, in reality, so commonplace among Catalan speakers outside of the school setting. The politicization of Catalan was palpable during the fieldwork for this study; conversations with AA teachers, as well as other staff at Sant Domenech High School, were critical and apprehensive using code-switching or translanguaging in email and/or during face to face communications. The forceful nature of this “Catalan only” norm in everyday school communications seemed to be, firstly, mandated by the administration of the school, and secondly, was reactionary, as a stance for the protection of Catalan. As noted in previous chapters, there existed a sense of fear of “denationalization” of Catalonia within areas that had large populations of immigrants who were segregated from non-immigrant Catalans (Woolard, Kathryn A., 2003, 2005, 2008). Politicized conversations led to awkward and uncomfortable interchanges in Catalan and Castilian Spanish while

conducting fieldwork in Sant Domenech. This politicization of Catalan seemed to substantiate the Honduran youths' ideologies about Catalan; that it felt "obligatory" and "academic." It also led to much questioning as to why they learn it and spend all day in an AA classroom when they stated they knew that teachers at Sant Domenech "knew Spanish." Also, noteworthy, none of the AA teachers, nor any staff connected with this study at Sant Domenech High School lived in Barrí Sant Domenech. Although not necessarily unusual, given the higher socioeconomic status of the staff relative to the students attending the high school, it did reflect a rather distant relationship that the teachers exhibited concerning the struggles of living in that neighborhood, with the immigrant students who attended the school, and a lack of knowledge about how little Catalan was used in public spaces in that area compared to the city center. If the AA teachers, as well as other staff at Sant Domenech, used a Funds of Knowledge approach for the creation of their curriculum, they could better reach students and the immigrant community in Barrí Sant Domenech, allowing for the creation of more authentic, more profound, emotional, "Rauxa" connections. These connections could then be exploited in the design of more meaningful lessons in the classroom (González, N., Moll, L. C., & Amanti, C., 2006; Subero, D., Vujasinović, E., & Esteban-Guitart, M., 2016).

Translanguaging between Catalan and Spanish was not legitimized by Sant Domenech High Schools' administration nor their instructional staff. The mixing of both languages was not permitted by instructors in the AA classroom. Translanguaging was met with either a "sigh" and full accommodation into Castilian Spanish, or a domineering conversation which attempted to force the interlocuter into "correct" Catalan. If translanguaging were legitimized, and permitted more freely at Sant Domenech High

School, it might encourage more socialization in Catalan, at least a hybrid of Catalan, among Honduran youth, giving it a more accessible, more relaxed, casual language tone than its current obligatory use. In Sant Domenech, languaging among Honduran students was an inventive mix of Castilian Spanish, Honduran accents and lexicon, and some Catalan reflecting communicative practices that were creative, transnational, and very unique to the context of conversations; whether at home, via social media, or in school. Honduran students in Sant Domenech held a strong emotional attachment to Honduran mannerisms, accents, and lexicon in some linguistic interchanges, revealing the “Rauxa” side of their communicative practices, conscious or unconscious. Their use of Honduran Spanish as part of their linguistic repertoire, suggested a need to mark or maintain a group membership in the Honduran diasporic community in Barrí Sant Domenech which didn’t seem to be a “Seny” or “sensible” investment towards academic success, rather a playful, social one. Catalan used in hybrid fashions may seem to AA instructors and Catalan language policymakers as polluting the language. Certainly, those who believe that Catalan is a minoritized language, an endangered language, and a language which requires protection, may be highly critical of any Catalan translanguaging by youth immigrants for fear it would impact the separatist agenda of building the new nation state of Catalonia in Europe. However mindful we need to be about the past oppression of the Catalan language and the language rights of Catalan language speakers, Catalan may make its way more quickly into the social language repertoire of Hondurans in Sant Domenech, for example, if variants and inventive communicative practices are encouraged by educators and educational institutions (Blommaert, J., & Backus, A., 2013; Canagarajah, S., 2011; Dovchin et al., 2015). The primary discourse of the

Honduran youth was often delegitimized at Sant Domenech High School, which often left students feeling alienated and unmotivated in adopting the secondary discourse of Catalan, likely affecting the relational engagement of some students to Sant Domenech (Gee, J. P., 2001, 2012; Suarez-Orozco, C., M., Todorova, Irina, 2008). Students feeling a “push back” from AA teachers and other instructors when using different styles or hybrid varieties of Catalan/Castilian and Latin American Spanish, there will continue to be resistance as Catalan is forced, obligatory and politicized upon students in a manner which is off putting. More bridges could be built by legitimizing any type of Catalan expression in social speech with peers, allowing students to use their primary discourse to acquire their secondary, allowing students to test the waters of their identity in their new country of reception, and not penalizing them for maintaining a transnational identity as they continued communication with their homeland (Subero, D., Vujasinović, E., & Esteban-Guitart, M., 2016). Fluid, translanguaging and transitioning to Catalan within social discourse and in casual interactions might open up more communicative practices which include Catalan in the AA classroom and the rest of school. Shutting down translanguaging, code-switching in Catalan and Spanish or forcing hegemonic language ideologies on the Honduran students in the AA may only serve to compartmentalize Catalan as schoolwork and obligatory and Spanish with socialization and fun. By opening up the possibilities of thinking and identifying and highlighting communicative practices which “flow in and through communities” like those of the Honduran youth in Sant Domenech might permit educators in Catalonia to enhance their teaching practices and improve their students’ overall literacy (González, N., 2016).

With regards to content in the AA, the instructors might benefit from talking

openly about Catalan language oppression, discussing it in AA class, and why it was important to learn it to maintain the once prohibited language. The “Rauxa” sensibility invokes the Catalonia of Dalí and the anarchic resistance which permeates the history of Barcelona, for example. Connecting this aspect of Catalan culture to the language itself, embedding it in the AA curriculum, may prove appealing to Honduran youth and other “new” immigrants, building an emotional attachment to Catalan. Interviews with participants in this study revealed that many of the Honduran youth at Sant Domenech High School were unaware that Catalan was prohibited for forty years under Franco, or about the challenges of Catalonia’s language rights throughout the region’s history. As a pedagogical tool, it might be beneficial to build connections between Catalonia’s history and culture in the AA classroom and beyond, utilizing the oppression of Catalan in order to motivate Honduran youth to learn it and truly invest in it. By feeling more emotionally attached and invested in the people of Catalonia, encouraging its use in social spheres, outside of the classroom might appeal to the students’ “Rauxa” sensibilities and perhaps increase the likelihood of an emotional attachment to the Catalan language while still maintaining their Honduran, transnational identities. One way to tap into the “new” immigrants’ Funds of Identity in Sant Domenech could be to encourage Spanish dominant students, like those in this study, to participate in typical Catalan cultural activities, like *castellers*, regional sports, and social activism through clubs accessible near or on the school campus. This is one example how Catalan may achieve status as a more “social” language in Sant Domenech neighborhood using pedagogical strategies based on Funds of Knowledge and Funds of Identity.

Implications for Language Policy and Planning in a Pluralistic Catalonia

Catalonia's current language policy has moved beyond "normalizing" Catalan, past the promotion of the language as a tool for social cohesion, to, currently, a more monolingual, protectionist type strategy as part of the separatist political agenda. There are clear concerns, especially within the pro-independence movement, which fears that the influx of "new" immigrants into Catalonia, especially those whose native language is Spanish, at a high rate may, again, endanger the preservation of Catalan and a nationalist agenda. The *Generalitat* recognizes a need to promote Catalan language use among immigrant youth and all Catalans beyond non-academic and official settings. Due to protectionist concerns for the language, and the preference for Spanish in segregated, immigrant neighborhoods, like Sant Domenech, could lead to less inclusive models of Catalan language pedagogy on the whole. The "official" stance from Catalonia's government is summed up by Conversi, D., & Jeram, S. (2017) stating

that the *Generalitat* is a political actor with responsibility to protect the Catalan cultural heritage. Taken together, these two points contribute to a 'Catalan way of integration', which aspires to avoid top-down assimilation. While the Catalan Plan bears some hallmarks of the French assimilationist model, it sharply differs from it by endorsing the active recognition of diversity as a means of bringing about social equality. Ergo, no conflict is perceived between retaining the immigrants' home culture and 'feeling Catalan'. The most central concern for the CiU¹¹ with respect to immigration has remained language, long established as the

¹¹ CiU-The convergence and union Catalan nationalist party dissolved in 2015

main pivot of Catalonia's national identity. (p. 59)

Though much official rhetoric remains steadfast in advocating a diverse and progressive stance on immigrant culture within the Catalan nation state, it is just that: official rhetoric. Trenchs-Parera, M. & Newman, M., (2015) point out that Catalonia's language policy goals are "officially" inclusive and welcoming of new immigrants

Yet the ascribed role for Catalan as a unifying linguistic element aligns the language ideologically with welcome and multiculturalism. This posture remains supported by the majority of political parties that dominated the latest local elections in Spring 2015. (p. 498)

Ongoing discussions about Catalan language use among "new" immigrants in Catalonia may need to reflect less fear induced "Rauxa," and the threat of youth languaging and inventive communicative practices, and include talk of permitting more open and flexible uses of Catalan, especially in educational institutions. The politicization of the Catalan language is ever present and may be a factor in alienating immigrants, especially Spanish-speaking immigrants in Catalonia, from adding to Catalan their Discourse beyond academic settings. The *Generalitat* may want to consider how schools can be established as sites for: 1) reducing discrimination, marginalization, and racism in Catalonia towards immigrant youth 2) promoting Catalan as a social tool, and in flexible, adaptive ways, which may create more mass appeal, and is on par with Spanish language use in casual settings.

The first steps in reducing discrimination, marginalization, and systemic racism in schools towards immigrant youth is by limiting the amount of classroom time away from

their autochthonous peers. Evaluation of self-contained AAs or elimination of the program in favor of other initiatives, such as Sheltered Catalan Instruction within “regular” classes ought to be discussed. Funding should be allocated for employing language educators and language acquisition specialists to serve as resource teachers that can work with immigrant students within the “mainstream” classroom and educate teachers on sheltered instruction strategies to implement in their lessons. Additionally, there should be culturally relevant pedagogy courses included in teacher education in Catalan universities as well as a continuation of research on Funds of Knowledge and Funds of Identity strategies to urge teacher candidates to connect to their students’ families and communities. In Sant Domenech, a lot of the home visits and communication with families who had recently immigrated to Catalonia were made by school social workers. Albeit a positive step in the right direction to have a school liaison official working with immigrant families, the exchange of information and sense of their students’ academic and social needs cannot always be handed off to others. Teachers who recognize their own prejudices towards immigrant youth in Catalonia, and address conflicts among different ethnic and language student groups in their classrooms, may benefit from having meaningful, frequent contact with immigrant families. From there, all instructors, not just AA teachers, should address these conflicts in the classroom through lessons designed to combat racism and intolerance directly built into the curriculum. Trenchs-Parera, M., and Newman, M. (2015) reiterate the systemic problems in Catalonia’s educational system that inherently allow discrimination:

AAs are sometimes located in isolated areas of schools in barely reconverted classrooms, an evident sign of marginalization. Also, many autochthonous parents

avoid schools that are seen as too heavily immigrant. Furthermore, there are systemic problems resulting from contradictions between the goals of promoting social integration and providing effective Catalan language instruction. Students are supposed to leave the AA when they reach only a high beginning level in Catalan and at most after 2 years to prevent a segregated immigrant-only educational system. Yet these guidelines grossly underestimate students' needs for academic success in a new language. (p. 493)

Catalonia's *Generalitat* is not widely combating these systemic problems in the overall education of "new" immigrants. The Catalan-only ideologies that are put forth in classrooms in Catalonia lose sight of the idea that school is a place where many youths socialize and develop friendships. Pujolar, J., & González, I., (2013) assert that Catalan is becoming "de-ethnicized" and that those who only used to speak Catalan among themselves and now speak it in city centers having been educated in Catalan. This same research indicates that Catalans are not accommodating Castilian speakers as they once were, especially city centers (Woolard, 2005, 2008). Though, this may be true for city centers around Catalonia where those of high social class and non-immigrants often reside, it does not seem to be the case in Castilian-speaking, predominantly immigrant barrios and ethnic enclaves like that of Barrí Sant Domenech. In terms of Catalan language investment, dominant, hegemonic ideologies and incompatible Discourses result in low relational engagement of immigrant language learners in educational settings, resulting in a lower emotional attachment to Catalan. This lower emotional attachment lowers their investment in the language. Why invest in a language which immigrant youth feel they cannot adopt as their own, or if they do, they must sacrifice

their own language to “be Catalan”? If academic success in Catalan isn’t enough to even get a foot in the door of a *discoteca* (danceclub), much less a job because one has a Honduran accent and has darker skin and curly hair then what good does investing in Catalan do for them if they are looked at as not fitting the official identity which is continually promoted due to Catalonia's separatist, independence movement. It is imperative to re-examine the politicization of Catalan in schools and for teachers in Catalonia to legitimize immigrant language learners’ own steps in negotiating new identities in a new land. To this end, Darvin, R., & Norton, B., (2014) state,

Teachers who are more critically informed about migration and social class can provide a space that not only enriches the language and literacy development of migrant students but also empowers transnational identities. By affirming that migrant students come with valuable transnational knowledges and skills, teachers can help migrant students claim more-powerful identities from which to navigate investments in the language practices of their new classrooms and communities. In this process, migrant students, notwithstanding social class position, can become entrepreneurs of the self, who aspire not only for individual success but also for social change. (p.116)

Comments on Further Research and Catalonia’s Future

Qualitative, ethnographic studies about Latino youth in the context of Catalonia are limited. Of the studies which exist on Latino youth communicative practices in Catalonia, “Latinos” are not often separated by country of origin. Further research ought to consider that Latin American immigrants are not received the same in Catalonia. A

student from Buenos Aires, Argentina, for example, is quite likely received differently than a student from Tegucigalpa, Honduras. As this study's participants pointed out: Hondurans in Catalonia are often victims of discrimination due to their outward appearance, dress, skin color, accents, and problems plaguing their home country. Failing to separate country of origin as a variable among Latin American youth immigrants in further research might skew information on the communicative practices and identities of a study's participants.

Further research on Latino youth in public school settings in Catalonia, combined with the implementation of a program such as Funds of Knowledge applied to AA classrooms would provide more information as to how Latino youth use Catalan beyond the classroom. Continued studies similar to that of *Mobilising funds of identity in and out of school* (Subero, D., Vujasinović, E., & Esteban-Guitart, M., 2016) might benefit teacher education programs.

The Honduran Diaspora in Sant Domenech is an example of existing scholarship on “relocalized” language practices by youth immigrants in an increasingly globalized, digital, and transnational world (Blommaert, J., & Rampton, B., 2011). Further research on similar communities around Catalonia and Europe may prove fruitful, and serve to inform educational researchers and government entities on how to better reach immigrant youth and their families in their community. Moreover, continued studies on adolescent immigrants who are negotiating a new language and layered, multiple identities would contribute much to the current body of research on globalization, “superdiversity”, and sociolinguistic havens (Blommaert, J., & Backus, A., 2013; Blommaert, J., & Rampton, B., 2011).

Catalan, for Honduran youths in Sant Domenech, was identified as an obligatory language, almost mechanical. These youths exhibited the Catalan notion of “Seny” to approach their use of Catalan and found it useful in furthering their academic careers. Suffice to say, it is concerning that Catalan has failed to find more traction as a casual, social language among these youths. Catalan has the potential to reach “new” immigrants’ “Rauxa” sensibilities, connecting to the emotional side of their communication practices, and finding a place in hybrid, transnational identities of Latino adolescents in Catalonia. Ergo, an openness about variations of Catalan, translanguaging, and inventive ways of using Catalan ought to be considered and legitimized among these youths, and the politicized, nationalistic fervor surrounding the purism of the language toned down.

Finally, “El Seny i La Rauxa” of Catalans today indicates a struggle to balance a collective, hegemonic Catalan identity, while remaining progressive and accepting of “new” Catalans negotiating “other” identities. A collective Catalan identity is dominant in discussions about solidarity in the face of those who oppose Catalonia’s possible secession from Spain. Fear and ignorance about the *true* integration of “new” immigrants within the Catalan “imagined community” ought to be reexamined. True to the region’s history of progressive policies and powerful “Rauxa” resistance in the face of oppression, I argue that the acceptance of a “new” diverse, multilingual identity of Catalonia is only natural. This nation, a region which produced Dalí, Gaudí, and Miró is no stranger to “Rauxa”, forward thinking, and even radicalism. With this in mind, openness about the Catalan language, which currently exists in various, invented forms and in new linguistic repertoires, should be considered.

The communicative practices of “new” immigrants in the region, especially among youth, should be part of discussions on language policy and questions about sustaining Catalan’s linguistic rights. Real, authentic information from “new Catalans” is needed to ensure equal opportunity for education among youth in Catalonia. I challenge Catalonia’s language planners to examine what they want their already pluralistic and diverse nation to look like within the broader European Union. Using “Seny i Rauxa” is imperative, and invented expressions of Catalan, translanguaging, and cultural practices expanded. Rather than looking to a petrified, static notion of what Catalan language and identity ought to be if Catalonia becomes independent, the future of Catalonia needs to embrace “new” immigrants as “new Catalans” as part of a potentially new, sovereign nation.

APPENDIX A

Sample Questions/Prompts from Semi-Structured Interviews

1. Descríbeme de dónde eres, cuando viniste a Cataluña, cómo, etc. ¿Y cómo te sientes aquí? [*Describe to me where you are from, when you came to Catalonia, etc. And how do you feel here?*]
2. ¿Sigues en contacto con familia en Honduras? ¿Con qué frecuencia hablas con familia y amigos en Honduras? ¿Cómo comunicas con ellos? [*Do you continue to be in contact with family in Honduras? How often do speak with your family and friends in Honduras? How do you communicate with them?*]
3. Al llegar a Cataluña, ¿podrás describirme una experiencia o historia que te acuerdas de tus primeras semanas aquí? [*Could you describe to me an experience or story that you remember about your first weeks here?*]
4. ¿Cómo tus amigos te describirían? [*How would your friends describe you?*]
5. Descríbeme un día típico en tu vida aquí. [*Describe to me a typical day in your life here*]
6. ¿Cómo comparas tu experiencia en escuela aquí comparado con la de Honduras? [*How do you compare your school experience here with that of Honduras?*]
7. En tu opinión... ¿Qué es identidad? Si estuvieras conmigo en EEUU, ¿cómo te identificarías? [*In your opinion, what is identity? If you were in the U.S. with me, how would you identify yourself?*]
8. ¿Cómo pasas el fin de semana y con quién? [*How do you spend the weekend and with whom?*]
9. ¿Cuál es tu opinión del catalán? ¿Cuándo lo usas y cuando usas el castellano? [*What's your opinion about Catalan? When do you use it and when do you use Spanish?*]
10. Dime un poco sobre tus intereses y pasatiempos [*Tell me a bit about your interests and hobbies.*]
11. Describe sobre tus planes del futuro. [*Describe your future plans*]
12. Describe tu experiencia en la Aula d' Acollida y en el instituto Sant Domenech [*Describe your experience in the Welcome Classroom and at Sant Domenech High*]

School]

13. Dime un poco sobre el tipo de música que te gusta [*Tell me a bit about the type of music you like*]
14. ¿Cómo te comunicas con tus amigos? ¿En cuál idioma? [*How do you communicate with you friends? In which language?*]
15. Lo del catalán, ¿Qué sabes de su historia y de estar prohibido por una época? [*With Catalan, what do you know about its history and having been prohibited for a time?*]

APPENDIX B

Sample questionnaire for student participants regarding language use:

1. El idioma que uso en:

A) Casa

B) Con amigos

C) En escuela

D) En la calle

E) En el patio

F) En el bar, café, discoteca

G) En WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram, etc.

2. Soy de _____

3. Considero _____ mi país/es de nacionalidad

APPENDIX C

More Coding Examples

	CODING	TRANSLATION
<p>Vivía con mi abuela y mi tía en Honduras y estaba muy bien viviendo con ellas y todo pero mi madre ha decidido traerme de nuevo porque ha surgido problemas allá, la delincuencia que hay allí en Honduras de aquí que allí...bueno mi familia muy estable, muy unida...(llorando) pero mi abuela decidió rehacerse su vida...como otra persona y hacerse de nueva....tener otra pareja y pues allí vinieron todos los problemas.</p>	<p>Safety in Catalonia</p> <p>Familial connections in Honduras</p> <p>Reunification problems</p> <p>Emotional attachment to Honduras</p>	<p><i>[I lived with my grandma and my aunt in Honduras and I was doing well living with them and everything, but my mother decided to bring me back here because problems came up there, the crime that's there in Honduras from here to there...well my family (was) really stable and close knit ... (crying) but my grandma decide to redo her life....as a different person and make herself new...to have an affair and well, from there, all of the problems came up.]</i></p>

	CODING	TRANSLATION
<p>Le digo, no soy Dios para juzgarle (a la abuela) y todo, pero la familia en Honduras empezaron (sic) a tratarle (la abuela) muy mal.... Entonces mi familia más inestable ya. Mi tía que también vivía con nosotros en Honduras, pues se pelearon mucho (la abuela y la tía) y pues</p>	<p>Religious references</p> <p>Emotional attachment; family, Honduras</p> <p>Positive; safety in Catalonia</p>	<p><i>[I'll tell you, I'm not God to judge her and everything, but (the) family in Honduras began to treat her really poorly...then my family was even more unstable. My aunt lived with us in Honduras and so then they fought a lot, she (grandma) let us do whatever we wanted and we</i></p>

<p>como todo el descontrol por estar con el marido y problemas de la familia, ella (la abuela) dejaba a nosotros hacer lo que quisiéramos y jamás hemos salido y la verdad es que nos cuidaba mucho, pero después de eso vinieron problemas... como antes era mi abuela que nos atendió a nosotras, ¿vale? Mi hermana y yo venimos juntas....mi madre no quería tantas problemas y así....</p>	<p>Reunification issues in Catalonia</p> <p>Family obligations; matriarchal, obligation</p> <p>Emotional attachments to Honduras</p>	<p><i>had never gone out and the truth is that she took care of us a lot but after that came the problems...like before it was my grandma who took care of us? Ok? My sister and I came together...my mother didn't want so many problems....so....]</i></p>
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APPENDIX D

Example Interview Transcripts, Translations

(Ellen): La hoja dice “haz una lista de trabajos en que es obligatorio saber el catalán” Vamos a empezar. ¿Qué piensas Yareli? [*The worksheet says to “make a list of jobs in which it’s obligatory to know Catalan. Let’s start. What do you think, Yareli?”*]

(Yareli): Pues para mí, es obligatorio saber el catalán si quiero ser maestra o también si quiero decir cosas por la radio saber catalán es obligatorio, lo hará obligatoriamente. [*Well for me, it’s obligatory to know Catalan if I want to be a teacher or also if I want to say things on the radio knowing Catalan is required, it will be done in obligation*]

(Ellen): Vale [*Okay*]

(Francisca): Pues obligatorio si quiero ser farmacéutica saber el catalán, doctora o enfermera [*Well, obligatory if I want to be a pharmacist, to know Catalan, a doctor, or a nurse.*]

(Ellen): Oscar, ¿tienes una opinión? [*Oscar, do you have an opinion?*]

[*Silence*]

(Ellen): ¿Nada? [*Nothing?*]

(Oscar): No

(Ellen): Dice la hoja “haz una lista de trabajos en que obligatorio saber el castellano.” [*The paper says, “make a list of jobs in which it’s obligatory to know Spanish (Castilian)”*]

(Yareli): Empresas, claro, siempre es obligatorio el castellano porque es un trabajo muy importante y en estos casos en que podemos equivocarnos más bien porque imposible equivocarte como es tu idioma nativo. [*Companies, of course, Spanish is always obligatory because it’s a very important job and in these cases where we could make a mistake better (Spanish) because it’s impossible to make a mistake where it’s your native language.*]

(Francisca): Tanto el catalán como el castellano es obligatorio porque los dos siguen muy importantes y son dos idiomas comunes. Es obligatorio también para ser farmacéutica, enfermera, dependienta porque ahí hay tantos catalanes como latinos y los latinos lo que hablamos es el castellano porque ¿si vamos por ejemplo al doctor nos tienen que atender en castellano porque si no entendemos catalán? [*Catalan as much as Spanish are obligatory because both are important and both are common languages. It’s also obligatory in order to be a pharmacist, nurse, or store clerk because there are as many Catalans as Latinos and the Latinos, what we speak is Spanish because, if we, for example, go to the doctor and they have to attend to us in Spanish because if we don’t understand Catalan (sic)?*]

(Oscar): Pues yo...es importante saber las dos lenguas porque...no sé. [*Well, I think it’s important to know both languages because...I don’t know*]

[pause]

(Ellen): Vale. ¿Uno puede estar trabajando en Cataluña sin saber el catalán? [*Okay. Can a person be working in Catalonia without knowing Catalan?*]

(Oscar): No

(Yareli): Sí [*Yes*]

(Oscar): Sí [*Yes*]

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