

Sociolinguistic characterisation of young people in Catalonia: some factors that explain linguistic uses

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Abstract

This article offers the conclusions of a study on the linguistic uses of young people in Catalonia. The ultimate objective of the study was to view some factors of an explanatory model of the linguistic uses of young Catalan people, taking as a starting point the fact that, despite the high degree of Catalan competence acquired by young people at school, this does not correspond to its use. To do so, we combined qualitative and quantitative techniques using the data obtained in two studies promoted by the Generalitat of Catalonia: the *Grups de discussió per a l'avaluació de la campanya "Dóna corda al català"* (Discussion groups to evaluate the "Give Catalan a boost" campaign study, promoted by the Secretariat for Linguistic Policy, and the *Enquesta als joves de Catalunya 2002* (2002 Survey on young people in Catalonia), promoted by the General Secretariat for Youth).

Summary

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1. Introduction

The changes to which Catalan society has been subjected over the last 25 years have enabled new generations of young people and infants to live normally in Catalan: competence in the Catalan language among the population aged under 30, according to the data of the census, is now practically complete. The system of linguistic conjunction in the education system, which was initiated in 1983, has meant that these generations have done their schooling integrally in Catalan. Therefore, according to the data of the linguistic census of Catalonia,² the knowledge of Catalan among the population of young people aged between 15 and 29 is much greater than the rest of the population, particularly with regard to speaking (88.2%), reading (88.8%) and writing (80.5%).

Table 1. Knowledge of Catalan among the population in Catalonia. 2001

	Understand Catalan	Can speak it	Can read it	Can write it
Entire population*	94.5%	74.5%	74.3%	49.8%
Population aged between 15 and 29	96.2%	88.2%	88.8%	80.5%

* Population of 2 years or more

Source: Our own work prepared using data from the 2001 Census, Idescat.

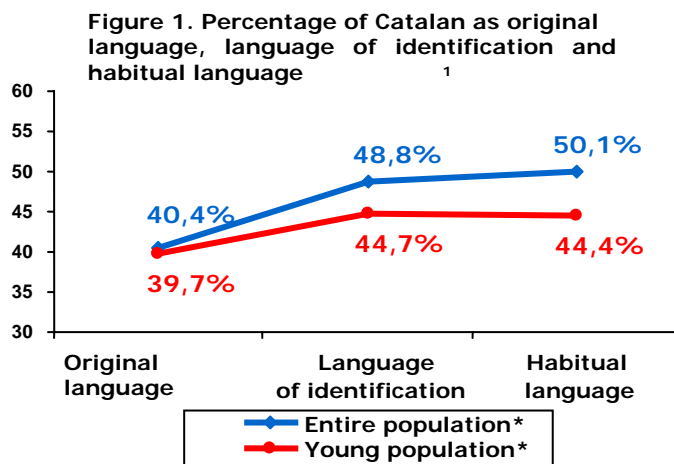
Data from the Statistic of linguistic uses in Catalonia 2003 (EULC 2003)³ shows how young people aged between 15 and 29 (figure 1) show the same behaviour with regard to their original language (the first one they spoke at home), their language of identification (the one they consider to be "their" language) and their habitual language (the one they usually use)

¹With the statistical collaboration of Lorena Bernáldez.

²To consult the linguistic register of Catalonia: <http://www.idescat.net/cat/poblacio/poblensling.html>.

³Official statistics promoted by the Secretariat for Linguistic Policy and the Idescat: <http://www.gencat.cat/llengua/dades>

as the general public. Thus, in both cases, there is a lower percentage of people who have Catalan as their first language but this percentage increases when we talk about their own language and increases even more so with regard to the language they habitually use.



* Population of 15 years and over

¹ The percentages of answers of "only Catalan" are added to those of "more Catalan than Spanish"

Source: Statistics of linguistic uses in Catalonia 2003.

In this context, the study tries to make out some of the factors that explain why, despite the high Catalan competence of young people at present, they use it less intensely or less than their abilities. To do so, it centres on the identity and sociodemographic aspects that could explain, in a simplified scheme, some factors that influence the linguistic use of young Catalan people.

2. Methodology and sources of research information

The methodological approach of the study is a multiple one, combining techniques of qualitative and quantitative research.

Quantitative techniques can count individuals and therefore help us have a characterisation of the young society. However, we need to take into account the limits of each technique of exploiting quantitative data. The use of qualitative techniques complements the quantitative information in that it covers matters that cannot be compiled through a survey and explains the numerical information in a discursive way. The qualitative techniques include the spontaneity of the interviews which give rise to realities that were not initially expected. In this study, the quantitative technique was used to view the influence of some variables in the use of Catalan, of Spanish or of both languages. The qualitative analysis analyses the variables that there are in the quantitative analysis and tries to view other factors that influence uses and that do not appear in the quantitative analysis

The data of the survey

With regard to quantitative analysis, we used the *Enquesta als joves de Catalunya 2002*, promoted by the Secretariat for Youth.⁴ This is a periodical survey on the young people of Catalonia, carried out with the aim of getting to know the development of their situation and their life conditions.

This survey takes as its universe the population aged between 15 and 29, residing in Catalonia which represents a total of 1,454,489 people, according to the data of the Statistics of the population of 1996. The interviews were carried out face to face at the home of the person interviewed between May 2nd and July 3rd 2002. The total sample is 2,000 valid interviews. The size of the sample means accepting a margin of error of +/- 2.2 % for

⁴Its characteristics can be consulted at <http://www.gencat.cat/joventut/observatori>.

the overall data in the case of maximum indetermination ($p=q=50$) for a confidence level of 95.5%.⁵

In addition, for the analysis of the sociolinguistic context of Catalonia, we also used the data of the 2003 Survey of linguistic uses in Catalonia (EULC 2003).

As far as the specific quantitative analysis techniques are concerned, we did *bivariable analyses* to be able to achieve the application of a *loglinear model*, specifically a *logit* model. Loglinear models are multivariable analysis techniques for qualitative variables that facilitate the study of relationships of the set of variables. They are very useful techniques for analysing the relationships between more than 3 variables, in which one contingency table would be very difficult to interpret. This statistical model summarises and proves hypotheses to thus determine the significance of common association measurements to diverse variables and the influence or effects of one on the other.

The data from the discussion groups

The qualitative analysis was done with four discussion groups of young people aged between 15 and 29 which were done for the study on *the evaluation of the "Dóna corda al català" campaign*, promoted by the Secretariat for Linguistic Policy.⁶ Specifically, in the study explained here, there is an analysis of content of the transcriptions of the four discussion groups with young people, paying special attention to the questions that are of interest to the study.⁷

In a synthetic way, we could say that the discussion groups were meetings of people (participants) who established a conversation on the matter of interest following the directives of the moderator. The participants of the groups did not know each other previously but had specific characteristics concerning the object of the study. As far as the formation of the groups is concerned, it should be mentioned that the discussion groups were designed so that everyone involved in the debate should be represented in them, however, in no case is it representative of what happens with regard to the entire population. We were not looking for a statistical representation, but a typological one.

In this case, the groups were designed according to their linguistic group (Catalan as the habitual language, Spanish as the habitual language or both as the habitual languages), their work situation (students, first jobs or sporadic jobs) and age (15 to 17 years of age, 18 to 22 and 23 to 29). At the same time, intragroup heterogeneity was set up with regard to sex, work situation -in some cases, linguistic group -in other cases. Intragroup heterogeneity is important to set up a framework for the debate, as if it were too homogeneous, group communication would be inhibited.

The groups were recorded on audio or video to make transcribing easier. Therefore, the meetings were held in rooms prepared for this purpose.

3. Some factors that explain young people's linguistic uses

As we have already indicated, this study focused in some sociodemographic, identity and linguistic environment aspects that could explain in a simplified scheme some factors that influence the linguistic uses of young Catalan people. Some factors have already been mentioned by diverse authors.⁸ In this sense, the work has tried to view, through two combined techniques, the vitality of the influence of these factors today.

Among the sociodemographic factors included in the analysis are age, place of residence, education level, work situation, the education level of the family nucleus and the family

⁵The sample is a stratified sample, with non-proportional affixation. The variables involved in the stratification and the later control are the territorial area by size of the municipality, age group and sex.

⁶A summary of the study can be consulted at <http://www.gencat.cat/lengua/dades> and the complete study at the Documentation Centre of the Secretariat for Linguistic Policy.

⁷ It is important to mention that the study of the discussion groups on the "Dóna corda al català" campaign had, on the whole, different objectives than those of this study. However, here we only took into account the information related to linguistic uses, behaviour and attitudes and not to the campaign.

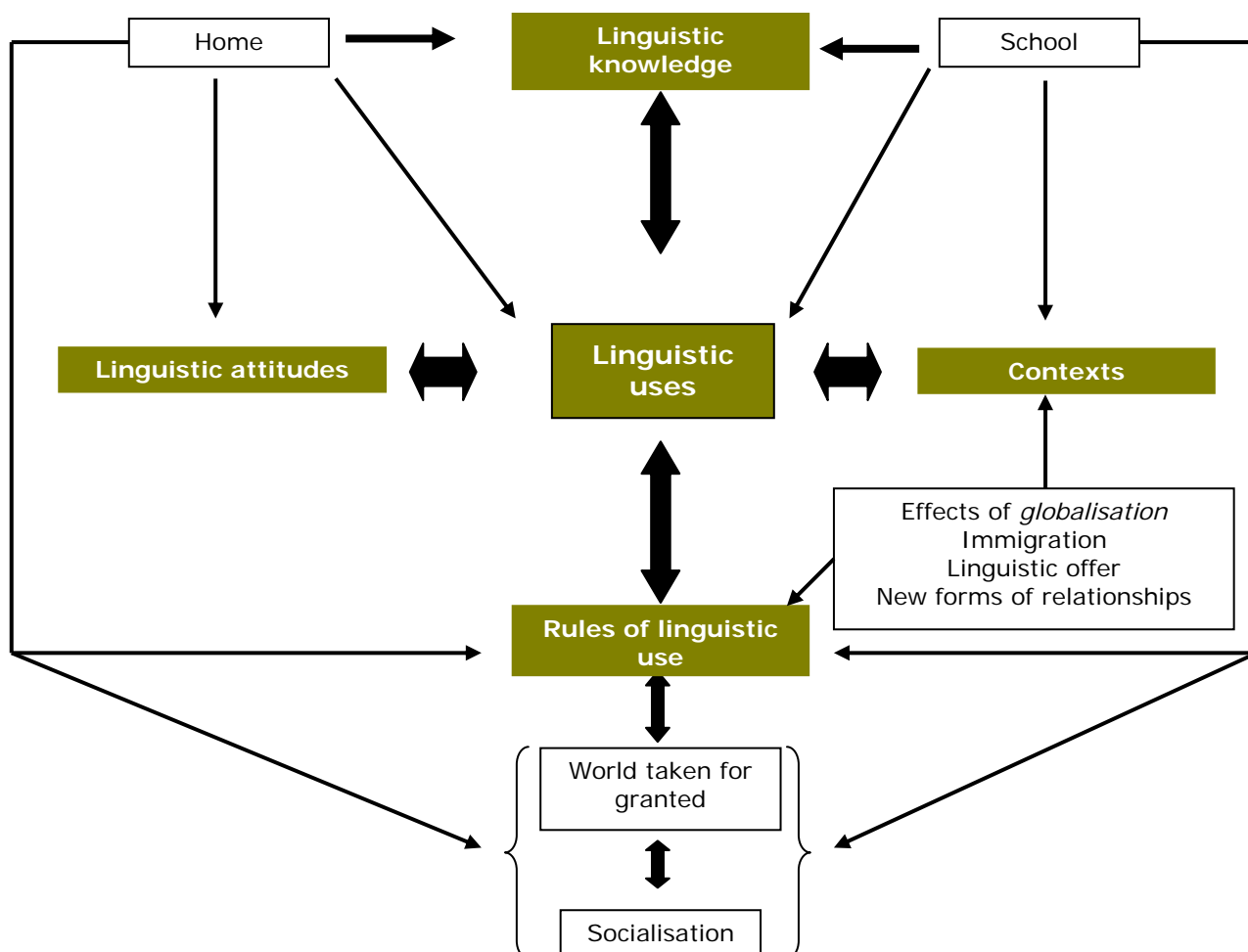
⁸Among others, we would like to mention Boix, E (1993), J. Torres (coord); X. Vila; A. Fabà; V. Bretxa (2003).

origin. Among the identity aspects (linguistic and non-linguistic ones) we include the language with the family, the language of identification, the rules of socially known linguistic use and linguistic attitudes. With regard to the linguistic environment, we consider cultural consumption and membership of associations, among others. It should be taken into account that some variables considered to be sociodemographic ones also concern the linguistic environment (the place of residence, the work situation) and identity (the family origin among others).

From a sociological perspective, we try to make out how these variables fit in with the historic and social contexts of young Catalan people. Therefore, in the analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data, we reflect on the influence of the social historic situations and other aspects that characterise today's Catalan society such as globalisation processes, immigration and the sociolinguistic situation of the Catalan society.

Below, to show the conclusions of the study in a simplified way, there is a figure whose central feature is the linguistic uses of young Catalan people surrounded by some of the factors that explain these uses. We are aware that this diagram reduces the reality to a simple form of representation and that the social reality is much more complex than is seen here. However, the diagram aims to be an introduction which will be explained throughout the study and its intention is to order the ideas that are discussed later.

Some of the factors that explain the linguistic uses of young people in Catalonia



As you can see in the diagram, this study focuses on the following factors as variables for explaining the linguistic uses of young people in Catalonia: knowledge, contexts, rules of use and linguistic attitudes. Throughout the article, these concepts are explained and their importance in linguistic uses is justified. In addition, it was considered necessary to explain some variables that were taken into account to explain these factors and the way in which they influence linguistic uses. School and home are environments which shape knowledge, attitudes, contexts and rules of use. The socialisation process through which individuals

acquire behavioural rules, the governing values in the society in which they live and "the world taken for granted", are other important variables which help to understand current rules of linguistic use. The diagram also takes into account more current phenomena such as globalisation which, as we explain later on, acquire importance in explaining the linguistic uses of young people. Therefore, through the social changes involved in globalisation (new forms of relationships, immigration, new linguistic offer, etc.) the linguistic uses of young people are affected.

We should point out that the linguistics uses considered here are set within the Catalan reality. In this sense, our prevailing interest is the use of Catalan and the use of Spanish. This is specified in young people who when they speak in any area or with any person use exclusively or mainly Catalan - to whom we refer as young Catalan speakers; young people who use Spanish exclusively or mainly -to whom we refer as young Spanish speakers, and young people who use both languages in differing degrees -young bilingual speakers. Therefore, it is in this sense that in this text we use the concepts of Catalan speakers and Spanish speakers, always referring to the use of one language or another.

4. The quantitative analysis: application of the logit model⁹

The application of multi-variables techniques, in this case, hopes to account for what varies beyond the simple description of the date of the 2002 Survey on young people. The aim of applying the *logit* model is to identify the relationship between a dependent variable, linguistic uses of young people aged between 15 and 29, explained by a series of independent variables.

The *logit* model is used when a causality relationship is considered. A variable is considered to be dependent and is explained by the rest of variables that are independent. The *multinomial logit model*¹⁰ in question has the language of young Catalan people as dependent variable. In a *multinomial logit model* only the significant associations in which the response variable intervenes without the interaction of the explanatory variables is taken into account. Therefore, this technique is highly useful for explanatory models as when an influence is defined, it is not affected by the influence of the other variables of the model.

Finally, to have a more complete model, two applications were made: in the first, the variable to be explained was the family language, and in the second, the variable to be explained was the habitual language. This article shows global conclusions. The synthesis variables included in the models are:¹¹

- Habitual language and family language
- Place of residence of the person interviewed
- Origin of the parents (synthesis of the father's place of birth and of the mother's place of birth)
- Level of studies of the person interviewed
- Level of studies of the parents (synthesis of the father's level of studies and of the mother's level of studies)
- Use of ICTs (in the results *the use of ICT* is eliminated by the other influences)
- Current membership of associations

Description of the results of the variables included in the analysis

The main results of these variables show that half young Catalan people have Spanish or mainly Spanish as their family language (49.6), 42.3% have Catalan or mainly Catalan as their family language and 7.1% speak both languages. As far as habitual language is

⁹The logit model is a kind of loglinear model. In loglinear models, a statistical model is sought that summarises and proves hypothesis to thus determine the significance of common association methods to various variables and the influence or effects of them on each other. The theoretical part of this analysis and some practical examples can be consulted in Correa Piñero, A. (2002).

¹⁰It is multinomial because the variable to be explained has more than one category.

¹¹With the analysis of the contingency tables the following are excluded: work situation, age of the person interviewed, (its influence on language is slight), the number of cultural activities (this is mainly related to the level of studies).

concerned, 42% of the young people say they habitually use Spanish (only or mainly), 43.7% Catalan and 13.7% both languages

In addition, in the 2002 Survey on young people they were asked for their linguistic uses in other areas (see table 2). Overall, the uses of Catalan are more frequent at work/secondary school and when writing. Bilingual uses occur more frequently at work/secondary school and with strangers and the use of Spanish occurs more frequently in the family. It should be mentioned that the family is the area that is least bilingual and the area of friends is very bilingual.

Table 2. Language spoken by young people in the various areas and written language (%)

Language	Habitually	With the family	With friends	Work/ Sec. school	With strangers	For writing
Catalan	38.9	40.6	32.8	41.4	38.8	42.3
More Catalan than Spanish	4.8	1.7	5.8	8.4	2.8	3.6
Both in Catalan and in Spanish	13.7	7.1	17.9	21.1	21.1	10.0
More Spanish than Catalan	6.3	1.7	7.1	6.9	2.6	4.8
Spanish	35.7	47.9	36.0	21.6	33.5	38.6
Others languages	0.7	1.1	0.5	0.7	0.2	0.7
Does not know / No answer	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0

Source: 2002 Survey on Young People of Catalonia General Secretariat for Youth.

As far as the place of residence of the young people is concerned, 44.7% are from the metropolitan area, 22.5% live in Barcelona city and 32.9% in the rest of Catalonia. With regard to the level of studies of the person interviewed, it should be taken into consideration that many members of the group of young people are currently studying (45.4%). Of the rest, 21.9% have higher qualifications, 19.9% elementary studies and 11.8% medium level studies.

With regard to the parents of the people interviewed, we should point out the greater frequency of young people with parents both of whom were born in Catalonia (39.4%), in second place, young people with parents both of whom were born in another part of Spain (31.8%), and in third place mixed couples, in other words, one of the members born in Catalonia and the other in another part of Spain (25.1%). With regard to the level of studies, most of the parents are couples without studies or with elementary studies (55.7%), in 22.7% of cases one of the members of the couple has higher qualifications and in 18.8% of cases, one of them has medium level studies and the other has elementary studies, or they both have medium level studies.

Finally, it should be mentioned that 44.5% of young people are members of some kind of club or association. The most frequent ones are sports clubs. On the other hand, the use of new information and communication technologies created variable indicates that 53.2% of young people use 2 or more ICTs—such as mobile phone, computer or Internet.

Description of the results of applying the logit model

Below we describe the conclusions of applying the two logit models: one in which the response variable (variable to be explained by the model) is the family language and another in which the response language is the usual language. We thus aim to construct a more overall model.¹²

In the first place, it should be said that in both analyses (family language and habitual language) the model adapts to the data in a satisfactory way.¹³ in addition, there are no relationships of more than two variables, therefore, the effects that are described are

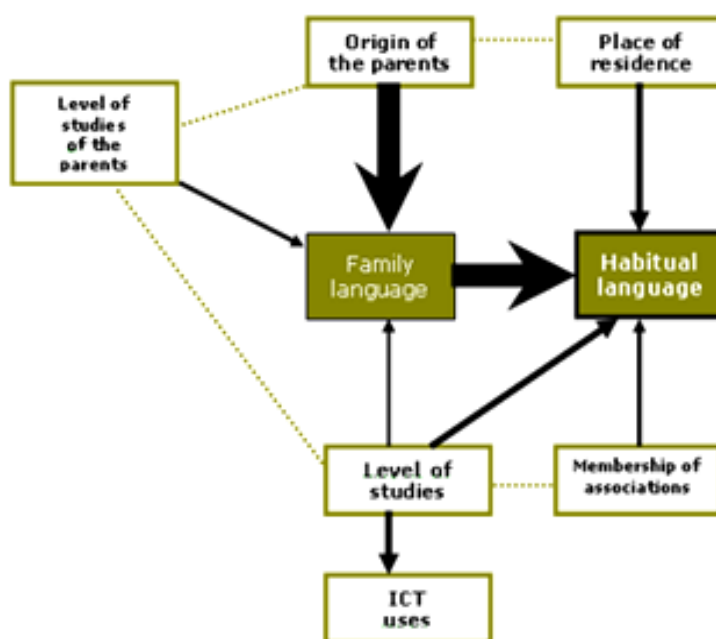
¹²The preliminary work with data showed this need.

¹³Through the table of residuals and the quality adjustment tests it is concluded that the model chosen adjusts satisfactorily to the data as most of the adjusted residuals are not significantly different from zero and the Likelihood Ratio statistics and χ^2 Pearson's statistics are greater than a significance level equal to 0.05, thus concluding that we cannot reject the null hypothesis of good adjustment of the model to the data.

concerned with the relationship between the two variables that control the rest; they are direct effects and there are no combinations of two or more variables that influence the response variables. This kind of analysis accounts for the influence of one category of the independent variable (place of residence, origin of the parents, level of studies, etc.) on a category of the dependent variable or to be explained (family language and habitual language). In other words, that it shows how belonging to one category or to another influences the predisposition of having Catalan, Spanish or both languages as a habitual language.

The following diagram shows the results of both analyses in a graphic way. The black arrows indicate the influence and the direction it takes; the thickness of the arrows indicates the intensity of the influence. The green dotted lines show the influences that have been explored with complimentary analyses but which are not part of the logit model because it only takes into account the influences directed at the dependent variable (family language and habitual language).

Logit model diagram (variables that influence linguistic uses)



With regard to the model in which the dependent variable is the family language, we should state that the analysis confirms the hypothesis in which family language is explained by the origin of the parents in the first place, the educational level of the family nucleus in second place, and the educational level of the young person in third place. The strongest influence is the family origin. This means that, when the place of birth of the parents is outside Catalonia, Spanish prevails in linguistic use in the family; when the parents were born in Catalunya, Catalan prevails as the linguistic use in the family. This trend is also influenced by the level of studies of the parents and of the people interviewed. Thus, the higher the level of studies in the family linguistics uses, the greater the use of the Catalan language. Below you will see a table summarising the results of the application of the *logit* model for family language:

Summary of the results of the *logit* model family language

Id.	Interaction	μ
41	Family lang. = Catalan *Level of studies = Medium	0.6757
61	Family lang. = Catalan *Level of studies parents =None or elementary	-0.758
44	Family lang. = Catalan and Spanish *Level of studies = Elementary	-0.7587
38	Family lang. = Catalan and Spanish equally	-1.0839
53	Family lang. = Catalan *Parents' place of birth = Sp-Sp	-2.6368
56	Family lang. = Catalan and Spanish *Parents' place of birth = Sp-Sp	-2.1122

- The identifier corresponds to the number assigned to the interaction. The interaction is the combination of categories of the independent variables with the dependent one.
- μ is the value of the parameter obtained from the logit model proposed.

The absolute value of the parameters indicates the intensity of the association. Therefore, it is observed that the most intensive effect is that of parameter 53 and 56 corresponding to the family language and origin of the parents effect. In other words, there are differences in the family language depending on the place of birth of the parents.

In the model in which the response variable is the habitual language, the family language is the one that determines, to a great degree, the habitual language of the person interviewed. Far behind this, the level of studies, the place of residence and membership of associations determines the habitual language. In addition, according to the resulting model, the variable that determines a frequency of ICT uses remains outside the model as, although it has an influence on the habitual language, this influence comes from its relationship with the level of studies and not on its own. Below you will see a table summarising the results of the application of the *logit* model for habitual language:

Summary of the results of the logit model habitual language

Id.	Interaction	μ
82	Habitual lang. = Catalan*Family language = Catalan	5.9285
86	Habitual lang. = Catalan and Spanish *Family language = Catalan and Spanish	2.8995
85	Habitual lang. = Catalan and Spanish *Family language = Catalan	2.7605
83	Habitual lang. = Catalan *Family language = Catalan and Spanish	2.6685
93	Habitual lang. = Catalan *Level of studies = Higher	0.6788
97	Habitual lang. = Catalan and Spanish *Level of studies = Higher	0.4087
103	Habitual lang. = Catalan *Territory = Barcelona	-0.5954
92	Habitual lang. = Catalan *Level of studies = Medium	-0.6151
76	Habitual lang. = Catalan *Membership of associations = not associated	-0.6566
95	Habitual lang. = Catalan and Spanish *Level of studies = Elementary	-0.6998
107	Habitual lang. = Catalan and Spanish *Territory = Metropolitan area	-0.8521
73	Habitual lang. = Catalan	-0.935
91	Habitual lang. = Catalan *Level of studies = Elementary	-1.041
74	Habitual lang. = Catalan and Spanish	-1.237
104	Habitual lang. = Catalan *Territory = Metropolitan area	-1.8485

In this case, it is observed that the most intense effect is that of parameters 82, 86, 85 and 83 corresponding to the effect of habitual language and family language. In other words, that there are differences in the habitual language depending on the family language. The four significant parameters have a positive sign and indicate that when the family language is Catalan, the willingness of young people to use Catalan habitually is greater (parameter 82). At the same time, we should mention the fact that young people whose family language is Catalan and Spanish are more likely to have Catalan rather than Spanish as their habitual language (parameter 83).

On the one hand, young people with Spanish as their family language (exclusively or mainly), with an elementary or medium level of studies, residing in Barcelona or the metropolitan area are those most likely to have Spanish as their habitual language (exclusively or mainly). It is also important to point out that young people who are not members of associations or only members of one also have this tendency. It should be pointed out that the likelihood of having Spanish as habitual language and Spanish as family language is very high (see table). This means that speaking Spanish with the family has a greater influence on the habitual language Spanish category than in other cases (family language Catalan or bilingual). Therefore, for young people who come from Spanish-speaking families the change from family language Spanish to habitual language Catalan is more difficult.

Parameters of the relationship p1311rec and p1312rec

p1311rec Habitual language	P1312rec Family language		
	1.- Catalan	2.- Catalan and Spanish	3.- Spanish
1.- Catalan	5.9285 375.59*	2.6685 14.418	-8.597 0.00018
2.- Catalan and Spanish	2.7605 15.8077	2.8995 18.1651	-5.6600 0.0035
3.- Spanish	-8.6890 0.0002	-5.5680 0.0038	14.2570 1555021.6091

*Exponential of the parameter. Significant parameters have been shaded in.

Young people who belong to the categories of Catalan (exclusively or mainly) as their family language, higher levels of study or currently studying, resident in the rest of Catalonia and with a higher level of membership of associations are more likely to use Catalan (exclusively or mainly).

Young people who habitually use both languages are notable as having as their family language both languages or just Catalan, higher studies or currently studying, residing in Barcelona city or the rest of Catalunya and belonging to fewer associations than Catalan speakers.

Therefore, their family language is in some way the same as their habitual language. In this point, we should take into account that it is data taken from a survey and, therefore, declared data. Many evaluations in research and studies have been done on the data of the survey, in contrast to data extracted through observation. In this sense, there is some knowledge about the reliability of the data of the survey. It is important to mention that the perceptions of the people interviewed on their behaviour and uses are present in their responses. In addition, the language used with the family is included within the habitually used language, in other words, those interviewed answer about their habitual language uses taking into account that their family language use is also a habitual use. However, linguistic uses in various areas are a partial vision of overall linguistic uses and are linked to uses by context; for example, at work or at secondary school, Catalan is used much more because it is an area in which linguistic planning in Catalan is more regulated and present.

In this analysis, the influence of the level of studies of the parents and the young people on their linguistic uses is notable. If this variable is shown as a reflection of the cultural level of the families, it can be affirmed that Catalan is still linked to the values of prestige and a high cultural level.

5. The qualitative analysis: the discussion groups

Briefly, the dynamics of the group consisted of a presentation, preliminary questions on the everyday life of the participants followed by, through spontaneous conversation about free time activities and music, the participants developing the debate about language. In almost the four dynamics it was the language of the music that participants listen to that helped to direct the debate. From here on, they dealt above all with the subject of linguistics uses and behaviours and linguistic attitudes of the three linguistic groups. The following step was to speak about the image of the languages and the "Dóna corda al català" campaign of the Secretariat for Linguistic Policy.

In view of the objectives of this study, the analysis was mainly focused on the points that referred to linguistics uses, language and consumption in leisure time and free time, linguistic behaviour (rules of use) and linguistic attitudes.¹⁴

Linguistic uses

¹⁴ To help the understanding and to exemplify each conclusion in these cases, the dialogues of the participants of the groups were transcribed literally as they clarify, affirm or complement the conclusion or conclusions. These transcriptions are given in cursive and preceded by the initials of the linguistic group to which they belong.

In the first place, with regard to the linguistic uses of young Catalan people, it should be mentioned that, according to the analysis of the discussion groups, they are defined by the language that they feel to be theirs, the language spoken with their family and the decision on whether to maintain or change language.

G1 (aged 15 to 17, Catalan speakers, bilingual speakers and Spanish speakers)
but it also depends, people who speak Catalan as well, it's because their parents are Catalan or one of their parents, and I for example am not, I believe that it's this, how they were brought up when they were little. (...) And I've been doing school in Catalan since I was little and I still speak Spanish. (...) But later at home... I come out of school, and I speak Spanish

Usually, the family language is linked to the geographical origin of the parents. However, there are cases in which this is not so. It is considered more common that parents of Spanish origin should speak Catalan with their children, but it is seen to be socially "strange" that parents of Catalan origin should speak Spanish to their children.

G4 (aged 23 to 29 bilingual speakers and Spanish speakers)
For me it depends, I have always studied in Catalan, I have studied here, in Catalan, and the family, well it depends, I've got a lot of family that speak Catalan and my parents are from here, they are both Catalan. (...) Yes, I know it's odd because my grandparents were Catalan, but well, they speak Spanish, they only speak Catalan to the animals.

Also, the language spoken with one's couple and one's friends are usually the languages that one considers to be one's own as they also make up part of the linguistic environment of the person. However, in this area they start to be processes of interaction between the two languages. It is here that diverse linguistic behaviours occur of adapting to the language of the other or of negotiation between the members.

G3 (aged 23 to 29, Catalan speakers and bilingual speakers)
Everything depends on when you meet a person how you start speaking to them, if you start in Catalan you will then always speak Catalan to them, if you start in Spanish... Unless there is a moment when you say that you would prefer to speak in... This happened with me and my girlfriend, I spoke to her in Spanish and I said: you can talk to me in Catalan, and from then on we always spoken in Catalan.

Therefore both in young people of the Catalan group as well as young people of the Spanish group, they have friends who speak the other language and therefore there can be a change of use of their own language. Young bilingual speakers, many Catalan speakers and some Spanish speakers adapt to the language of their interlocutor with regard to friendship.

G1 (aged 15 to 17, Catalan speakers, bilingual speakers and Spanish speakers)
It depends on the people in the group, because there might be one person in the group who speaks Spanish and therefore if you move in..., well, the conversations that you have with the group will be in Spanish so that this person can.... In other words, you'll be used to speaking in Spanish and therefore if you're in a group you'll speak to him in Spanish, with everyone, with all the members so that he can understand, even though he understands Catalan, it's a bit like that...

Outside family use and use with friends, in the discussion groups other areas in which linguistic uses are present arose spontaneously: situations in which one acts as a consumer or user. In this case, the language of use depends on the area about which we are talking and is defined according to the social knowledge about the language that is usually spoken in each area. The restaurant area was mentioned as one of the areas in which people usually speak in Spanish and banks as one of the areas in which they usually speak in Catalan.

Language and consumption in leisure time and free time

On the other hand, the language of cultural or free time consumption takes on special importance in the debates -above all with regard to musical and television consumption- and has some very specific characteristics.

With regard to music, we should point out the fact that the Catalan linguistic group feels identified with music sung in Catalan and the Spanish linguistic group does not. In the first case, young Catalan speakers like it because it represents a music that is close to them. Contrarily, in the second case there is rejection because it is removed from their identity and belongs to a nationalist identity that they do not share. However, all young people can like music sung in Spanish as they do not see political options and preferences but simply a kind of music that they can like or not.

G1 (aged 15 to 17, Catalan speakers, bilingual speakers and Spanish speakers)

- *But it's for the people, it depends on the people, it depends on how you take it, because for me a song in Catalan could mean many things, and another person will listen to it and say yuk!*

G2 (aged 18 to 22, bilingual speakers and Spanish speakers)

- *It's because it's in Catalan I'd say, I don't know. Hardly anybody likes music in Catalan and there are very few people compared to the music in Spanish.*

All young people like music in English more than in any other foreign language. For some, the reason is fashion and being used to hearing this kind of music, as it is that which is promoted at a world level nowadays. Along the same lines, we should point out the fact that the linguistic uses for music, television and the cinema are linked to customs and uses that have historically occurred in these areas from each linguistic group.

G3 (aged 23 to 29, Catalan speakers and bilingual speakers)

it's not that it's any better or worse, it's just that it's more promoted, the language is more familiar to us, everyone has studied English at school, we understand the odd phrase and it is more accessible to us, we prefer how it sounds

G1 (aged 15 to 17, Catalan speakers, bilingual speakers and Spanish speakers)

Because you're used to each actor having his voice dubbed and therefore you're used to that dubber and you relate to him or her directly. That happened to me with Songoku which I saw in Catalan and when they put it on in Spanish I couldn't bear it

Rules of linguistic use

Throughout the dynamics, one of the fundamental questions that appeared in the conversation in all the groups was shown: the trend to linguistic convergence. This is how most linguistic groups converge into the language of the Moderator whether or not it is their own language. This happens in a marked way in the groups of Catalan speakers and bilingual speakers when the moderator speaks in Spanish. In groups consisting of Spanish speakers they mainly keep to Spanish when the moderator speaks to them in Catalan but also, in some cases, they respond to the questions by speaking in Catalan.

Once again, in these discussion groups the basic rule of linguistic convergence appeared that has been found in many of the studies. According to Boix (1993), commonsense and psychological research suggest that *a means that individuals have to achieve a more favourable attitude from others is that of making themselves more similar to them; the adaptation is, therefore, a reflection from the individuals to be socially approved*. Adaptation or linguistic convergence is therefore a means that young people use to get closer to their interlocutor to thus look for their complicity.

G3 (aged 23 to 29, Catalan speakers and bilingual speakers)

- *or if when you'd arrive you hadn't spoken a lot may be someone would have heard another language but as you've started and you've made your entire speech in Spanish.*

Linguistic convergence to Spanish is something that is taken for granted that forms part of the unwritten social regulations that are considered to contribute towards the good understanding of people in a society. This regulation is supported by attitudes of respect and politeness that are understood to be fundamental for harmoniously living in society. Therefore, it is a behaviour that is very difficult to contradict or change.

G3 (aged 23 to 29, Catalan speakers and bilingual speakers)

because I consider that when I am spoken to in Spanish if I answer in Catalan for me it's like an argument

G3 (aged 23 to 29, Catalan speakers and bilingual speakers)

- *Sometimes I do it out of respect, because the person who starts the conversation, it's not that they have the right, but I suppose that they started in the language that they speak best and if this is a problem for me I would ask them to change language but if not, if I really had a difficulty yes I would ask but as more or less ...*

Bilingual speakers are the ones who mainly adopted this behaviour, followed by young people from the Catalan linguistic group and finally, young people from the Spanish linguistic group. In this sense, the data of the EULC 2003 that shows how the majority of young people who start a conversation in Catalan change to Spanish when the interlocutor answers them in Spanish (73%) is confirmed; while the majority of young people who start a conversation in Spanish and are answered in Catalan continue speaking in Spanish (82.7%).

Table 3. Attitude of the population aged 15 to 29 in the case of a change of language in a conversation (%)*

Attitudes	When they speak in Catalan and are answered in Spanish	When they speak in Spanish and answered in Catalan
Continue speaking in Catalan	15.3	8.2
Continue the conversation in Spanish	73.0	82.7
Ask if they can speak in Catalan/Spanish	3.2	1.0
They never address anyone in Catalan/Spanish	7.3	7.2
Other situations	1.2	0.9

* Only includes the population who say they know how to speak Catalan.

Source: Statistics of linguistic uses in Catalonia 2003.

This frequency, among other things, relates to the degree of linguistic competence as young bilingual people find it easy to express themselves in both languages and although young people of the Catalan linguistic group have a high degree of competence in Spanish, in some cases they say they do not find it as easy to express themselves as in Catalan. Overall, the young people of the Spanish linguistic group have learned Catalan at school and for them it is a language that they know well. However, some of them find it quite difficult to express themselves in Catalan because it is a language they have learned academically but not used in everyday life.

In this way, among the young people of the Catalan linguistic group and, to a greater degree, of the Spanish linguistic group, there are behaviours that indicate they maintain their own language in all conversations. In the case of the Catalan linguistic group, apart from the difficulty of expressing themselves in Spanish, they used as an argument the fact that they express themselves more freely and the protection of a language that is found in a poorer condition in Catalan society.

G3 (aged 23 to 29, Catalan speakers and bilingual speakers)

- *I don't think it needs to be like that, before I always make the change. I've got a brother who is a very strong Catalan nationalist, who reads a lot, and once he said to me why is it you always change when the other person doesn't and doesn't do it because they don't want to, the case is my granny, my granny has been here for 50 years and doesn't speak Catalan and you make the reflection of saying: why am I being so stupid? Because depending on the circumstances I'm not as agile when I speak in Spanish as when I'm speaking Catalan, depending on what kind of conversation, work interviews and so on, I feel much better when I'm speaking in Catalan.*

Among young people in the Spanish linguistic group there are great difficulties in expressing themselves in Catalan however, in some cases, they also mention matters such as the fact that they do not consider it to be necessary in order to be understood by anybody as they can hold bilingual conversations. We should mention that for young people in the Spanish linguistic group it is unthinkable that anybody should not understand and speak Spanish. On the other hand, in the case of young people in the Catalan linguistic group there is special care taken in finding out whether the people know how to speak Catalan before holding a conversation in Catalan with them.

G2 (aged 18 to 22, bilingual speakers and Spanish speakers)

I usually always speak in Spanish, in the shops wherever I go, I always in Spanish because I express myself better

G1 (aged 15 to 17, Catalan speakers, bilingual speakers and Spanish speakers)

And if they speak to me in Catalan, well in Spanish also, and if I've started I'm not going to change

Finally, despite these regulations of linguistic use, overall all the young people state that if they have started a relationship with somebody in a different language to their own they prefer to maintain the relationship in that language. In this case, the deeply rooted custom makes it impossible to change language.

Linguistic attitudes

The rules of linguistic use and attitudes towards diverse languages are strongly linked, as the first influences the second and vice versa. In the conversations held, the young people in the Catalan linguistic group and those in the Spanish linguistic group feel that their own language is close and familiar. Both groups have positive perceptions and attitudes and negative ones towards the other language.

G3 (aged 23 to 29, Catalan speakers and bilingual speakers)

- *When I hear Catalan abroad after periods of not having heard it I get very emotional.*

In any case, opinions are linked to political and ideological options. However, the young people of both groups are critical with the discourses that, in Catalonia, have historically tried to link languages to matters of ideology. As far as attitudes towards Catalan are concerned, young Catalan speakers consider that the language should not be so linked to Catalan traditions and symbols as it causes controversy about an ideological aspect that needs to be left behind. However, the young people in this group reject the posture of people who refuse to speak Catalan or who get annoyed when someone speaks Catalan and it is at this point that they realise the rules of use that are deeply rooted in Catalan society.

G3 (aged 23 to 29, Catalan speakers and bilingual speakers)

- *But also because it has been fostered, they have wanted to link the language, I'm not saying they are not linked to the culture but by the process of transition that we've had with the linguistic matter, it has been sold to us as a cultural thing which needs to be defended, traditional.*

For young people in the Spanish linguistic group, Catalan is a language that is far removed from them, that does not form part of their world. In some cases, it is perceived as a language of a "higher" class society as people who speak Spanish come from immigration with a lower economic level. At the same time, Spanish is linked with a more informal, modern language that is more identified with their youthful preferences.

G4 (aged 23 to 29 bilingual speakers and Spanish speakers)

- *I don't know, it's a cliché that I might have noted, maybe sociological, the fact that normally by definition people with fewer studies tend to speak more Spanish and people with more qualifications, historically maybe it has nothing to do with it and maybe it's not even correct, but they usually speak more Catalan. I would expect more Spanish from a waiter than from a worker in a Catalan bank such as La Caixa.*

G1 (aged 15 to 17, Catalan speakers, bilingual speakers and Spanish speakers)

The only people I know that speak Catalan are the independent nationalist types, the others, all the people I know speak Spanish

6. Conclusions

According to Emili Boix,¹⁵ in 1993, there were two factors that most strongly influenced the changes of code between young people from the metropolitan area: linguistic competence

¹⁵ Boix, E (1993).

and, above all, the linguistic identity of the speakers. Equally, this piece of research presented an asymmetrical situation in the young people of the two linguistic groups: *while all young Catalan speakers can speak and do speak Spanish, the young Spanish-speaking people of the metropolitan area can still not really choose Catalan because their social positions do not enable them either to learn it or to use it effectively.*

Ten years after Emili Boix's research, we are able to say that some changes have taken place but that, overall, there are aspects that have not been overcome. Therefore, although the linguistic competence among today's young people has increased, there has not been a correspondence with its uses. Therefore, according to what Boix indicated, there is an important influence of identity aspects in the use of the language.

The linguistic uses of young Catalan people are explained by a combination of a multiplicity of factors that are related and that influence each other. Beyond the quantitative data, one can observe how in a multilingual society, the social and historic context determine specific linguistic uses. At the same time, the social and historical contexts are experienced, defined and understood in different ways by each generation, in this case, the young people. Therefore, the data shows us that there are no great differences in the linguistic uses of young people in comparison with other generations¹⁶ however, there are discourses and arguments concerning linguistic uses that refer to their generation in which the linguistic contexts experienced are different. Therefore, young people have a Catalan linguistic environment at school, which did not happen for other generations, and they have an image, attitudes and specific perceptions about the language that other generations reproduce or that are completely new. For example, according to the data of the EULC 2003, most of the young population believe that in five years' time, Catalan will be spoken equally or less than at present (63.3%), while among the general population this percentage is 49.7%.

Table 4. Do you think that in five years' time Catalan will be used more, equally or less than today?

	More	Equally	Less	No answer
Entire population*	40.3%	24.9%	24.8%	10.1%
Population aged between 15 and 29	31.8%	27.9%	35.4%	4.9%

* Population of 15 years and over

Source: Statistics of linguistic uses in Catalonia 2003. (n = 7,000)

Young people in Catalonia use one language or another depending on the competence acquired in each of the languages, on the social contexts in which they are found, on the rules of linguistic use and on linguistic attitudes. Therefore it can be concluded that these are the main factors that influence the uses reproduced in the diagram on page 4.

Completely competent in Catalan

First of all we should look at the matter of complete competence in both languages of young people in Catalunya. Linguistic competence that is acquired at school and the competence necessary to be able to use the language normally in everyday life do not correspond. As could be seen in the discussion groups, the linguistic environment of the person is a determinant factor in acquiring competence suitable to express oneself confidently and fluently in a language.

The family appears as the first linguistic environment which determines, to a great degree, the competence acquired after the adolescent stage. This family environment is one of the main factors that explains the habitual uses of young Catalan people. At the same time, this influence is stronger in the case of Spanish-speaking homes as the change between the use of the family language and the habitual language is made more difficult. It can be seen, therefore, that there is some difficulty in the transfer among some young people of Spanish-speaking origin due to lack of expressive competence in Catalan. This is why young Spanish speakers who almost never use Catalan say they know this language because they have learnt it at school but they do not use it because their family environment does not favour it.

¹⁶The greatest differences are found among the group of people aged 65 and over.

The changes in linguistic uses occur more frequently among young people whose family language is Catalan and Spanish equally or just Catalan.

The family origin is the determining factor in the family language and at the same time in the habitual use of language of young people. It should be pointed out that the family origin that has been studied at a quantitative level is determined by the parents' place of birth. However, at a qualitative level, we could make out a tendency to speak more of family origin in general. In this sense, there are young people with parents born in Catalonia who speak Spanish with them because the origin of the grandparents set this trend. In this case, the parents maintain the linguistic transmission of the family of origin. Quite surely, the historic context has enormously influenced this fact, as a great part of the generation of the parents of today's young people lived in a strongly Spanish-speaking linguistic context.

Linguistic contexts

The linguistic contexts of young people are the set of areas in which young people make use of the language or languages. As we have seen in the case of a family environment, the contexts greatly influence uses but also competence through the practice of the language in any context.

Outside the family environment, in first place, we should highlight the influence of the place of residence as, to a great degree, it will define the linguistic environment of the young person. In second place, with regard to the fact that young people who are currently studying and those who have higher studies have a greater tendency to use Catalan, we can deduce that the secondary school, university and the work environment could be linguistic environments that are favourable for Catalan. With regard to the working environment, we should also mention that this can be the contrary. The studies of linguistic uses in the labour world indicate that there are sectors in which the use of Catalan is more frequent than in others.

In third place, it has been considered that the consumption of leisure time and culture, membership of associations and ICT use, would also give determined linguistic uses among young people. In this case, the conclusions of the quantitative analysis indicate that cultural consumption and ICT are associated to the level of studies which is the variable that has the strongest influence on linguistic uses.¹⁷ Specifically, young people with higher levels of studies are more likely to use ICTs (greater use of computers, the Internet, etc.) and more intense cultural consumption (reading books, going to the cinema and other activities). Therefore, what had been shown in an initial exploratory analysis as an association between habitual linguistic uses in Catalan and the use of ICTs and more intense cultural consumption was, in fact, an influence of the young people's level of studies.

Qualitatively speaking, the influence of the linguistic offer in the areas related to the consumption of leisure and culture (music, television, cinema among others) is notable. Specifically, with regard to musical tastes we could see identity aspects which, in the case of music sung in Catalan, are completely linked to the language of identification (the one they consider to be their own language) that is linked to a specific young person's style. At the same time, it mentions the offer of cultural consumption, above all musical, in diverse languages as one of the other factors that influences when using one or another language in music and television. In this case, they mention linguistic consumption in English, considered to be a lingua franca and global language. Young people perceive the effects of globalisation and take on the tastes of a global society combining them with a taste for products from closer to home, linked to identity and style or young people's fashion to which they feel a bond.

Membership of associations is another of the factors that is part of the quantitative model that determines the linguistic uses of young Catalan people. Taking into account that in this practice social networks are created, we need to see the implications of this fact. It could be said that knowing people places people before new rules of linguistic use, also that membership of associations makes up a linguistic environment for the person which, in this case, is favourable for using Catalan more often. Therefore, it could also indicate an influence

¹⁷A bivariable analysis is extracted. The limitations of the logit analysis mean that some variables must be ruled out. The investigative criterion to eliminate this variable is the bivariable analysis and the existence of the treatment of cultural consumption in the discussion groups.

on competence in Catalan and could even have an important influence on the linguistic attitudes of young people.

Finally, we should not forget the global social contexts with which young people live and that are found in any specific context. The effects of globalisation: English as a language of international communication, the new forms of relationships between people —both with regard to new channels as well as relationships between different countries and languages— the constant entry of foreign people who live either temporarily or permanently in Catalonia, the linguistic offer, the linguistic policies, among others factors that have a great influence on the linguistic uses of young Catalan people. As we have seen in the case of cultural consumption, young people perceive the effects of globalisation in their linguistic uses. The effects of globalisation go beyond languages and, as indicated in the articles of Roger Martínez or Joe Gritxi and this report, may have the effect of strengthening local traditions and customs.

Rules of linguistic use

With regard to the rules of use, we should distinguish between rules of social use and rules of interpersonal use. On the one hand, the rules of social or group use would be those that determine linguistic uses for each occasion and context that is socially known and recognized. These are the ones that mark certain behaviour classified by Catalan society, such as rules of "politeness" or "respect" towards speakers of one or another language. These rules determine, to a great degree, the linguistic convergence of people who use Catalan towards Spanish. Young people learn these rules of use in the socialisation process, in the family and at school, among other situations.

On the other hand, there are the rules of interpersonal use that determine the linguistics uses of each specific relationship with each of the members of the family, friends, colleagues and acquaintances. Young people are not an exception in this case and declare that when there are linguistic uses acquired with any person they know, these are very difficult to change. It is very exceptional and it is understood to be a "strange" thing that two people who maintain a relationship in one language can change their uses and starts to speak in another language in their relationship.

Linguistic attitudes

Finally, with regard to linguistic attitudes, we need to evaluate their influence on linguistic uses. When we speak about the language of identification, what one considers to be one's personal or own language, this is an attitude in the face of a linguistic fact. Identification places people, it shapes preferences and influences the use of a language or not.

At the same time, linguistic attitudes are important for shaping linguistic awareness with the preservation of languages. Young people who identify with Catalan, despite not having permanent awareness about the uses that are required for the preservation of the language, show some awareness because of this. On the whole, they are young people in favour of promoting the language and they say they try to promote Catalan with their individual behaviour but they move away from Catalan monolingual positions because they consider that being bilingual is an advantage and an added value over those who are not bilingual.

Therefore, individual contexts such as linguistic competence, group contexts such as linguistic environment and social contexts such as rules or the linguistic offer of the cultural industries are factors which, beyond the characteristics of a specific young person, influenced the linguistic uses of young people in Catalonia. The possibility of changing them will come from the changes in each factor without forgetting that each change will influence the rest of the factors.

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