LANGUAGE USE IN SECONDARY SCHOOL CLASSROOMS IN CATALONIA AND THE VALENCIA REGION: STUDENTS AND TEACHERS AS ACTORS IN LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY*

Avel·lí Flors-Mas**

Abstract

This paper adopts a participatory analysis model of language policy that views teachers and students as *actors* in educational language policies and, therefore, as subjects with *agency* and capacity to make their own choices and intervene in those of the other actors. Based on the discourse of a sample of 4th-year secondary school students in Mataró and Manlleu (Catalonia) and Castelló de la Plana (Valencia Region) on language use in the classroom, it analyses to what extent the reported practices reproduce or question the education language policies in each area, and the impact they have on the *institutionalisation* of Catalan. The analysis shows that Catalan is reasonably institutionalised in Mataró and Manlleu classrooms, even though Spanish maintains a certain presence, basically in side talk. By contrast, there is a considerable institutional deficit of Catalan in Castelló, where both students and teachers use Spanish in spaces where, a priori, Catalan is the medium of instruction.

Keywords: Language use; language-in-education policy; actors in language policy; agency; Catalonia; Valencia Region.

ELS USOS LINGÜÍSTICS A LES AULES DE SECUNDÀRIA A CATALUNYA I EL PAÍS VALENCIÀ: L'ESTUDIANTAT I EL PROFESSORAT COM A ACTORS DE LA POLÍTICA LINGÜÍSTICA EDUCATIVA

Resum

Aquest article parteix d'un model participatiu d'anàlisi de la política lingüística que considera docents i estudiants com a actors *de les polítiques lingüístiques educatives i, doncs, com a subjectes amb* agència *i capacitat de decidir sobre les tries pròpies i d'intervenir sobre les de la resta d'actors. A partir dels discursos d'una mostra d'estudiants de 4t d'ESO de Mataró i Manlleu (Catalunya) i de Castelló de la Plana (País Valencià) sobre els usos lingüístics a les aules, s'hi analitza en quina mesura les pràctiques reportades reprodueixen o qüestionen les polítiques lingüístiques educatives implantades a cada territori, i l'impacte que tenen sobre la* institucionalització *del català. L'anàlisi indica que el català està raonablement institucionalitzat a les aules de Mataró i Manlleu a pesar que el castellà hi manté una certa presència, bàsicament en converses al marge. En canvi, el català pateix un dèficit important d'institucionalització a Castelló, on tant estudiants com alguns docents incorporen el castellà en espais vehiculats* a priori *en català.*

Paraules clau: Usos lingüístics; política lingüística educativa; actors de la política lingüística; agència; Catalunya; País Valencià.

** Avel·lí Flors-Mas, PhD in Advanced Studies in Catalan Language and Literature from the University of Barcelona, researcher at the University of Barcelona Sociolinguistics and Communication Research Centre (CUSC-UB) and part-time lecturer of sociolinguistics at the University of Barcelona Department of Catalan Philology and General Linguistics. aflorsmas@ub.edu

Summary

1 Introduction[1]

In multilingual societies, decisions on language-in-education policy, and specifically on the language(s) to be used as a medium of instruction in schools, usually become the focus of tension. In the regions of the Spanish State with co-official languages this conflict has mainly manifested itself in political and media discourse, as well as in the judicial sphere. Sometimes it has stemmed from opposition to policies designed to promote minority languages, such as the mobilisation by *Galicia Bilingüe* against a decree adopted by the socialist (PSdeG) and Galician nationalist (BNG) coalition in 2007, which established a minimum of 50% of subjects should be taught in Galician in pre-university education (González, 2014). On other occasions, sectors in favour of promoting minority languages have been the ones who have led opposition to legislation promoted by Partido Popular (PP) governments that was intended to limit the use of these languages in the education system on the basis of an alleged "trilingual ideal", i.e. assigning 33% of class time to each official language and English. Such was the case with the opposition in the Balearic Islands to the "integrated treatment of languages" decree known by the initials TIL (Melià, 2014) or the civic and academic response in the Valencia Region to an initial trilingual proposal (UA, UJI and UV, 2011) that eventually became the Decree on Plurilingualism,[2] which broadly kept the model in force until then. Another focus of tension has been the judicialisation of the education model in Catalonia (Pons, 2013). A course which is beginning to be followed in the Valencia Region, with various appeals against the education policies of the current socialist (PSPV-PSOE) and Valencian nationalist (Compromís) government (Esteve, 2017).

Informed debate on teaching methods and student achievement usually takes second place in these controversies. *Teachers voices* (Bretxa et al., 2017) and, above all, those of students, even more so. This paper is conceived as a contribution to the debate on language models in education in Catalonia and the Valencia Region based on the experience of secondary school students, one of the key players in defining education policies on the ground. With this aim in mind, I analyse the discourse in which a sample of 4th-year secondary students in Mataró and Manlleu (Catalonia) and Castelló de la Plana[3] (Valencia Region) re-contextualise their own use of language in class and focus on how the reported practices (their own and those of the teachers) reproduce or question the provisions of the current models. My approach is based on a language policy analysis model that regards students and teachers as actors with the capacity to make their own choices and to intervene in those of others. Accordingly, the paper tries to answer two research questions: (1) Are there any discrepancies between the design of language policies in education and language use in the classroom? If there are, which actors are responsible? (2) What stance do the various actors adopt when faced with these discrepancies? Do they try to intervene in them? With what procedures and results?

2 Language-in-education policies in Catalonia and the Valencia Region

The language model in the Catalan education system, known as the *Catalan conjunction model* (Milian, 1984; Arnau and Vila, 2013), promotes bilingualism in Catalan and Spanish among all school students. In order to achieve that it is based on a principle of "normal" vehicular use of Catalan and expressly prohibits the separation of students according to their first language. This reflects its origins in the embers of certain *integrationist ideologies* (Vila, 2005) which have forestalled the creation of institutions separated by language to ward off a hypothetical internal ethnicitisation of the population on the basis of their first language. The arrival of new and linguistically diverse migrations at the turn of the millennium forced a rethink of a model which, although it retained its basic principles unchanged, promoted initiatives such as the *reception classes* to cope with the linguistic incorporation of newly arrived students (I. Vila, 2011; Trenchs-Parera and Patiño-Santos, 2013). Even so, achieving genuinely equal competence in Catalan and Spanish between immigrant and native students continues to pose a challenge (Huguet *et al.*, 2013). Added to this is the recent incorporation of English as a vehicular language for content in response to new social demands

2 Council Decree 127/2012, of 3 August, governing plurilingualism in non-university education in the Valencia Autonomous Region
3 Hereinafter, Castelló.

(Departament d'Ensenyament [Ministry of Education], 2018). This latter aspect is already the subject of research, both in secondary education (Codó and Patiño-Santos, 2017) and in the university sphere (Cots, 2013). Finally, an education model that is under pressure from the aforementioned judicialisation and from the rise and consolidation of Ciutadans [Citizens], a Spanish nationalist party that has turned this issue into a political football since it entered the Catalan Parliament.

In the Valencia Region, approval of the Use and Teaching of Valencian Act[4] paved the way for incorporating Catalan into the education system and established the goal of students achieving equal competence in Catalan and Spanish by the end of compulsory education (Article 19.2). Its rollout has consolidated a *stream model* where programmes with Catalan as the dominant vehicular language – Teaching in Valencian Programme (PEV) and the Linguistic Immersion Programme (PIL) – coexist with the Progressive Incorporation Programme (PIP) which, basically, has operated as a programme for schooling in Spanish with the odd, non-language subject taught in Catalan. Within the framework of a policy of feeble promotion of Catalan (Bodoque, 2011), the growth of the PEV-PIL programmes has depended on the determination of teachers, families and activist organisations such as Escola Valenciana [Valencian School]. It has levelled off at around 30% in pre-university levels but with an uneven presence and characterised by a triple fragmentation, depending on the type of school, the educational level and the geographic area (Figure 1).[5]

Figure 1 Presence of language programmes according to the type of school, educational level and area. Percentages (source: own creation, based on STEPV, 2016)
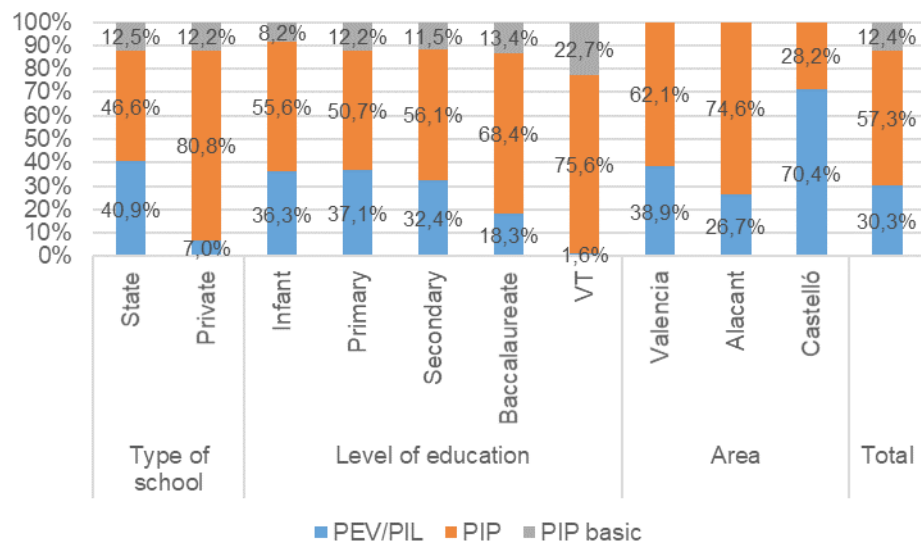
3 Theoretical framework

This paper comes under the study of *language policy,* i.e. all the interventions on the acquisition, structure and use of language and linguistic ideologies (Spolsky, 2004). In lay language, this notion evokes a series of measures planned by the public authorities, a *top-down* structure to which speakers "adapt" their behaviour. Contrary to this vision, the article is based on more participatory models that propose to incorporate the different *actors* into the analysis, those who, apart from the government agencies, intervene in the implementation of the policies on the ground (Zhao, 2011; Víla, 2014). That enables us to focus on the *agency* of the speakers, in other words, on their capacity to decide and act independently, in line with their own motivations and interests.

---

4 [Act 4/1983, of 23 November, on the use and teaching of Valencian](.)

5 The new PSPV-PSOE and Compromís government has amended existing legislation to increase the presence of Catalan in the education system but these initiatives came after the fieldwork for this study (2013-2014) so I do not deal with them explicitly (cf. Esteve, 2017).

A very broad constellation of actors intervenes in the design and effective operation of language policies in education. However, there are two who are vital in how those policies take shape on the ground: the teachers and students, the central figures in the teaching-learning processes at the base of all education systems. The critical importance of teachers in reproducing or resisting education language policies has already been emphasised by many authors, for example, Johnson (2013) who maintains the success of any initiative depends on how far teachers take on board the objectives of the language policies in question. This study puts the focus on students and thus establishes a link with research that shows student practices can also alter and transform the results of the policies (Heller, 2006; Martín Rojo, 2010).

Language use in the classroom is clearly a many-sided phenomenon. Besides the master class and the *question-answer-evaluation* characteristics of traditional pedagogical discourse, 21st-century classrooms can accommodate a broad range of verbal activities (explanation, debate, side talk, silent reading and reading out loud, showing videos, etc.) that also imply different interlocutors. So in multilingual contexts, and in the absence of explicitly monolingual policies, classrooms usually become heteroglossic spaces (García, 2009) where different languages are used simultaneously to accomplish different communication purposes. Practices that some authors have recently begun to characterise as translingual (García and Wei, 2014) and which more generally respond to a *multilingual turn* in the fields of language teaching and bilingual education (May (ed.), 2014). Today that seems to be the most plausible portrait of language use in Catalan classrooms. We have a consistent sample of studies that point to that and which are based on both ethnographic observations (Unamuno, 2011; Llompart, 2016; Trenchs-Parera and Patiño-Santos, 2013) and data declared by students (Bretxa and Vila, 2014) and teachers (Bretxa *et al.*, 2017). In the case of the Valencia Region we have little evidence. This research could open up an avenue for starting to explore this situation on the basis of the data provided by students.

In short, it is a matter of offering a nuanced vision on the extent to which Catalan is *institutionalised* in the education language models of the areas in question, a concept taken from Nelde *et al*. (1996) that refers to how far the use of a language can be taken for granted in a particular social sphere and thus gives rise to expectations regarding the behaviour of the participants.

4 Methods

This paper is part of the University of Barcelona RESOL project, a longitudinal panel study that combines quantitative, qualitative and experimental methods to analyse the impact of schooling processes on the linguistic competences, uses and ideologies of a sample of students from Catalonia, Mallorca and the central *comarques* [counties] of La Franja [Catalan-speaking areas of Aragon bordering on Catalonia] (Bretxa *et al.*, 2016; Vila *et al.*, 2018). More specifically, I have analysed the declared data of all the 4th-year compulsory secondary education (ESO) students in Mataró and Manlleu, two municipalities chosen within the framework of the general project to represent places inside and outside the Barcelona Metropolitan Region and with different demolinguistic compositions.[6] Outside the general framework, and to enable a comparison to be made between the Catalan and Valencian educational models, I did some fieldwork in 6 state and semi-private secondary schools in Castelló.[7] The basic reason for selecting this city is that it had largely been ignored in educational sociolinguistic research in the Valencia Region, in contrast with the other big urban areas: Valencia (Casesnoves and Sankoff, 2004; Colom, 1998) and the Alacant comarca (Baldaquí, 2000).

The study comes under *combined methods* (Creswell, 2008) and uses quantitative and qualitative methods to generate and analyse data, an approach that makes it possible to quantify language uses without discarding a more profound vision of the meaning participants attribute to them. So, first of all, I based it on questionnaires completed by all 4th-year ESO students in the various schools in Mataró, Manlleu and Castelló, 1,412 in total. They served to provide declared data on linguistic knowledge, cultural consumption, language uses and attitudes, and linguistic confidence. They have been analysed using statistical software (IBM SPSS Statistics 24).

---

6 As part of the project, fieldwork was done in other Catalan towns and cities (Sant Just Desvern, Sant Joan Despí and Balaguer). Here I limit myself to Mataró and Manlleu because that is where the quantitative and qualitative part of the project was done. On the sample selection criteria, see Bretxa (2014: 125-130).

7 On the sample selection criteria in Castelló, see Flors-Mas (2017: 165-168).

Secondly, I based it on semi-structured group interviews to obtain declared data on language learning and uses, peer socialisation patterns and linguistic ideologies, among other aspects. The interviews were carried out with a sub-sample of selected participants grouped together according to their first language. The final sample consists of 64 interviews with 207 participants (Table 1). The resulting discursive data were partially transcribed and coded with ATLAS.ti (7.5.10) prior to the data analysis which, following Mason (1996: 107-110), combines three approaches: a *literal* reading of the data (content analysis on a propositional level), an *interpretative* reading of the data (analysis of the relationship between the discourse, theoretical framework and research questions, and the historical, social and political context) and, finally, a *reflexive* reading of the data (analysis of the impact that the researcher and the interaction conditions had on the data generated).

Table 1 Qualitative sample

| Location	Inter-views	Participants				
		L1 Catalan	L1 Catalan and Spanish	L1 Spanish	L1 other languages and combinations	Total
Mataró	16	15	4	21	1	41
Manlleu	15	16	6	14	15	51
Castelló	33	23	27	46	19	115
Total	64	54	37	81	35	207

5 Results

5.1 Declared language uses in Mataró and Manlleu classrooms

In order to clarify if there are any discrepancies between declared language use in the classroom and the design of education policies, which provide for a "normal" vehicular use of Catalan in Catalonia, we first consider the quantitative data and then analyse how the trends detected are reflected in the students' discourse. Figure 2, using the data declared by 4th-year ESO students in Mataró and Manlleu, shows the predominant use of Catalan, the combined use of Catalan and Spanish and the predominant use of Spanish among teachers and students in the classroom in non-language subjects. These results are obtained from the reply of students to the questions "In class, not counting Catalan, Spanish and language classes, which language do the teachers generally speak to you in?" and "In class, not counting Catalan, Spanish and language classes, which language do you generally speak to the teachers in?"[8] It emerges that 3 out of 4 students say the teachers mostly speak in Catalan in the classroom, although we can also detect a space for bilingual uses, as Bretxa and Vila (2014) pointed out previously with longitudinal data from the same project. The graph shows that in Mataró these bilingual uses are more frequent among students than among teachers. It also shows that in both municipalities predominant or exclusive use of Spanish is more frequent among students than among teachers, although that is in a framework where predominant use of Catalan is still the case for most students.

---

8 For a methodological discussion on the questions, see Bretxa and Vila (2014: 112-113).

Figure 2. Language use by teachers with students and by students with teachers in the classroom in Mataró and Manlleu. Percentages
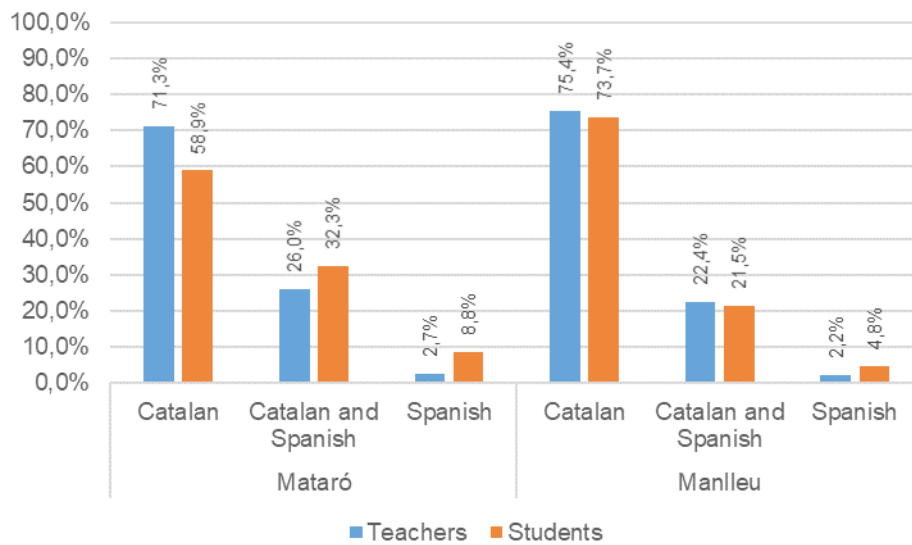
Both the quantitative and qualitative analyses show that in Catalan towns and cities, Spanish has a not insignificant presence in the language use of teachers and students in a generally heteroglossic context. However, an analysis of students' discourse enables us to qualify that general picture, in the sense that Spanish is basically used in *side talk*, i.e. in interaction between students and, to a lesser degree, between teachers and students in exchanges initiated by students that, typically, do not involve the whole class and are more likely to be on an interpersonal level. The use of Catalan, on the other hand, seems to have been consolidated in teacher explanations to the class as a whole, making it the language of institutional utterances which students and teachers resort to when they want to emphasise their institutional role (cf. Unamuno, 2011). It also needs to be said that the use of Spanish in the classroom is linked to the practices of students whose first language is not Catalan and is usually restricted to schools where Catalan as a family language has a smaller presence, basically in some neighbourhoods of Mataró but also in Manlleu's state secondary school, where the interview with first-language Spanish speakers in Extract 1 took place.

Extract 1. Interview Manlleu-P1-L1 Spanish-b[9]

ENT: i quan sou aquí a: a l'institut, a classe?, quina llengua hi parleu amb els professors?	ENT: [2 ((a Iván)) i a la] resta d'assignatures?
Júlia: **yo castellano**	Júlia: **yo** [1 **castellano**]
Bea: **yo castellano**	Iván: [1 català]
Júlia: **me responden en, me res- [me responden]**	Adriana: [2 sí:]
Iván: [amb els pro-]	Iván: [2 menys a] castellà:
Júlia: **en catalán, pero yo le^h pregunto [en castellano]**	ENT: ((gest d'assentiment))
Iván: [((a ENT)) amb els] professors?	Adriana: [bueno]
ENT: mhm	Júlia: [jo:] millor amb castellà, perquè **me entiendo mejo(r) ... yo en catalán hay cosa^h que no l- no la^h sé e^hplicar bien**... @
Iván: si l- si la: classe és en català en català	ENT: llavors tu els hi: hi dius en castellà: [i ells, et: contesten en:]
Adriana: sí	Júlia: [sí, i ells] **depende quién me contesta en catalán y depende de quién po^h me contesta en castellano**
Iván: si és castellà castellà si és anglès:	
Júlia: [anglès]	
Iván: [bueno:] {(@) català} [1 @]	
Júlia: [1 **bueno**:] [2 **sí**]	

9 You will find the transcription criteria, as well as the English translation of all the extracts, in the annexe. In the transcript, regular type represents Catalan utterances and bold type represents Spanish utterances. All the names are pseudonyms.

There are, therefore, students who have a common tendency to choose the Catalan of the teachers and others who keep to Spanish in the classroom and justify that decision by claiming they are more competent in it. In this case, it is remarkable how Júlia, while explaining that, switches to Spanish and, even more, that she uses a variety with features such as the aspirated /s/ (represented in the transcript as "ʰ") which typically index a heavy investment in the almost monolingual use of Spanish (Flors-Mas, 2017:417-420). In her view, there are some teachers that switch to Spanish when they are spoken to in that language but she notes that not all do (nor the majority, for sure, because the participants in the same interview complained that few of them do). In that regard, the analysis of the other interviews shows that, as a general rule, the use of Spanish among teachers is limited to accommodating a student's prior choice, basically in side talk. References to teachers who use Spanish in their explanations to the whole class are few and they are presented as isolated cases, such as when Ernest, a student at a semi-private school in Mataró, explains that "last year I had a teacher who we did physics and chemistry with and she used to speak in Spanish, so I spoke in Spanish".

When we turn to the second research question, and try to understand the positions adopted by teachers and students towards using Spanish where, a priori, Catalan should be used, the impression given by the students is that apart from those secondary school teachers who teach Catalan language, the rest rarely intervene in their choices. They therefore imply that there is considerable margin for using Spanish in the classroom, especially if they compare their current situation with primary school, where they remember the teachers insisted more on keeping classrooms as spaces mainly for using Catalan. In an interview at a state secondary school in Mataró with a very thin presence of first-language Catalan speakers, Samantha, whose first language is Portuguese, explained that "at primary school we spoke more Catalan than now [...] but now no, now more Spanish, always". When I ask them the reason for this change, Noa, whose first language is Spanish, explains that "perhaps at primary school [...] they always made you speak Catalan, and here, if you speak to a teacher in Spanish, they don't say anything". Note how, to a large degree, this contrast between primary and secondary can be understood as a legitimisation strategy that transfers responsibility to the teachers for their own choice, which runs contrary to the expected use of Catalan.

As regards the attitude of students, in general it is not a problem for them that they or their classmates use Spanish in the classroom and only very rarely do they raise the issue, as in the following extract. It comes from the same interview as Extract 1, in which some participants say they stick to Spanish when they are in class. Even so, only Bea says she speaks Spanish even in Catalan classes, just before the fragment reproduced in Extract 2. According to what the participants said, this "inadequate" choice gives rise to the intervention of another student, who reminds them that they should speak Catalan in Catalan classes, a position that generates diverse reactions among the students who identify more with Spanish. However, we should not lose sight of the fact that these are merely anecdotal cases in the corpus.

**Extract 2. Interview Manlleu-P1-L1 Spanish-b**

Adriana: **también al final ya**: [...] **cuando le preguntas en castellano: alguien salta**, {(to repel·lent) **estamos en una clase** [1 **de catalán**}]	Iván: {(??) **a la** [((cognom xica 2u))}]
Júlia: [1 **alguien salta no**,] [2 **la** ((nom xica 3u)) **salta, porque eʰ la única**]	Bea: ((mira Iván)) **ya**
Iván: [2 **pueʰ yo, pueʰ yo en cata- en cat**-] [3 **en: castellano bien que se lo digo**]	Iván: no: **si no hablaʰ en caʰtellano no te lo voy a [deci(r)]**
Bea: [3 **y después en castellano pueden hablar**] [4 **en catalán**]	Júlia: [**ya**]
Adriana: [4 **ya**]	Iván: {(@) **me dice**} com es fa, això?}, **no**
Júlia: [4 **ya**]	Júlia: [@@]
	Iván: [**no te lo digo**] **si no me lo preguntaʰ en caʰtellano**
	Júlia: **es que: tío**

5.2 Declared language uses in the Castelló de la Plana classrooms

The snapshot of uses in Castelló classrooms is in stark contrast with the panorama in Mataró and Manlleu, even in the programme most like the conjunction model, the Teaching in Valencian Programme (PEV). Despite

the fact that, according to the design of this programme, Catalan should be the predominant language, Figure 3 shows that in the view of the students bilingual uses are in a majority, even among the teachers, to the point where only 1 in 4 students has the perception that the teachers mainly speak in Catalan in the classroom. According to the students, bilingual uses are prevalent among PIP teachers, although the qualitative analysis in this case shows that the use of Catalan must be exaggerated (cf. Flors-Mas, 2017: 354-359). For their part, student language uses, in contrast to teacher uses, are characterised by a reduction in the predominant use of Catalan and bilingual uses in favour of the predominant use of Spanish, which represents 25% of total uses in PEV programmes and up to 57% of all PIP uses.

Figure 3 Language used by teachers with students and students with teachers in the classroom in Castelló de la Plana according to the language programme. Percentages
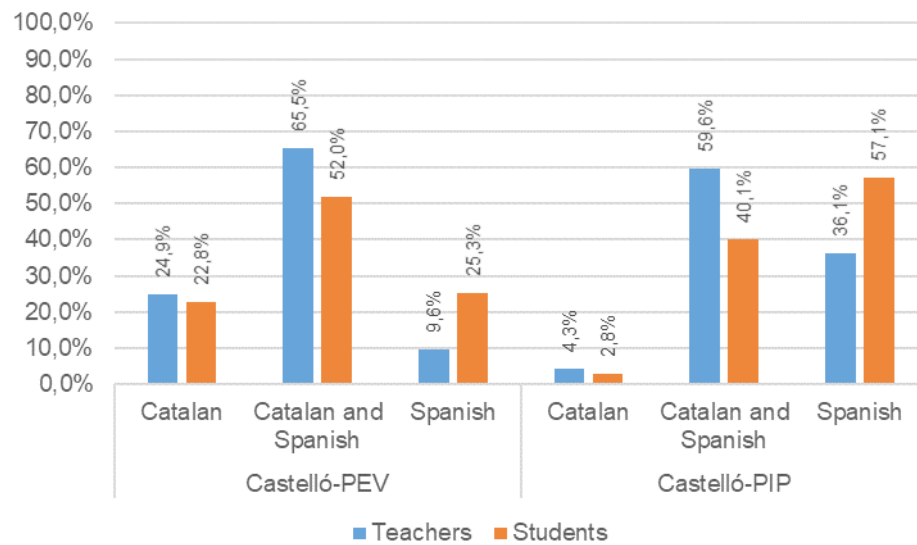
The qualitative data add certain nuances to this general picture. In contrast to what can be observed in Mataró and Manlleu, the discourse of the participants in Castelló suggests that both students and teachers use Spanish in subjects which, a priori, are taught in Catalan. That happens in PIP classes (in the few subjects where Catalan is supposed to be the medium of instruction) as well as PEV classes. Moreover, and once again in contrast to what happens in Catalan municipalities, this discordant use of Spanish appears in both side talk, i.e. in interaction between students and between student and teacher on an interpersonal level, as well as in the explanations of some teachers to the whole class, often going against the express wish of some students to have classes in Catalan. That is illustrated by Extract 3, which comes from an interview with state-school students whose first language is Catalan and who are educated under a PEV programme. They repeat the argument used by some teachers to justify a use of Spanish that goes against the aim of the programme, namely that their Catalan is not good enough. The fragment also shows that the behaviour of this type of teacher influences the students, who largely accommodate the teacher's choice.

Extract 3. Interview Castelló-P2-L1 Catalan-PEV

Ferran: per exemple: estem en línia valenciana: però alguns professors ens parlen castellà	Alba: [2 sí:]
ENT: ((gest d'assentiment))	Ferran: [2 normalment] sí
Ferran: entonces: ... tam(b)é els parlem en castellà	Estel: [@]
ENT: ((gest d'assentiment)) mhm? ... o sigue vosatros vos adapteu al: professor	Neus: [encara:] que deurie parlar valencià:
Neus: ((gest d'assentiment)) [1 mhm]	Ferran: perquè estem [1 en la] [2 línia valenciana]
Aitana: [1 mhm]	ENT: [1 mhm]
Estel: [1 sí:]	Neus: [2 en la línia valenciana:]
	Aitana: {(@) sí}
	Neus: però bueno, [1 sí:]

As in the case of Mataró and Manlleu, the study participants in Castelló also make the point that secondary school teachers intervene less than primary teachers in classroom language use and that, in general, they do not question students speaking in Spanish in subjects where, in theory, Catalan is the medium of instruction. What sets Castelló apart from the Catalan municipalities, though, is that teachers also bring Spanish into this space, and the students believe this behaviour is more frequent in secondary than primary school. In that regard Karim, first language Amazigh and educated in state primary and secondary schools under PEV, observes that "when I went to primary school, all the teachers spoke Valencian, I remember that", and "now only one or two speak it" depending on "where the teacher was born, and if [they] like speaking in Valencian or in Spanish, but usually [they] speak in Spanish". Note that, despite being educated under PEV, the use of Catalan seems so residual to him that he ends up interpreting that as an index of where the teacher comes from and his or her personal preferences, and not the way the programme is designed.

As regards the students' attitude, some want to see more consistency between the design of the programme and the language teachers use in the classroom. Some (a few) whose first language is Catalan even try to influence the language teachers use, although without much success. The last fragment comes from the same interview as Extract 3, and reflects the view of a sector made up almost exclusively of people whose first language is Catalan, who do not agree with this use of Spanish by some teachers but are not always willing to do anything about it, as they intimated in the previous fragment.

Extract 4. Interview Castelló-P2-L1 Catalan-PEV

ENT: perquè per exemple això de que: a la vostra classe:: un professor pugue dir: no, jo faré la classe en castellà? [{(fluix) o sigue com ho,} com ho veeu?}]	Estel: [1 mhm]
	Ferran: [1 claro]
Aitana: [1 home tampoc no li pots] [2 dir que no] [3 per-què:]	ENT: vale, però no l- ningú li ha dit mai:
	Ferran: ntx
Ferran: [3 sí:]	ENT: escolta'm, [que:]
Alba: [3 claro,] [4 és que:]	Aitana: [no]
Estel: [3 claro,] [4 perquè és ell:] el que fa la classe, [però:]	ENT: mosatros som de la línia en [1 valencià i:]
Alba: [clar]	Alba: [1 no:] [2 que: igual tampoc] [3 s'aclaririen:]
ENT: mhm	Estel: [2 sí, a vegaes sí] [3 que li ho hem dit]
Neus: millor en valencià, però bueno, [1 {(@) sap mal:}]	Ferran: [3 tindríem:]
	Alba: a explicar-te-ho en valencià bé

As in Extract 3, one of the reasons mentioned for not challenging these teachers' choices is the perception that their Catalan is not good enough. But this inhibition may also be due, to a large extent, to the authority and asymmetrical power relationship between teacher and student. Indeed, this question arises in the initial part of Extract 4 and is more clearly reflected in other interviews. For example when Laura, a PEV student in another state school, complains that "the physical education teacher, at the start of the course, said to us Valencian or Spanish?, and we told him Valencian and he's always speaking in Spanish". Thanks to their authority, teachers can always ignore student requests and preferences, even in the few cases where they make it explicit. There is also a third aspect, which is that asking for a use of Catalan adapted to the teaching programme can come into conflict with the preference another sector of students have for Spanish, such as Enrique, first language Spanish and PEV student at a third state school, who notes that "at the start of the year they ask... what do you prefer, Valencian of Spanish" but "as most of us are for Spanish" they normally tip the scales. In fact, this "question" at the start of the year, which Laura also referred to, might to a large extent be seen as a justification strategy: in that way, the teacher finds justification for a choice that is at odds with the design of the programme in the supposed preferences of the students, without that causing them much of a problem when the students' interests do not coincide with their own.

6 Conclusions

Incorporating the role played by teachers and students as actors into an analysis of language-in-education policies not only offers us a more complex vision that is closer to their implementation on the ground, it also enables us to highlight the degree of agency they really have to appropriate, question and even transform those policies.

In the case that has concerned us, this type of analysis enables us to see that Catalan is reasonably institutionalised in Mataró and Manlleu classrooms. Its use seems to be well-established among the teachers and even though Spanish maintains a certain presence, it basically appears in interactions started by students and in side talk. In this heteroglossic, hands-off framework which appears to be broadly accepted by the students (Woolard, 2016: 211-256), the continued use of Catalan between teachers generates behaviour expectations and encourages a large part of the students to use it. However, we should not lose sight of the fact that there is another sector, from non-Catalan speaking homes and who mainly go to schools where there are few first-language Catalan speakers, who feel inhibited about using Catalan even in the classroom and, in some cases, adopt an attitude of refusing to use it. Therefore, opening up classrooms to translingual approaches and incorporating them more systematically, already referred to in official documents (Departament d'Ensenyament [Ministry of Education], 2018), cannot be done uncritically. We need to know how to combine them with creating spaces for predominantly using minority languages, in line with the reflection started by Cenoz and Gorter (2017). The goal, enshrined in legislation, has to be that all students master the entire repertoire of languages which, ultimately, includes the ability to use "separately" the two languages that socioculturally and historically have been defined as "Catalan" and "Spanish". It is necessary to insist on this point, because the data show that the extent to which the use of Catalan in the classroom is taken for granted is what makes students feel impelled (or, viewed from another perspective, have an "excuse" and feel legitimised) to activate its use and occupy a *subject position* there as a Catalan speaker, with a certain independence in their linguistic socialisation outside the education system. A position which they can subsequently *transport* to other social fields and mobilise as a strategy for accessing material and symbolic resources and new social networks from a position of *social permission* for using it (Woolard, 2016: 211-256).

The analysis of language use in Castelló classrooms, on the other hand, shows that Catalan is held back by a significant lack of institutionalisation. The most obvious sign of this are the constant references in the corpus to teachers who use Spanish in subjects which, a priori, should be taught in Catalan. Moreover, the fact that, apart from speakers of Catalan as a first language, few students make prevalent use of it in class seems to indicate there is no widespread expectation that speakers who are not first-language Catalan speakers should also use Catalan in this setting. Accordingly, and contrary to what the data from Mataró and Manlleu suggest, language use in the Valencia education system tends to reproduce the sociolinguistic structure prior to schooling, and causes Catalan to remain confined to its ethnolinguistic group of origin. A group, furthermore, that is steadily declining in the city (Flors-Mas, 2017: 203-207).

Another point is that the data I have presented here should alert us to the fact that the often heated discussions on defining language-in-education models are not very productive if they are not accompanied by consistent monitoring and assessment of the linguistic reality in the classroom, conscious work with teachers to ensure they take the policy goals on board and a commitment to make available the theoretical and methodological tools and resources for managing language use in the classroom in a context of increasing student diversity and complexity. A particularly urgent need for the success of the new policies to promote the use of Catalan in classrooms in the Valencia Region, if we take into account the evidence provided.

Bibliography

Arnau, Joaquim; Vila, F. Xavier (2013). Language-in-education policies in the Catalan language area. In: Joaquim Arnau (ed.), *Reviving Catalan at School. Challenges and Instructional Approaches* (pp 1-28). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Baldaquí, Josep Maria (2000). *Els programes educatius bilingües a la comarca de l'Alacantí: Estudi sociolingüístic*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Alacant.

Bodoque, Anselm (2011). El model valencià de política lingüística. *Revista de Llengua i Dret, Journal of Language and Law*, (56), 143-171.

Bretxa, Vanessa (2014). *El salt a secundària. Els canvis en les tries lingüístiques i culturals dels preadolescents mataronins en la transició educativa*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Barcelona.

Bretxa, Vanessa; Comajoan, Llorenç; Ubalde, Josep; Vila, F. Xavier (2016). Changes in the linguistic confidence of primary and secondary students in Catalonia: A longitudinal study. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, *29* (1), 56-72.

Bretxa, Vanessa; Comajoan-Colomé, Llorenç; Vila, F. Xavier (2017). *Les veus del professorat. L'ensenyament i la gestió de les llengües a secundària*. Barcelona: Horsori.

Bretxa, Vanessa; Vila, F. Xavier (2014). L'evolució dels usos lingüístics dins l'aula des de sisè de primària fins a quart d'ESO. *Revista de Llengua i Dret*, *Journal of Language and Law*, (62), 106-123.

Casesnoves, Raquel; Sankoff, David (2004). The Valencian revival: Why usage lags behind competence. *Language in Society*, *33* (1), 1-31.

Cenoz, Jasone; Gorter, Durk (2017). Minority languages and sustainable translanguaging: threat or opportunity? *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *38* (10), 901-912.

Codó, Eva; Patiño-Santos, Adriana (2017). CLIL, unequal working conditions and neoliberal subjectivities in a state secondary school. *Language Policy*.

Colom, Ferran (1998). *El futur de la llengua entre els joves de València*. València: Denes.

Cots, Josep Maria (2013). Introducing English-medium instruction at the University of Lleida, Spain: Intervention, beliefs and practices. In: Doiz, Aintzane; Lasagabaster, David; Sierra, Juan Manuel (ed.), *English-medium instruction at universities: Global challenges* (pp 106-130). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Creswell, John W. (2008). *Research Design. Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (3rd ed.). London: SAGE.

Departament d'Ensenyament [Ministry of Education] (2018). *El model lingüístic del sistema educatiu de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament d'Ensenyament.

Esteve, Alfons (2017, 12 and 13 October). Plurilingüisme: poques llengües, moltes normes i massa recursos [Blog post]. Consulted at http://eapc-rld.blog.gencat.cat/2017/10/12/plurilinguisme-poques-llengues-moltes-normes-i-massa-recursos-alfons-esteve/

Flors-Mas, Avel·lí (2017). *Usos lingüístics i identitats socials entre adolescents catalans i valencians*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Barcelona.

García, Ofelia (2009). *Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Perspective*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

García, Ofelia; Wei, Li (2014). *Translanguaging. Language, Bilingualism and Education*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

González, Iago (2014). La ideologia lingüística contrària a la revitalització del gallec. El cas de Galicia Bilingüe. *Treballs de Sociolingüística Catalana*, (24), 201-224.

Heller, Monica (2006). *Linguistic Minorities and Modernity: A Sociolinguistic Ethnography* (2a ed.). London/New York: Continuum.

Huguet, Àngel; Navarro, Jose-Luis; Chireac, Silvia-Maria; Sansó, Clara (2013). The Acquisition of Catalan by Immigrant Children. The Effect of Length of Stay and Family Language. In: Joaquim Arnau (ed.), *Reviving Catalan at School. Challenges and Instructional Approaches* (pp 29-48). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Johnson, Daniel Cassels (2013). *Language Policy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Llompart, Júlia (2016). *Pràctiques plurilingües d'escolars d'un institut superdivers: de la recerca a l'acció educativa*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Martín Rojo, Luisa (2010). *Constructing Inequality in Multilingual Classrooms*. Berlín: De Gruyter Mouton.

Mason, Jennifer (1996). *Qualitative Researching*. London: SAGE.

May, Stephen (ed.). (2014). *The Multilingual Turn. Implications for SLA, TESOL and Bilingual Education*. New York/London: Routledge.

Melià, Joan (2014, 31 October). El TIL a l'atzucac [Blog post]. Consulted at http://eapc-rld.blog.gencat. cat/2014/10/31/el-til-a-latzucac-joan-melia/

Milian, Antoni (1984). De la separació a la conjunció lingüística a l'ensenyament: el títol II de la Llei 7/1983, de 18 d'abril. *Revista de Llengua i Dret*, *Journal of Language and Law*, (3), 33-41.

Nelde, Peter; Strubell, Miquel; Williams, Glyn (1996). *Euromosaic. The production and reproduction of the minority language groups in the European Union*. Luxemburg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

Pons, Eva (2013). La llengua de l'ensenyament en la jurisprudència del Tribunal Constitucional i del Tribunal Suprem. In: *Els drets lingüístics en el sistema educatiu. Els models de Catalunya i les Illes Balears* (pp 57-89). Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Autonòmics.

Spolsky, Bernard (2004). *Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

STEPV (2016). *El valencià en l'ensenyament. Informe 2016*. Valencia: STEPV.

Trenchs-Parera, Mireia; Patiño-Santos, Adriana (2013). Language Attitudes of Latin-American Newcomers in Three Secondary School Reception Classes in Catalonia. In: Joaquim Arnau (ed.), *Reviving Catalan at School. Challenges and Instructional Approaches* (pp 49-71). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Unamuno, Virgina (2011). Entre iguales: notas sobre la socialización lingüística del alumnado inmigrado en Barcelona. *Sociolinguistic Studies*, *5* (2), 321-346.

University of Alacant; Universitat Jaume I; University of Valencia (2011). *Informe sobre la "Propuesta de Decreto .../2011, del Consell, por el que se regula el plurilingüismo en la Comunidad Valenciana", remés per la Conselleria d'Educació a la Universitat d'Alacant*. Alacant, Castelló and Valencia: University of Alacant, Universitat Jaume I, University of Valencia. <http://www.iifv.ua.es/docs/informe-sobre-decret-pluringue. pdf>

Vila, F. Xavier (2005). Language, Education and Ideology in an Integrationist Society. In: E. Witte *et al*. (ed.), *Language, Attitudes & Education in Multilingual Cities* (pp 53-86). Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten.

Vila, F. Xavier (2014). Language Policy, Management and Planning. In: Christiane Fäcke (ed.), *Manual of Language Acquisition* (pp 50-68). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Vila, F. Xavier; Ubalde, Josep; Bretxa, Vanessa; Comajoan-Colomé, Llorenç (2018). Changes in language use with peers during adolescence: A longitudinal study in Catalonia. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, DOI: 10.1080/13670050.2018.1436517, 1-16.

Vila, Ignasi (2011). Balanç de la política lingüística a l'educació escolar dels governs de Catalunya (2004-2011). In: Josep M. Masjuan (coord.), *Societat Catalana 2011* (pp 295-323). Barcelona: IEC.

Woolard, Kathryn A. (2016). *Singular and Plural. Ideologies of Linguistic Authority in 21st Century Catalonia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zhao, Shouhui (2011). Actors in Language Planning. In: Eli Hinkel (ed.), *Handbook of Research in Second Language Teaching and Learning* (Volum II, pp 905-923). New York: Routledge.

Avel·lí Flors-Mas

Language use in secondary school classrooms in Catalonia and the Valencia Region: Students and ...

Annexe: Transcription criteria

Phenomenon		Transcription
Elongated vowel or consonant		: / :: / ::: (or more)
Truncated		-
Laughter		@ / @@ / @@@
Simultaneous laughter		{(@) text}
Paralinguistic sounds	Agreement	mhm
	Disagreement	ntx
Pause		...
Overlapping	Simple	A: [text] B: [text]
	Multiple	A: [1 text] [2 text] B: [1 text] C: [2 text]
Phonetic clarification	Elision	(elided sound)
	Aspiration /s/ (Spanish)	s > ^{h}
Other prosodic, vocal or gestural phenomena		{(phenomenon) text}
Unintelligible fragment		x/xx/xxx (one per syllable)
Uncertain fragment		{(??) text}
Code choice	Catalan	text
	Spanish	**text**
Comment by the transcriber or substitution (guarantee of anonymity)		((comment))

Extract 1. Interview Manlleu-P1-L1 Spanish-b

INT: and when you're here at school, in class, which language do you speak to the teachers in?

Júlia: **me Spanish**

Bea: **me Spanish**

Júlia: **they answer me in, ans-** [**answer me**]

Iván: [with the teach-]

Júlia: **in Catalan, but I ask them** [**in Spanish**]

Iván: [((to INT)) with the] teachers?

INT: mm

Iván: if the class is in Catalan in Catalan

Adriana: yes

Iván: if it's Spanish Spanish if it's English:

Júlia: [English]

Iván: [well:] {(@) Catalan} [1 @]

Júlia: [1 **okay**] [2 **yes**]

INT: [2 ((to Iván)) and in the] rest of the subjects?

Júlia: **me** [1 **Spanish**]

Iván: [1 Catalan]

Adriana: [2 yes]

Iván: [2 except in] Spanish:

INT: ((nods))

Adriana: [well]

Júlia: [I:] better in Spanish, because **I explain myself better… in Catalan there are things I can't explain very well** ... @

INT: so you say it to them in Spanish: [and they answer you in]

Júlia: [yes and they:] **it depends who answers me in Catalan and it depends who answers me in Spanish**

Extract 2. Interview Manlleu-P1-L1 Spanish-b

Adriana: **also in the end for sure** [...] **when you ask them in Spanish somebody pipes up**, {(disagreeable tone) **we're in a** [1 **Catalan**] **class**}	Iván: {(??) **to** [((girl's surname))}]
Júlia: [1 **somebody pipes up no**,] [2 ((girl's name)) **pipes up, because she's the only one**]	Bea: ((looks at Iván)) **sure**
Iván: [2 **well me, me in Cata-**] [3 **in Spanish, I don't care how much she says it**]	Iván: **no, if you don't speak in Spanish I'm not going to** [**tell you**]
Bea: [3 **and afterwards, in Spanish [class] they can speak**] [4 **in Catalan**]	Júlia: [**sure**]
Adriana: [4 **sure**]	Iván: {(@) **she says to me**} how do you do that?, **no**
Júlia: [4 **sure**]	Júlia: [@@]
	Iván: [**I won't tell you**] **if you don't ask me in Spanish**
	Júlia: **Mate**...

Extract 3. Interview Castelló-P2-L1 Catalan-PEV

Ferran: for example we're in the Valencian stream but teachers speak to us in Spanish	Estel: [@]
INT: ((nods))	Neus: [even though] he should speak Valencian
Ferran: so... we speak to them in Spanish too	Ferran: because we're [1 in the] [2 Valencian line]
INT: ((nods)) mm? ... so you adapt to the teacher	INT: [1 mm]
Neus: ((nods)) [1 mm]	Neus: [2 in the Valencian line:]
Aitana: [1 mm]	Aitana: {(@) yes}
Estel: [1 yes:]	Neus: well, [1 yes]
Alba: [2 yes]	
Ferran: [2 usually] yes	

Extract 4. Interview Castelló-P2-L1 Catalan-PEV

INT: so, for example, the thing about in your class a teacher might say no, I'm going to do the class in Spanish? [{(weak) I mean, how do you,} how do you see that?}]	Estel: [1 mm]
Aitana: [1 look you can't] [2 tell him he can't] [3 because]	Ferran: [1 of course]
Ferran: [3 yes you can]	INT: okay, but nobody's ever said to him
Alba: [3 of course,] [4 it's]	Ferran: nah
Estel: [of course,] [4 because it's him/her] that does the class, [but]	INT: listen to me, [that]
Alba: [of course] ...	Aitana: [no]
INT: mm	INT: we are in the [1 Valencian line and]
Neus: better in Valencian, but OK, [1 {(@) feels bad:}]	Alba: [1 no:] [2 'cos maybe] [3 he couldn't:]
	Estel: [2 yes, sometimes] [3 we've said that to him]
	Ferran: [3 we should]
	Alba: explain it to you well in Valencian