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Ethnolinguistic Loyalties among Barcelona's Teens Hope N. Doyle University of Colorado at Denver

Introduction

1. Owing to years of repression of the Catalan language and culture in Catalonia, Spain, and the demographic shift in the autonomous region, wherein, at the end of the Franco dictatorship, nearly half of the population of Barcelona was born elsewhere in Spain, a Catalan normalization campaign was formally initiated in 1983 with the Law of Linguistic Normalization. Students have since been required to take one Catalan course a year and content courses in the language. Cultural activities in the Catalan language (TV, theater, film, radio, etc.) have been subsidized, and with this official promotion has come the resurgence of national holidays which heighten and elaborate Catalan national loyalties.

The group most concretely affected by the normalization campaign has been teens, who have studied Catalan throughout all of their school careers. According to the 1991 Census, they have the highest proficiency level of all age groups. A significant number of youths are first generation Catalan, having one or both parents born elsewhere in Spain. The 'identity planning' experienced by these youths has often juxtaposed Catalan and Spanish cultural and linguistic loyalties. Where do their linguistic loyalties lie? Are Catalan and Spanish identities inherently conflictive? What is the configuration of this bicultural and bilingual identity?

This paper discusses some of the results of a lengthy sociolinguistic survey of 420 public secondary school students carried out in the city of Barcelona during the spring of 1991. The questionnaire included four sections: socio-demographic, Catalan language proficiency, habitual language usage in a variety of domains and among a variety of interlocutors, attitudes about the two languages, cultures and identities (with both open and closed answer questions). The design of the survey was based on the work in ethnolinguistic vitality and identity of Fishman (various studies), Bourhis et al. (1981), Allard and Landry (1984), and Russinovich Solé (1990).

The results of the survey indicate that, among first generation Catalan teens, Catalan is most frequently used in instrumental exchanges, among unknown or socially distant interlocutors. The language is accorded high instrumental and integrative value and its use is considered by all subjects as the clearest expression of Catalan identity. The subjects prefer bilingualism to Catalan (or Spanish) monolingualism and appear to integrate both Spanish and Catalan identities with less conflict than had been predicted by many sociolinguists, though this ethnolinguistic configuration is not a simple one. They also see the need for continued official promotion of the language and culture, since they continue to perceive a threat (posed by the significant presence of the Spanish language in Barcelona) to the life of the language.

Ethnolinguistic loyalties and identity: responses and analysis.

2. Subjects were asked: How would you characterize the Catalan identity? (The following representative responses, and all italicized script herein, represent my own translation from either Spanish or Catalan.)

*[Being Catalan means] speaking Catalan, following Catalan customs and being a fan of the Barca [soccer team].

*Well, among [the characteristics that define being Catalan], being Catalan means not being Spanish, this is something that a lot of people just don't understand.

*People who like the language, the people, the Catalan world, and not [who don't like] the Castellano world.

*There isn't anything that defines [Catalan identity], one is [Catalan] because he

was born here and feels Catalan.

*Being Catalan implies living in Catalonia, not only having been born here, but watching TV in Catalan as well as in Castellano, being able to speak in both languages, etc.

Discerning who is "Catalan" and who is "Castilian" is something that speakers in Barcelona must do every day, and, as several subjects in my sample report, mistakes are sometimes made. Determining cultural identity is crucial with respect to bilingualism in the Catalan capital, since it has been shown to be primarily interlocutor-specific with respect to choosing between Catalan and

Castilian. (Casamiglia/Tusón, 1980)

A common thread in the discussion of language in the city is the issue of identity. It is of particular interest in the case of Barcelona teens because they are in the process of solidifying their social identities. These adolescents are at the same time the principle target of Catalanization campaigns. A prominent Catalan sociolinguist, Miguel Strubell (1984:100) uses the somewhat orwellian expression "identity planning" in referring to a process he calls "tempting to promote," but pending "empirical data demonstrating a direct causal relationship between the two variables - language use and national identity." This idea was repugnant to Catalans during both the Franco and Primo de Rivera dictatorships, when the identity planned was the Spanish one, not to mention throughout the 19th century, as the concept of the nation-state spread throughout Europe.

There has been quite a bit of planning with respect to national identity in Catalonia; the linguistic normalization law of 1983 in itself addresses this issue, as it is intended as a framework for disseminating not only the Catalan language, but also culture, identity. The (autonomous Catalan) state has taken an active role in the "heightening" and "elaboration" of the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors of

particularly the young in Barcelona.

Fishman points out that for "societally organized goal activity" (incrementing the use of Catalan at more domains, in the case at hand) to occur, people must become convinced of their communality and ethnocultural uniqueness (1972:5).

Many subjects of each of the parentage groups in the present study are inspired by Catalan nationalism. They are aware of Catalonia's great achievements and achievers. It seems that Catalan history has been sufficiently authenticated for the respondents. The normalization campaign has been thorough in this regard, helping at once to unify the population and to link the past to the present.

A host of factors are at work with regard to language and nationalism; I explored the nature of the relationship between the two with special consideration of

the palpable effects of the 'identity planning carried out so far.

One example of this kind of official activity was the Bishop of Barcelona's call for the immigrant population of Barcelona to "Catalanize" itself, repeated by Parish fathers in Sunday masses in August and September of 1990. This call spurred a debate throughout the city, at dinner tables, on the metro. A large number of letters to the editor on this subject appeared in the (Castilian language) Catalan daily Vanguardia in the ensuing weeks.

Another such activity was the (ultimately failed) proposal declared in the Fall of 1990 by Minister Guitart, Ministry of Culture for Catalonia, that all children

begin their school day with the song, Els Segadors (The Reapers). This hymn commemorates the War of Spanish Succession, in which Catalonia sided with the Austrian Archduke Charles III, who seemed to better assure its political and economic ambitions (Vilar I:354), against the Bourbon crown (centered in Madrid), and was defeated in 1714. (The Catalans had had to fight valiantly primarily because Austria had abandoned them when the Bourbon victory seemed imminent.)

Many Catalan national celebrations have successfully reemerged nonetheless. One thousand years of Catalan culture was recently celebrated, (marking Count Berenguer's alleged break with the crown of Charlemagne and, after a fashion, the independence of Catalonia.) It seems that the more remote in

chronological time the event, the deeper the unifying effect.

Not all of the symbols which have been more recently formulated, or historical events reframed, have been immediately accepted by the population of Barcelona. The Catalan national identity emerges, formulated and guided by the autonomous government's active role in the process. Despite Fishman's assertion that, "there are integrative 'times and tides'" (1972:22), the integrative moments, unlike tides, are concretely related to specific promotional attempts and concurrent socio-economic factors.

The Catalanization campaign itself appears to have inadvertently deepened the Spanish-Catalan cultural divide for some subjects, highlighting precisely those who are not Catalan, in order to encourage them to be so. (Consider the Bishop's

call for Catalanization.)

Respondents' feelings about national and cultural identity were elicited by questions that asked them to say how they referred to their place of origin when visiting other parts of Spain and abroad. Subjects were also asked if it was possible to consider oneself Catalan without speaking Catalan, and if it was possible to be Catalan without having been born in Catalonia. Then, in an openended format, they were asked to describe the characteristics of being Catalan.

A general, unleading, open-ended question asked subjects to define the

characteristics of Catalan identity. The coded results are seen in Table 1.

The most frequent response for all samples referred to language as the

primary factor in Catalan identity:

*Speaking Catalan is the feature that most defines being Catalan, as one respondent said, though the degree of command of the language required (to be considered Catalan) varied in responses. The following respondent stressed understanding the language:

*Being able to understand the language perfectly and being able to speak it too. Other respondents expressed the need to practice the language frequently in defense of Catalan identity and as a way of averting extinction of the language:

*Speaking Catalan and doing everything possible to slow-down [the process of] its extinction.

Another said:

*Respecting the Catalan customs and language and practicing them frequently. Several respondents expressed feelings, sentiments with respect to the language, more than simply knowing it, but identifying with it:

*Feeling identified with the language, the culture and the Catalan landscape. Language is given primary importance in the following response, but it is coupled with other feelings of nationalism and cultural uniqueness:

*A specific language, a specific history, a specific sense of nationalism, being a unique people.

Catalan identity was also perceived in a more practical sense with respect to language:

*[The feature that most characterizes being Catalan] is the accent, since, even if they

are speaking Castilian, you can tell.

Accent is often the most difficult aspect of language to acquire, and many subjects expressed the feeling that their Catalan pronunciation was less than perfect. From this perspective, being considered Catalan could seem impossible for many.

This view with regard to language may be contrasted to another infinitely

more inclusive one:

*Not being bothered by hearing Catalan.

A fruitful comparison may be made between tables 2 and 3. While only one in ten second-generation immigrants said that it was impossible to be Catalan without speaking the Catalan language (table 2), nearly a third found it to be the primary determining factor when asked what the defining characteristics are for being Catalan. With respect to the mixed parentage group, the same comparison may be made: one in five felt that not speaking the language would disqualify one from Catalan identity (table 2), but more than a third gave the language primary importance with respect to identity. Many others saw the language as one of a number of defining characteristics including customs, residency, birth, etc.

The Catalan inclusiveness campaigns of the last decade may have contributed to the students' formulation of what defines Catalan identity, since respondents are less likely to hypothetically disqualify one's Catalan identity because of lack of language use.

All those who live and work in Barcelona are Catalan

- a slogan I had seen around the city during my 1990-91 stay, and had previously seen cited in Woolard's (1988) commentaries on the subject, is an apt summation of these campaigns. As a cognitive response to more open-ended questions, the subjects were more likely to cite language as a defining quality of Catalan identity.

A third of the entire sample mentioned language as the primary determining feature of Catalan identity. Attitudes with regard to the normalization of the Catalan language would elucidate the relationship between language and identity in Catalonia. In other words, what subjects would consider a 'normal' situation for the language determines their relative inclusion in the Catalan identity if they regard language as the primary feature. For example, those that understand a 'normal' linguistic situation as one that would be bilingual co-equally may feel Catalan, though they do not often speak the language. Conversely, those that conceive of 'normal' as a situation in which Barcelona would be first and foremost monolingually Catalan, would not conceive of themselves as Catalan if they did not speak Catalan most of the time. The variety of responses with respect to language promotion and normalization shows that there is clearly no consensus on this issue. Arriving at a consensus will determine the future direction of language legislation (if not of the linguistic complexion for the city itself).

Many subjects pointed to sentiment in response to the question 'What are the characteristics that define being Catalan?':

Another responded:

^{*} A person can be Catalan without speaking Catalan, since there are many reasons why a person might not have been able to learn the language. But I think that if a person doesn't make an attempt to internalize another "culture," he can't identify with it.

*A profound feeling of love for the land, knowing that you have your own identity, knowing that you have something: a feeling very difficult to understand if you are not from here, its your most valued possession.

This feeling is expressed as a connection to Catalonia as a land, as love for Catalonia, as something only barely definable. Sentiment highlights the affective component of identity. For one in four respondents, affection for Catalonia was deemed more a defining characteristic of the Catalan identity than residence or particular traits. Expressed as such, this feature of identity is a rather inclusive one; regardless of background, one may be Catalan simply by feeling that one is such. But some respondents further point out that to be recognized as Catalan, it is necessary to give voice to this sentiment, to express it, and to thereby "defend Catalonia." Fishman points out:

[Nationalist symbols] heighten awareness that are only latent, so that not only will [people] come to feel that they constitute a nationality but that they will also be willing to act upon the basis of that feeling. (1972: 15) (Underline own)

To many subjects who highlight sentiment as an important factor in Catalan identity, the language inspires a desire to defend Catalonia, since it was so brutally repressed in the post-Civil War period. They also mention this idea in discussing bilingualism in general; because the language was another of Franco's victims, it literally requires 'affirmative action'- and begs reassertion. "Nationalism is a phoenix that is repeatedly capable of arising not only out of its own ashes but out of whatever other injustices modern societies perpetrate." (Fishman, 1972: 29)

Several subjects advised me to carefully consider the huge influx of immigrants into Barcelona during the post-war period in my analysis of bilingualism there. They expressed the sense that bilingualism in Barcelona was the result primarily of Franco's policies and of immigration, as if before the war the city had been Catalan-monolingual. However, the desire for language normalization is almost an integral element of Catalan culture, beginning in the 18th century, heightened in the 19th with romantic fervor, before the war during the Second Republic, etc. Castilian had permeated Catalonia in the 15th century and has played a decisive role there ever since. One respondent characterized the Catalan identity in the following way:

*We would like to once again become the great nation we once were.

Another response expressed this same sentiment:

*[Being Catalan means] having a consciousness of our unique historical past.

Several subjects illustrated a juxtaposition of loyalties and sentiments with respect to Catalan and Castilian identity. Some of the statements that open this chapter reflect this: to be Catalan is to be a fan of the Barça professional soccer team (not Real Madrid!); another expressed the idea that a Catalan loves his land and his language and not Spain.

This view was also widely contradicted by a more harmonious idea of being both Catalan and Spanish, being of both cultures, an outlook also expressed at the opening of the paper. The subject felt that being Catalan did not mean *not* being Spanish, but that this was something that many people "could not get into their heads." Indeed, some of his classmates clearly stated that being Catalan meant not being Spanish, or being Catalan first, then Spanish.

It seems that, to some degree, this sentiment has been influenced by a reframing of history. The immigrants are a more palpable target of blame for the dominant status of Castilian in Catalonia, yet the nation's own past indicates that the language had a threatening hold on Barcelona long before the newcomers arrived en masse.

The Catalans have an expression, 'fer pais,' (literally, to make country), in referring to the acts of spending time with family and following Catalan traditions. The expression highlights the sense that Catalonia is in need of making, in the process of being made- that there is a component of the national identity which relies on a continual, conscious effort to make or maintain itself. 'Fer pais' illustrates the component of action that sentiment must infuse in order to maintain (or acquire) the Catalan identity, and speaking Catalan is a large part of that action. *Catalan, aside from the stereotypes that tend to deceive, like in the case of the Spanish, it is a culture with historical, linguistic and social differences, and defining Catalan-ness would require using stereotypes.

One in five subjects (one in four Catalan ones) used specific traits, stereotypes, to describe being Catalan, as this subject points out. I initially coded the answers into a single 'personality traits' category. Given that the subsample was comprised of a significant number, 67 respondents, further analysis of the

stereotypes themselves was due.

Adam Schaff, in an essay on the pragmatic function of stereotypes, affirms that the analysis of the cognitive and emotional aspects of stereotypes is "dangerous to many seemingly noble and proud clichés." It is for this reason that:

defensive mechanisms are set in motion to prevent such researches; such mechanisms work as psychological smoke-screens which conceal unpleasant realities. (1984: 94)

According to Schaff, this paradigm primarily applies to the mechanism of 'cognitive dissonance': a cognitive and emotional function in the individual that allows us to hold firmly to deeply felt beliefs, even when confronted with evidence contrary to those beliefs, a 'knowing and not knowing.' Schaff further points out that while cognitive dissonance "serves to protect stereotypes against inquisitive and trouble-making analyses," stereotypes at the same time have "an immense role in making that mechanism effective" (1984: 94).

The pragmatic function of stereotypes can be seen clearly in Barcelona, as many subjects in the study (regardless of parentage) used such stereotypes to define being Catalan. This is so because not all stereotypes are negative.

It is useful to determine the symbols that underlie the stereotypes discussed, and their role in shaping and reflecting sociolinguistic relationships. Thus, stereotypes are important to analyze inasmuch as they help reveal the nature of the sociolinguistic relationship between groups. For stereotypes not only reveal historically conditioned feelings, but they themselves help link the past to the present and are an integral part of social identity.

The subjects freely responded to the open-ended question: what are the characteristics that define being Catalan? As has been shown, four in five respondents did not use stereotypes, personal traits, descriptive adjectives, to define being Catalan, but rather language, residence, and sentiments. The stereotype response was somewhat unexpected since this type of answer did not appear in the pilot survey. The pattern of responses encompassed the traits listed in table 4.

These responses bear some relation to those found in the Ros (1988) and Woolard (1985) studies and to well-known stereotypes. The most frequent of all responses (32.8%) were those that described competence, refinement, education, and elegance. Drawing on Brown and Gilman's (1960) distinction between power and solidarity (explored in their study with respect to pronouns of address), Woolard (1985) extended the notion with regard to attitudes toward both Castilian and Catalan speakers among teens in Barcelona. Using the matched-guise technique with a semantic differential scale in the measurement of status or power

on one scale, and solidarity on another, she finds a somewhat non-reciprocal power relationship (Catalan vis-a-vis Castilian). Woolard (1985) confirms: "there is no experimental evidence that Catalan is a low prestige language; in fact, there is noteworthy indication that Catalan gives higher status to speakers than does Castilian" (1985:104). In light of Woolard's findings, these responses (competent and refined) may be considered symbols of power. The data from my sample suggests the existence of this power dynamic, since one in three of those who used personality traits to describe Catalans judged them as competent and educated.

The trait labeled 'unsharing' was expressed by one in five who used stereotypes to express Catalan identity. In some cases, subjects related this trait to the success of the Catalans in their endeavors, and to account for their financial

success.

As previously discussed, a fundamental component of Catalan identity is cultural struggle. One respondent remarked with respect to the Catalan language: *Aside from being my own language, it represents a struggle, an ideal of distinction, a unique identity. Something that I have in my heart which will never die and about which I'm very proud.

There is official promotion of the sense that Catalan-ness is intertwined with such struggles for survival. (The most important national celebration remembers a monumental defeat: La Diada.) To some degree, this notion propagates the idea that in order to survive, the Catalan people have had to cling to what is most dear. Thus, the perception of some that they have clung too tightly. José Ferrater Mora, in a book on the Catalan personality, gives voice to this stereotype:

In their great majority, the Catalans don't wait for things to fall from the sky, like a manna or a gift from the gods; according to the well known, and often poorly interpreted adage, the Catalans can get blood (bread) from a stone. (1987: 123)

This quality also expresses the instrumentality of Catalan - suggesting an integrative bond based on economics (Fishman 1972:7). The status and power of Catalan was also expressed by a respondent who said that to him the Catalan language meant:

*Knowing another language, Being able to get jobs in Catalonia, and perhaps that people treat you better than if you speak Spanish.

The superior social status of Catalan was expressed by several respondents:

*I consider Catalan to be more elegant and modern than Castilian.

*Being Catalan means being more cultivated and refined with respect to people from the south of Spain, because its proximity to Africa and not Europe. These sentiments are not uncommon in Barcelona. Indeed, they bear some relation to some of the cultural promotion campaigns of the Generalitat, the autonomous government that I witnessed during my 1990-91 stay, reminding drivers on highways and streets throughout Barcelona that Catalonia is a part of Europe, with slogans on billboards such as:

"Europe Doesn't End at the Pirennees" and

"Catalonia, a European Country".

Another sign was placed in subway stations throughout the city during my stay there:

Work well done has no boundaries.

Work poorly done has no future.

This saying tends to highlight that which is "well done," "in good taste" as constitutive elements in Catalan identity. This well-known stereotype is also highlighted by Ferrater Mora:

To use a very picturesque Catalan expression, Catalans can spend many hours 'dreaming about tortillas' (in vague, yet innocuous things), but the least one may ask is that the "tortillas" are well made. (1987: 124)

Of course, striving for this image does not make Catalonia unique; the rest of Spain (and other poorer nations of the European Economic Community) are aware of their need to compete with the rest of Europe in the pursuit of 'quality', greater productivity, etc. The autonomous government has made pragmatic use of this stereotype in order to attain standards that are being explicitly demanded of all members of the European Community.

The stereotypes that express such traits as openness, friendliness, and exclusiveness may be distinguished from those that are related to power, though both features share a component of status. More than one in four respondents used 'open' and 'friendly' to define Catalans, as opposed to one in ten who expressed the opposite: 'closed'. These are the two poles of the continuum which could be used to measure solidarity, as in Woolard (1985). Since these traits were not placed on a continuum, there was no middle ground expressed. That is, only subjects with strong feelings one way or another responded to the question in this way. The remaining 80% of the subjects are not included in the present analysis and may feel solidarity to varying degrees. There is a substantial degree of solidarity with Catalans among the subjects of the subsample since they mentioned qualities such as openness and friendliness, expressing an integrative bond with the in-group which may or may not be born of ethnocultural similarity.

Another trait of Catalan identity mentioned in the subsample (20.8%) was nationalism, pro-independence, patriotism, what Ros (1988) categorized as expressions of national and cultural identity. According to these respondents, those who voice nationalist sentiments give voice to their Catalan identity. Schaff points

out:

[T]he less people realize that stereotypes exist and affect human actions, the greater the role of such stereotypes. People say, for instance, 'love of one's country', 'patriotism', [...] but they not only use such formulations, butmuch more important still- they act accordingly. (1984: 99)

This is not to suggest that this subsample is unique in its reference to stereotypes. Indeed, as Festinger (1957) and Schaff (1984) contend, stereotypes and the cognitive dissonance involved in their creation are natural mechanisms which defend profoundly felt beliefs and ideas from inconvenient information (that which provides evidence to the contrary) or unpleasant realities. In other words, none of us may escape them. A priori knowledge about an outgroup makes that group more familiar. This study has focused on Catalan identity, and does not include stereotypes of other communities, but many commonly felt stereotypes about the people of the differing regions of Spain have a great deal of content. In a sense, they evoke historical experience, one which involves "historically conditioned feelings of hostility" (Schaff, 1984: 96). These feelings resurge on national holidays, such as the Diada. Stereotypes are transmitted just as other historical information is transmitted and elaborated from generation to generation. Note one subject's feelings on the Catalan language:

*Catalan is my language, I've always spoken it and its something that I care a lot about (although that may sound corny). I care about it even more when I study what the Castilians did with our language (prohibit it) that infuriates me and it

makes me be more against Castilian.

Conclusion

3. It is clear that Catalonia seeks to define itself (as all nations continually do) vis-a-vis two important larger elements: namely, Spain (seen in the symbol of Madrid) and Europe. The campaigns of the autonomous government and the views of many subjects expressed the notion that while Spain is seen as a subtractive element in Catalan identity, having always posed a threat to it (the Diada symbolizes that feeling), Europe is seen as the larger element which might legitimize Catalonia, not subtract from it. The emerging European Community is a symbol of hope for Catalonia, since it is supposed to represent unity in variety, not to mention business opportunities. Spain has long represented a repressive State in which there was no place for cultural distinctiveness.

The stereotypes expressed by the subjects, as we have seen, are both positive and negative. They often serve a practical (or pragmatic) function in identity building, a phenomenon clearly indicated by the fact that a larger proportion of Catalan subjects (one in four) used stereotypes to define Catalan identity than those of immigrant and 'mixed' families (one in five).

In conclusion, Catalan identity is based on knowing the Catalan language, having a deep sentiment and love for the region, birth in the region or length of residence, and stereotypes. The autonomous government has worked to (successfully) provide knowledge of Catalan to the general population, and to inspire a sense of common history.

Tables

Table 1: Characteristics of Catalan Identity

	Immigrant parents	'Mixed'	Catalonia- born parents	% of N=340
Language, customs	31.3 (47)	37.1 (29)	29.2 (26)	32.3 (102)
Sentiment, feeling of history	27.3 (41)	29 (23)	25.8 (23)	27.5 (87)
Stereotypes	16.7 (25)	19.2 (15)	24.7 (22)	19.6 (62)
Birth, residence	13.3 (20)	6.4 (5)	7.8 (7)	
Nothing in particul	4 (6)	5 (4)	5.6 (5)	4.7 (15)
Things Catalan	4.7 (7)	1.2 (1)	3.3 (3)	3.5 (11)
Other	2.4 (4)		3.3 (3)	2.1 (7)

Table 2: Can one consider oneself Catalan if s/he does not speak the language?

	Immigrant Parents	Mixed Parents	Cat-born Parents	All Response
Yes	87.1 (142)	80.7 (63)	61.6 (61)	78.2% (266)
No	11 (18)	19.2 (15)	37.3 (37)	20.5% (70)
Total	(N=163)	(N=78)	(N=99)	(N=340)

Table 3: Can one consider oneself Catalan if s/he were not born in Catalonia?

	Immigrant Parents	Mixed Parents	Cat-born Parents	All Response
Yes	74.2 (121)	82 (64)	82.8 (82)	78.5% (267)
No	25.2 (41)	17.9 (14)	15.1 (15)	20.5% (70)
Total	(N=163)	(N=78)	(N=99)	(N=340)

Table 4: Stereotypes: What are the defining characteristics of Catalan Identity?

Stereotypes	Examples	% of N=67
Competent, Intelligent	"puede llegar muy lejos;" "culto"	32.8% (22)
Open, friendly	"simpático;" "alegre"	26.8% (18)
Nationalist, pro- independence	"mayor sentido de nacionalidad"	20.8% (14)
Unsharing	"tacaño"	19.4% (13)
Closed, to themselves	"muy exclusivista"	11.9% (8)

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