Integration or Assimilation?

— A Comparative Intertextual Analysis of Language Policy in Madrid and Catalonia

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Abstract

Language policy forms an integral part of constructing, upholding, and contesting the status and social space of languages. Such policies may perpetuate social inequalities between speakers of different languages in multilingual societies (Tollefson, 1991; Van Dijk, 1993; Escobar Alméciga, 2013; Ready, 2018). Policies that typically address society as a whole may also reference language use of migrant populations. The current study analyzes integration policies in Spain at the federal and regional levels in the autonomous communities of Madrid and Catalonia, and examines how these policies shape and characterize the role of language practices as they relate to immigrants' participation in Spanish society. Drawing on Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1989), this study relies on intratextual and intertextual analyses to examine how discourse is produced and reproduced throughout national policy in comparison to policies of two of Spain's most populated autonomous communities with large immigrant populations. Findings indicate that – for both communities – integration through language education is considered a crucial aspect for active citizenship and maintaining social cohesion. However, while language education in Madrid refers to developing proficiency in Spanish, Catalan is central to Catalonia's language policies. In both cases, however, lack of competence in these languages is considered a major obstacle to integration and thus, social cohesion. Additionally, while migrant languages and cultures are emphasized as being important to interculturality and are referenced as having a role in integration, policies often fall short in their support for immigrant languages.

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1. Introduction

Contemporary political discussion regarding immigration in Spain has focused on the crisis of integration of immigrants, particularly those who are considered to be culturally or linguistically distinct. Migration framed as a problem of integration is not unique to Spain, however, as public discourse in other European countries such as Germany, Italy, and France claim that proper integration into society requires immigrants to acquire a place in their new society, not only physically, but socially and culturally. Such policies of integration and discourses of homogeneity categorize and discriminate against diversity and diverse linguistic practices (Blommaert, 2010: 173).

In Spain, the recent changes in migration have led to increased policies regarding integration that previous countries had established in years prior. According to article 149.1.2 of the constitution, each autonomous community is responsible for the task of managing all aspects of migration and integration, including developing policies for language use and education. These integration policies and practices condition the relationship between the state and immigrant groups by delimiting content and concepts that turn into practices (Mijares Molina, 2006: 14). Understanding the ideological underpinnings of such construction in policy is therefore crucial to understanding how immigrant groups are incorporated into state structures (Soysal, 1994). Different states propose different structures of integration which are motivated by distinct ideological frameworks. These structures often place migrant responsibilities as key components for successful execution of policy plans. A discussion of these responsibilities, including the requirement to acquire and use the dominant language, may therefore reveal how different ideologies are reproduced, naturalized, and sustained throughout policy (Mijares Molina, 2006: 19). In the current study, our objective is to examine the ideological underpinnings of the construction of language within recent integration policies in Madrid and Catalonia, two autonomous communities in Spain with large immigrant communities. In addition, we examine how these policies relate to federal policy. While the Spanish language takes precedence in national and Madrid regional policy, Catalan is central to policies in Catalonia. As a result of the different goals set forth in the two regional policies, the underlying ideologies regarding language use may also differ between the two regions. It is our goal to determine, through a Critical Discourse Analytic perspective, how these policies construct language as it relates to integration and how these constructions define, validate, or erase the linguistic practices of immigrant communities. Findings suggest that Madrid policies construct language as a key component for active citizenship and, as a result, integration. Catalonia policy frames language as a part of social cohesion which is tied to a sense of regional identity and linguistic normalization. Despite national and regional policies emphasizing the bidirectionality of integration and social cohesion, the policies fail to provide actionable measures to support the maintenance of immigrant language practices. Instead, these policies construct a social space in which immigrant languages are perceived as a challenge to integration

and social cohesion which can only be overcome through acquisition of the socially dominant language. In the following section, we provide a brief overview of critical approaches to the study of language policy followed by a summary of the recent migration to Spain. In the subsequent sections, to contextualize the present study, we provide a description of the European Union's integration policy and brief histories of the national and regional policies to be examined in the analysis. The final sections present the methods for the current study, the analysis, findings, and conclusions.

2. Background

2.1. Critical Approaches to the Analysis of Language Policy

In regard to language and education policies dealing with immigrant populations, Flubacher (2016), Climent-Ferrando (2011) and Olmos-Alcaraz (2012; 2016) examine how language policies shift from immigrant integration to immigrant control using a Critical Discourse Analysis approach. Flubacher (2016) documents the shift of discourse in language policies in Basel from conceptualizing language competence as a precondition for integration to an explicit indicator of immigrants' willingness to integrate. Linked with this shift is the discursive move from promoting language education and linguistic integration to demanding language learning which implies that it is solely the immigrants' duty to linguistically integrate, effectively erasing the existence of systemic and structural barriers to integration (p. 218). Likewise, in France, Climent-Ferrando (2011) examines how similar language policies function as immigrant control. Language is depicted as fundamental to "facilitate contact and access to an active life rather than to remain isolated in their communities," a discourse that was justified because of concern for national identity (p. 147). In several western European countries, integration policies utilize the concept of "active citizenship" to describe the role of immigrants throughout the process of integration. While "active citizenship" includes social involvement and participation, the construct stipulates that immigrants must acquire the language of the host society as well as learn the norms and values of the host society. These policies require immigrants, of the first and subsequent generations, to demonstrate their linguistic and societal knowledge to prove their active and responsible citizenship (see Verhoeven & Ham, 2010 and Pulinx & Van Avermaet, 2017). Even after completing the requirement of adopting the dominant language, immigrants may still be unable to be incorporated into the structure of the host society (García, 2017). Despite this, policies reiterate ideologies which place knowledge of the dominant language as necessary for accessing social, economic, and political sectors of society.

In Spain, Olmos Alcaraz (2012) demonstrates how education policies reflect socio-cultural constructions of migration within Spanish society. Indeed, as Mijares Molina (2006) notes, educational plans and policies are written within the political context, positioning immigrant students a certain way depending on the ideologies that influence the current government (p. 378). In the case of Olmos Alcaraz (2012), she argues that policy frames migration as a problem for the Spanish education system and holds immigrants responsible for managing this problem by means of cultural assimilation. Within these policies, immigrants' language practices are perceived as an obstacle to overcome rather than a resource. In her analysis of Andalusian education policy, Olmos Alcaraz (2016) demonstrates how the perception of migrant multilingualism as a problem creates unequal access to language programs. Andalusian educational policies often fail to recognize the linguistic diversity of the students as they prioritize Spanish language learning over maintenance or development of bi- or multilingual language skills. This becomes evident in the practice of providing a bilingual itinerary for native Spanish-speaking peers while immigrant students are often placed in other programs. Examining policy as a discursive or linguistic text to be analyzed under the Critical Discourse Analysis framework can provide insights into how policies may reflect socio-cultural understandings of immigrant populations.

Critical Discourse Analysis, hereafter CDA, connects language practices with greater processes of social and cultural change. Within the framework of CDA, discourse practice, or discursive events, are considered an inherently social practice. CDA allows us to understand how particular types of discursive events or texts are connected with social practices, and how this connection is mediated through discourse practice (Fairclough, 1992: 269). By conceptualizing language practice in this way, critical discourse research has situated discourse practices within their social and political contexts in order to understand how discourse structures may enact, legitimate, reproduce or challenge relations of power in society (Van Dijk, 2015: 467). The present study seeks to examine the discursive construction of language within Catalonia and Madrid regional policies on immigration and integration as well as within national policy. This type of analysis examines how policies shape the role of language within the concept of integration into the host societies which are characterized by varied language use. By looking at these policies at different regions and at various levels, we determine how these expectations frame and characterize the role of language practices as it relates to immigrants' integration in Spanish society. In addition, we consider how these policies draw upon each other conceptually. In order to achieve this goal, the present study carries out a critical discourse analysis of integration policies from the autonomous communities of Madrid and Catalonia and policy at the federal level.

2.2. Migration to Spain

Notwithstanding a recession-induced period of decreased immigration from 2008–2014, Spain has seen a steady rise in foreign migration in the 21st century. According to data collected by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Spain's reported foreign-born migrant population accounted for 4.1% of Spain's total population in 2010 and has since risen to 13.1% of the total population in 2019. Spain has now the fifth highest immigrant population in Europe, placing it behind Russia, Germany, the UK, and France (United Nations, 2019). Spain's Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE, 2019) reports that the foreign-born population represents a variety of nationalities, with Moroccan, Romanian, British, Italian, and Colombian as the largest immigrant groups in Spain. While these populations are dispersed throughout the country, Catalonia and Madrid maintain the highest immigration rates among Spain's autonomous communities. The Community of Madrid reports an increase of 75,417 registered immigrants in the past year while Catalonia's immigrant population increased by 77,328 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2019; Observatorio de Inmigración – Centro de estudios y datos, 2019; Generalitat de Catalunya, 2019).

Catalonia boasts a relatively high number of domestic migrants, owing to various waves of migration in the 20th century, the first of which occurred between 1900–1930 and consisted of migrants from Aragón, Valencia, and the Baleares, many of whom were Catalan speakers (Gore, 2002). A second wave occurred from 1950–1975, and consisted mainly of Andalusian migrants seeking better economic opportunities as a result of widespread poverty brought on during the Franco repression (Woolard, 1989). Domestic migration continues to remain prevalent in Catalonia. Immigrant populations account for 15% of the total population in Catalonia. Among the largest immigrant nationalities present in Catalonia are Moroccan, Romanian, Italian, Chinese, Pakistani, representing 17%, 11.2%, 7.6%, 5.1%, and 3.9% of the foreign-born population, respectively (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2019).

While the Community of Madrid does not offer comparable information relating to domestic migration, the *Informe de Población Extranjera 2019* provided by the Observatorio de Inmigración – Centro de estudios y datos (2019) of the Community of Madrid does offer statistics relating to foreign immigrants, some of which are not dissimilar to Catalan demographics. The largest immigrant groups include Romanians (18.2% of the foreign-born population), Moroccan (8.2%), Chinese (6.4%), Colombian (6.2%), Venezuelan (6%), Peruvian (4.2%), and Italian (4%). These groups make up 53% of the total foreign-born population in Madrid (Observatorio de Inmigración – Centro de estudios y datos, 2019).

2.3. EU Policy

As a member state of the EU, national and regional policies in Spain may be informed by EU ideologies and policies. Among the firsts efforts to address multilingualism as language policy was the CEC's (Commission of the European Union) 2005 New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism[1], in which the CEC set forth strategies to promote multilingualism in the EU, establishing linguistic diversity as a key component of European values:

> The European Union is founded on 'unity in diversity': diversity of cultures, customs and beliefs – and of languages [...] It is this diversity that makes the European Union what it is: not a 'melting pot' in which differences are rendered down, but a common home in which diversity is celebrated, and where our many mother tongues are a source of wealth and a bridge to greater solidarity and mutual understanding (CEC, 2005: 2).

This excerpt not only highlights the importance of linguistic and cultural diversity, but also contrasts the EU's framework for diversity against the notion of "melting pot" societies. While this policy acknowledges the role of immigrant communities in contributing to linguistic diversity, other policies are geared specifically towards the social integration of immigrants in the EU and lay out specific principles for successful integration. First, the *Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the EU (2004)*[2] was adopted for the purpose of establishing a common immigration policy across the EU. The set of 11 principles for integration in the policy establishes a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by both immigrants and native-born residents. The policy further stipulates that integration carries an implied respect for the basic values of the EU (Council of the European Union, 2004). More recently, the Action Plan on Integration of Third-Country Nationals (2016)[3] was set forth to build on the previous policy and provide a framework to support national efforts in developing migrant integration policies. Specifically, one key aspect of this action plan is that of language education:

> Learning the language of the destination country is crucial for third country nationals to succeed in their integration process. Language integration programmes should be provided at the earliest stage possible after arrival, adapted to each person's linguistic competence needs and combining language learning with learning of other skills and competences or work experiences (p. 7).

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[1] Council of the European Union (2004). *Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the EU*. ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/librarydoc/common-basic-principles-for-immigrant-integration-policy-in-the-eu (accessed 15 Jan 20).

[2] Council of the European Union (2004). *Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the EU*. ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/librarydoc/common-basic-principles-for-immigrant-integration-policy-in-the-eu (accessed 15 Jan 2020).

[3] European Commission (2016). *Action Plan on Integration of Third-Country Nationals*. ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/proposal-implementation-package/docs/20160607/communication_action_plan_integration_third-country_natiotals_en.pdf (accessed 15 Jan 2020).

Here, immigrants are held responsible for learning the vehicular language of the more established society while the new community is responsible for providing sufficient resources to do so. The role of migrant languages in education, however, is not addressed.

2.4. National Policy

The Spanish Constitution[4] regulates the linguistic situation of Spain. In section three, the constitution states:

1. Castilian is the official Spanish language of the State. All Spaniards have the duty to know it and the right to use it.
2. The other Spanish languages shall also be official in the respective Self-governing Communities in accordance with their Statutes.
3. The wealth of the different linguistic forms of Spain is a cultural heritage which shall be especially respected and protected.

Up until 2006, issues related to the languages or social integration of immigrant populations had been left to the Autonomous Communities. There are six Autonomous Communities with their own plans for integration including Andalusia, Aragon, Balearic Islands, Canary Islands, Catalonia, Madrid, Murcia, and Navarra. In 2006, the PSOE-controlled government (Partido Socialista Obrero Español, a social-democratic political party in Spain) proposed a new plan for integration of immigrants, the *Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración, 2006–2009*. This project was promoted and directed by the Secretary of State of Immigration and Emigration. A new plan was adopted in 2011 to 2014, however, since then, there have been no updates or new plans.

2.5. The Autonomous Community of Catalonia

Since Spain's initial transition to democracy in 1975 and the promulgation of the Estatut d'autonomia in 1979, in which Catalonia was recognized as an autonomous community, linguistic revitalization has been an ongoing effort in Catalonia. The *Llei de normalització lingüística a Catalunya* of 1983[5] was perhaps the most significant law reflecting this goal, forming a cornerstone for future language policies, including its 1998 replacement, the *Llei de política lingüística*. These laws sought to change the linguistic dynamics of Catalonia to one in which Catalan would be used and legitimized as both an official and prestigious language that would reflect Catalan identity. These laws – and subsequent decrees that stemmed from them – were criticized and contested at the federal level, prompting the Catalan government to blame the Spanish state as the main obstacle in

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[4] Constitution of Spain (1978). senado.es/constitu_i/indices/consti_ing.pdf (accessed 15 Jan 2020).
[5] Generalitat de Catalunya (1983). *Llei de normalització lingüística a Catalunya*. llengua.gencat.cat/web/.content/documents/legislacio/llei_de_politica_linguistica/arxius/lleinl83.pdf (accessed 15 Jan 2020).

establishing Catalan as the vehicular language of Catalonia (Bonet, 2014). Still, these laws have enjoyed a great deal of successful implementation, particularly in terms of establishing Catalan as a de-ethnicized, public language (Pujolar & Gonzàlez, 2013; Newman & Trenchs-Parera, 2015). Several years later, the *Estatut d'autonomia de Catalunya* of 2006[6] was also passed, with the goal of amending the 1979 statute and expanding the authority of Catalonia's governing body, the Generalitat de Catalunya. While the purview of this statute extends over a variety of regulations and citizens' rights and obligations, it also serves to promote Catalan by emphasizing a civic duty to learn it, as well as assigning it as the language of administration. This statute also grants official status to Catalan Sign Language, as well as Aranese, an Occitan dialect spoken primarily in the Aran Valley in northwest Catalonia.

Given Catalonia's extensive attention to the normalization of Catalan, language ideology is inevitably present in other government policies and texts, particularly those that pertain to immigrant populations. *Llei/2010 d'acollida de les persones immigrades i de les retornades a Catalunya (Llei 10/2010)[7]* formalizes reception services available to immigrants, establishing these services as a first stage to social integration. This Act also establishes the use of immigrant languages in training and information activities, while identifying the Consortium for Language Normalization as the principal medium for learning Catalan. In keeping with the goals of *Llei 10*, the *Pla de ciutadania i de les migracions, 2017–2020[8]* is the most recent of several integration plans that aim to provide equal rights and opportunities to foreign residents of Catalonia, as well as encourage integration into Catalan society. Additionally, the *Pla per a la llengua i la cohesió social[9]* of 2004 focuses specifically on language in education and proposes a multilingual and intercultural education model for immigrant populations that encourages social integration in part through learning Catalan. One of the key elements of this plan, *Aula d'Acollida*, aims to provide such opportunities for immigrant students. These "welcome classrooms" are widespread across all autonomous communities in Spain and similarly aim to teach the vehicular language(s), though there is a great deal of variation in their designated names; for instance, *Aulas Temporales de Adaptación Lingüística* in Andalucía and Extremadura, *Aulas de Adaptación Lingüística y Social* in Castilla-León, and *Programas de Acogida al Sistema Educativo* in Valencia (García Medina, 2018). However, the successful implementation of these programs is contentious; in the case of Catalonia, Trenchs-Parera and Newman

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[6] Parlament de Catalunya (2006). *Estatut d'autonomia de Catalunya.* parlament.cat/document/cataleg/48089.pdf (accessed 12 Jan 2020).

[7] Parlament de Catalunya (2010). *Llei d'acollida de les persones immigrades i de les retornades a Catalunya.* parlament.cat/document/nom/TL111.pdf (accessed 15 Jan 2020).

[8] Generalitat de Catalunya (2017). *Pla de ciutadania i de les migracions,* 2017–2020. treballiaferssocials.gencat.cat/web/.content/01departament/08publicacions/ambits_tematics/immigracio/Plans_i_programes/06plainmigracio_cat_2017_2020/Pla_inmigracioue_CAT_OK.pdf (accessed 15 Jan 2020).

[9] Generalitat de Catalunya (2004). *Pla per a la llengua i la cohesió social.* xtec.cat/serveis/eap/e3900133/pdf/cohesio.pdf (accessed 15 Jan 2020).

(2015), for instance, are critical of the plan's goals, citing that first, classrooms that comprise the *Aula d'Acollida* are often in isolated areas of schools and thereby signal marginalization. Second, many Catalan parents avoid enrolling their children in schools that are known to be heavily populated by immigrants, thus diminishing immigrant students' opportunities to interact with members of the host community. Additionally, findings from various attitudinal studies focusing on immigrant populations in Catalonia suggest that immigrants from Spanish-speaking and non-Spanish-speaking countries alike have a demonstrable preference for Spanish over Catalan (Ali, 2019; Huguet & Janés, 2008; Marshall, 2007), and in some cases report feeling excluded when native Catalan speakers opt to use Spanish with anyone whom they perceive as being foreign-born (Alarcón & Garzón, 2013; Cortès-Colomé et al., 2016; Pujolar, 2009).

2.6. The Autonomous Community of Madrid

The Autonomous Community of Madrid encompasses the city of Madrid and the surrounding territory and was established in 1983. The first plan for integration of immigrants of the region was set for 2001–2003 with subsequent policies from 2006–2008 and 2009–2012. Driven by a sharp increase in immigration to the region in 2005, Madrid became the first community to create a Counsel on Immigration to develop policy and carry out the proposed Plans of Integration. The first plan was set for Madrid from 2006–2008, which brought with it the creation of the Centers for Participation and Integration of Immigrants (CEPI) where immigrants could receive information, personal, legal, and professional support. With the economic downturn in 2008, the policies focused on the formation of employment and integration of immigrants pertaining to the second generation (*Plan de Integración de la Comunidad de Madrid 2009–2012*[10]). While there were no policies put in place between the years of 2013–2018, in 2019 a new plan for immigration was published, effective 2019–2021. The policy reports on a number of different factors affecting the integration of immigrant communities and puts forth a number of measures to continue to address the integration of immigrants in the region. In developing these measures, the policy establishes the social relationships between the migrant communities and host society.

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[10] Consejería de Políticas Sociales y Familia (2009–2012). *Plan de Inmigración de la Comunidad de Madrid.* Dirección General de Servicios Sociales e Integración Social, Comunidad de Madrid. mancomunidad-tham.es/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/planintegracionCM.pdf (accessed 15 Jan 2020).

3. Present Study

3.1. Objectives and Research Questions

Language policy demonstrably plays an important role in discursively constructing language status, as well as national and immigrant identities that often center around the use of one national or official language. However, because Spain's autonomous communities grant official status to commonly spoken regional languages, language policy in Spain is not uniform across the country; as a result, federal and regional policies may have different goals in regard to the language ideologies that they choose to uphold. The present study examines language policies in Spain as they relate to immigrant populations, focusing on regional policies in the autonomous communities of Madrid and Catalonia, as well as federal policies. Specifically, this study is guided by the following research questions:

a)   What ideologies are present in most recent policies regarding immigrants at the regional level in Madrid and Catalonia as well as at the federal level that specifically relate to language use?
b)   To what extent does language play a part in concepts such as integration and multiculturalism?
c)   What are the roles of L2 learning and L1 maintenance in the integration process according to language policies?
d)   Given their distinctive linguistic situations, how do language policies compare in Madrid and Catalonia?
e)   How do regional policies compare with national policy?

3.2. Methods

This study employs Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (see Fairclough, 2003) to examine language policies directed towards immigrant populations at the regional and federal level (i.e., policies of Madrid and Catalonia as well as Spain). The current analysis examines how policies in these contexts shape and characterize the role of language practices as it relates to immigrants' participation in Spanish society. Additionally, in comparing the political discourse of two autonomous communities with large immigrant populations but different language ideologies, this study also examines how policies within a monolingual society treat the same discursive themes. The analysis is completed at two levels. At the first level, an intratextual analysis is carried out. Intratextual analysis is used to determine the relationships between the linguistic and semantic components within the text. For example, we examine the lexical and syntactic constructions which may shape meaning to represent immigrants' participation in Spanish society. In addition, we complete an intertextual analysis between the policies of each context, Madrid, Catalonia and Spain in general, to determine how these policies complement, validate, contradict, or support the assumptions and assertions that emerged from the intratextual

analysis (Kristeva, 1986; Ball, 1993). The first step in carrying out the analysis included several detailed readings of the policies to gain an overall understanding of the texts and gain initial ideas of key concepts and themes of the texts. The second step of the analysis included coding of policy documents using NVivo 12 (2018). At this stage, we assigned descriptive codes to different aspects of the texts which are "free nodes" in NVivo. A node is a collection of references about a specific theme, place, person, or other area relevant to the analysis. After the free nodes were established, tree nodes were created to organize the free nodes. Once a free node is categorized under a tree node it becomes a child node. Lastly, child nodes were merged as needed to identify larger categories until a small number of larger themes emerged. Using this approach, we were able to identify the ways in which linguistic practices of immigrants are conceptualized in policy documents which are intended to regulate such practices. In addition, we examine how these conceptualizations (i.e., discourses) are produced and reproduced throughout various language policies of the state in comparison to policies of two regions with large immigrant populations. While the analysis also draws upon previously discussed policies at the national and EU levels, the focus will remain on texts produced at the regional level in the autonomous communities of Madrid and Catalonia. These texts include:

1. Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2011–2014[11]
2. Plan de inmigración de la comunidad de Madrid 2019–2021
3. Pla per a la llengua i la cohesió social, 2004
4. Llei 10/2010 d'acollida de les persones immigrades i de les retornades a Catalunya
5. Pla de ciutadania i de les migracions, 2017–2020

The Madrid and national policies are published in Spanish, while Catalonia policies are published in Catalan. With the exception of *Llei 10* and *Pla de ciutadania i de les migraciones* – where English versions of these publications are also available for public access – all translations of the analyzed excerpts were provided by the authors.

4. Analysis

4.1. Language as a Problem for Integration: The National Policy

The goal of the *Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2011–2014* is social cohesion, equal rights and obligations and a sense of belonging in the country. As a result, social cohesion is necessary for social participation among immigrants and native-born Span-

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[11] Dirección General de Integración de los Inmigrantes (2011–2014). *Plan estratégico de ciudadanía e integración.* nadiesinfuturo.org/de-interes/article/plan-estrategico-de-ciudadania-e (accessed 15 Jan 2020).

iards (Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2011–2014: 12). A central tenet of social cohesion and integration continues to be legality of immigrant populations in subsequent iterations of the policy:

> La integración de los inmigrantes se ha convertido en uno de los retos más importantes que afronta la sociedad española en la actualidad y en un pilar básico de la política integral de inmigración puesta en marcha por el Gobierno desde el año 2004, junto con la lucha contra la inmigración ilegal, la vinculación de la inmigración legal a las necesidades del mercado de trabajo y la cooperación al desarrollo de los países de origen (p. 4).

> The integration of immigrants has become one of the most important challenges that faces Spanish society today and in a basic pillar of a comprehensive immigrant policy put into place by the government since the year 2004, along with the fight against illegal immigration, [is] the connection between legal immigration and the needs of the job market and the cooperation in development of countries of origin.

Integration is framed as one of the biggest challenges facing Spanish society in addition to legal immigration. Integration refers to the process whereby immigrants become citizens and participate in Spanish society, living alongside other Spanish citizens. Therefore, the national *Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2011–2014* emphasizes integration as a bi-directional social process that "requires mutual effort" (p. 26). Despite a focus on the bidirectionality of integration, the policy frames immigrants primarily as responsible for their participation in Spanish society. This is primarily achieved through framing language as both a problem and a solution to integration.

> Una de las cuestiones detectadas en el proceso de reflexión colectiva llevado a cabo ha sido la falta de integración de la población inmigrante debido al desconocimiento de la lengua vehicular que incrementa el problema de retraso curricular que suele tener este alumnado (Plan estratégico ciudadanía e integración 2011–2014: 152).

> One of the highlighted questions in the process of collective reflection carried out has been the lack of integration of the immigrant population because of the lack of knowledge of the common language that elevates the problem of educational delays that typically characterize this student population.

In the excerpt above, lack of knowledge of the *lengua vehicular* (i.e., Spanish) results in a lack of ability to integrate into Spanish society and contributes to educational delays. To address this issue, the policy proposes the development of language courses with curriculum design, instructor education, and accreditation and recognition of language teaching (p. 117). While students may face other challenges, the policy frames language as the biggest problem for immigrant students which augments educational difficulties. Language maintenance, on the other hand, is, in part, the responsibility of the countries of origin of immigrant populations. Similar to other language and cultural maintenance programs throughout Western Europe (such as France and the Netherlands), language maintenance requires agreements with countries of origin to develop language and cultural maintenance programs like the Program of the Moroccan Language and Culture which is developed with the Kingdom of Morocco (Mijares Molina, 2006).

4.2. Language as Active Participation to Achieve Integration: The Madrid Policy

As evident in the *Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2011–2014*, language education of immigrant populations as means for achieving integration is a central goal at the national level. Regional policies have similar aims relating to how immigrants should participate in society. While Madrid policies do not offer an explicit discussion of social cohesion, these policies do focus on coexistence, or *convivencia,* which refers to the notion of different cultural groups living among one another and the interplay of distinct cultural practices that results from living side by side. The notion of *convivencia* is invoked in the first pages of the *Plan de Inmigración de la comunidad de Madrid 2019–2021.*

> Ese interés por facilitar la integración de todas las personas que conviven en la región, se ha visto facilitado por la propia actitud de los madrileños, que nunca han cerrado la puerta a nadie. Y junto a ellos, hay que reconocer el esfuerzo de las propias personas inmigrantes y sus asociaciones; así como el trabajo permanente de la Comunidad de Madrid a la hora de promover políticas de integración. Sin embargo, la inmigración es un proceso que no se detiene, y somos conscientes de que tenemos importantes retos a los que hacer frente si queremos mantener y potenciar un modelo de convivencia abierto, tolerante y que ofrezca oportunidades para todos (p. 4).

> This interest in facilitating integration of all people that cohabitate in the region, has been facilitated by the attitude of the people of Madrid who have never shut the door to anyone. And along with them, the effort of immigrants and associations must be recognized; as well as the permanent work of the Community of Madrid at the time of promoting policies for integration. However, migration is a process that cannot be detained, and we are conscious that we have important challenges to face if we want to maintain and promote a model of open and tolerant cohabitation that offers opportunity for all.

Here, this policy describes migration as a process that cannot be stopped. This process is to be regulated by a means of open and tolerant cohabitation. Tolerant and open cohabitation implies a sort of relationship and interaction between immigrant and more established communities. The notion of *convivencia* as relational and rooted in interaction is emphasized by explicit mention of the people of Madrid and immigrant populations. As a result, there is an expectation of active participation on the part of the immigrant and more established population. However, later on, the policy further defines what this cohabitation implies by referencing the notion of "active citizenship" on the part of the immigrant population. In policies regarding integration in Western Europe, the notion of "active citizenship" takes a central focus as a means for achieving integration, and therefore, social harmony. Active participation in this context implies social, political, and economic engagement on the part of the immigrants themselves. To be considered a part of their new home country they must make an active contribution to civil society (see Verhoeven & Ham, 2010: 59). In the *Plan de inmigración de la comunidad de Madrid 2019–2021*, the notion of active citizenship is emphasized as a necessary means for achieving integration:

> Integración no significa dilución de la identidad ni renuncia a hábitos o comportamientos, siempre que quepan dentro del marco jurídico y de convivencia. Significa no quedar al margen de la sociedad, significa ejercicio de derechos y de responsabilidades, acceso a oportunidades y libertad para expresar la propia identidad en un marco de respeto (p. 6).

> Integration does not mean a dilution of identity or renouncing habits or behaviors, given that they stay within the legal and coexistence frameworks. It means not staying at the margins of society, it means exercising rights and responsibilities, access to opportunities and liberties to express one's identity in a frame of respect.

In the excerpt above, the policy first defines integration by what it is not. Integration does not involve eschewing habits or behaviors, given that they are kept within the laws of society and frame of coexistence. This framing indicates that there are some habits and behaviors that are not accepted if coexistence is to be achieved. While it is difficult to determine whose or what habits and behaviors, the text appears to be referring to the social, cultural, religious, and linguistic practices of the immigrant population. This later becomes evident throughout the policy which refers to the social, cultural, religious, and linguistic practices of immigrants as behaviors and habits. The excerpt above defines what is considered unacceptable behavior for integration and what "active citizenship" is within the context of the Community of Madrid. Active citizenship is defined as staying out from the margins of society as well as exercising rights and responsibilities. Through this definition, limits are placed on the type of citizenship and expression that are allowed. Additionally, it is unclear what is required to stay out from the margins of society and which rights and responsibilities are to be exercised and when. In exchange for their active participation, that is, if immigrants behave within the confines of the legal framework and framework of cohabitation and exercise their rights and responsibilities, they may have access to opportunities and liberty to express their own identities. The policy emphasizes, however, that there is a limit to the liberty of expression as it is to remain within the framework of respect. In this way, the process of integration is framed as a transactional process whereby immigrants must fulfill a series of requisites to gain access to rights and privileges. Later on, the policy is more specific in defining certain behaviors that hinder and help integration.

> Cerca de dos tercios las personas extranjeras han encontrado algún tipo de obstáculo para lograr una mejor integración en la sociedad madrileña, principalmente relacionados con el idioma, prejuicios y diferencias culturales (Plan de inmigración de la comunidad de Madrid 2019–2021: 67).

> Nearly two-thirds of foreign individuals have encountered some type of obstacle in achieving a better integration into the society of Madrid, [these issues were] principally related to language, prejudice, and cultural differences.

In this excerpt, the policy refers specifically to the behaviors of "foreign persons" that hinder their ability to integrate. Framing immigrants, regardless of nationality status, as "foreign persons," effectively marks these individuals as outsiders to Madrid society. Upon reviewing the results of the Barometer for Immigration of 2016, the authors note

that 62% of all migrants surveyed encountered difficulties integrating into Spanish society. They explain that 30% of these individuals noted language to be the principal barrier to integration while 15.6% noted social discrimination (or prejudices), and 13.6% noted cultural differences as the primary factor hindering their integration into Spanish society (p. 53). On page 71 of the *Plan de inmigración de la comunidad de Madrid 2019–2021*, the policy lays out 78 measures for achieving integration and overcoming these challenges to integration. With regard to language use, there are five measures that make explicit mention of language education and language use. In Measures 6, 7, and 8, language education is framed as a means for achieving integration of immigrants in the host society.

> Abordar, coordinadamente con las instituciones nacionales, el desarrollo de cursos básicos y preparación de exámenes oficiales del idioma español para inmigrantes que residan en la Comunidad de Madrid, para obtener la nacionalidad española, con el objetivo de facilitar la consolidación de la integración de los inmigrantes en la sociedad de acogida (p. 72).

> Address, in a coordinated manner with the national institutions, the development of basic courses and preparation for official exams of the Spanish language for immigrants that reside in the Community of Madrid, to obtain Spanish nationality, with the objective of facilitating the consolidation of integration of immigrants in the host society.

Similarly, measure 69 (see page 80) proposes the need for a basic level of Spanish in order to achieve integration into Spanish society. This requirement echoes the 2015 laws (*Ley 12/2015*[12] and *Ley 19/2015*[13]) which stipulate that to obtain Spanish citizenship, individuals must achieve a basic level of Spanish (level A2 on the *DELE* exam) and pass a Spanish constitution, culture, and society exam (*Conocimientos Constitucionales y Socioculturales de España CCSE*) (see Bruzos, Erdocia & Khan, 2018 for a discussion on language testing for naturalization in Spain). The only measures that discuss immigrant languages include one measure which aims to provide materials regarding the public health system in the languages of the largest number of immigrant groups while the other measure frames immigrant languages within the educational setting as linguistic challenges that need to be overcome.

Measure 34 discusses overcoming linguistic challenges in the educational setting:

> Mantener o ampliar, en función del crecimiento de la población extranjera, los centros educativos con programas de integración y los recursos asignados, que contribuyan a que los menores inmigrantes superen desfases lingüísticos (p. 75).

> Maintain or amplify, based on the growth of the foreign population, the educational centers with programs for integration and the assigned courses, that contribute to overcoming linguistic differences by immigrants under the age of 18.

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[12] Gobierno de España (2015). Ley 12/2015, de 24 de junio, en materia de concesión de la nacionalidad española a los sefardíes originarios de España. boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-2015-7045 (accessed 15 Jan 2020).

[13] Gobierno de España (2015). Ley 19/2015, de 13 de julio, de medidas de reforma administrativa en el ámbito de la Administración de Justicia y del Registro Civil. boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-2015-7045 (accessed 15 Jan 2020).

The policies present immigrant communities as outsiders who are responsible for their access to and participation in Spanish society through dominant language acquisition. In this way, the language practices of immigrant communities are framed as a problem, instead of a resource or a right, which must be overcome if integration is to be achieved.

4.3. Social Cohesion and Linguistic Normalization: The Catalonia Plan

Much like the Madrid policy, Catalonia's policies indicate that maintaining social cohesion is a crucial component to immigrants' participation in Catalan society. However, given the official multilingualism present in Catalonia – as well as the extensive revival and promotion of the Catalan language which predates any major influx of migration – the notion of social cohesion is conceptualized differently in Catalan policies, as outlined in the *Pla per a la llengua i la cohesió social*:

> D'acord amb això, l'objectiu general d'aquest pla és potenciar i consolidar la cohesió social, l'educació intercultural i la llengua catalana en un marc plurilingüe (p. 12).

> Accordingly, the general objective of this plan is to strengthen and consolidate social cohesion, intercultural education and the Catalan language in a multilingual framework.

Here, social cohesion is conceived as being part of a *marc plurilingüe*, of which immigrants are presumably to be a part. While Catalan is explicitly mentioned as being one of the languages that contributes to this framework, the absence of other languages in this excerpt leaves ambiguity in terms of what comprises multilingualism in the context of Catalonia, i.e., immigrant languages and/or languages with official status in Catalonia, including Spanish, Aranese, and Catalan Sign Language. In addition to social cohesion, this excerpt indicates that intercultural education is an important goal; while this notion is not clearly delineated in this context, interculturalism may suggest – like the policies above – that this is a process involving all members of the Catalan community.

Furthermore, the notion of consolidation is a recurring theme in discourse about social cohesion and linguistic ideology in Catalonia. While the above excerpt operationalizes this concept by merging together various components that make up multilingualism in Catalonia, consolidation – alongside social cohesion – is grounded in the ideology of linguistic normalization of Catalan, as indicated in the same policy:

> La cultura i la llengua catalanes constitueixen uns dels signes d'identitat col·lectiva més importants del nostre país [...] No obstant això, encara la nostra llengua no ha aconseguit una plena normalització. En l'actual context social es fa més evident encara l'enorme fragilitat de la llengua catalana. Es fa necessari, doncs, potenciar i consolidar la nostra llengua com a llengua vehicular i de comunicació del nostre sistema educatiu, i com a factor de cohesió social (p. 3).

> Catalan culture and language are one of the most important collective identity signs in our community [...] However, our language has not yet achieved full normalization. In the current social context, the enormous fragility of the Catalan language is still more evident. It is necessary, then, to strengthen and

consolidate our language as a vehicular language and of communication in our educational system, and as a factor of social cohesion.

Using the same terminology as the previous excerpt, this text once again emphasizes the need to *potenciar i consolidar*; however, the focus has now shifted specifically to the use of Catalan and the need for its normalization, not only as the vehicular language of Catalonia, but also as a marker of collective identity. In addition to explicitly indicating that the Catalan language and culture are part of a common identity, this excerpt further emphasizes this relationship by referring to Catalan as *la nostra llengua* throughout the text. In employing the first-person plural possessive to qualify Catalan, this wording draws in all participants of this text and reasserts the importance of forming a collective identity that centers around Catalan use. Although this offers a somewhat contradictory message in light of the multilingual framework that the *Pla per a la llengua i la cohesió social* previously mentioned, linguistic normalization as it pertains to the Catalan language is one that dominates political discourse in Catalonia and is the focus of other language policies aimed at the entire population, including the *Llei 7/1983 de normalització lingüística a Catalunya* and the *Estatut d'autonomia de Catalunya de 2006*. This ideology also remains strongly present in the *Pla per a la llengua i la cohesió social*, which is geared specifically towards immigrant populations, emphasizing it as a key component to social cohesion. Moreover, unintegrated immigrants may be positioned as a barrier between the overarching goal of linguistic normalization and social cohesion in Catalonia:

> La normalització en l'ús social de la llengua catalana ha estat una preocupació constant de l'administració educativa. L'Estatut d'Autonomia defineix el català com a llengua pròpia i estableix l'oficialitat de les llengües catalana i castellana. Correspon, doncs, al sistema educatiu garantir, a l'acabament de l'escolarització obligatòria, la competència lingüística en ambdues llengües de tot l'alumnat de Catalunya. Més enllà d'aquestes consideracions, és evident que un coneixement insuficient entre determinats col·lectius d'alguna o de les dues llengües oficials pot constituir un problema de greus conseqüències per a la integració i la cohesió de la nostra societat. (p. 12)

> Normalization in the societal use of the Catalan language has been a constant concern for the educational administration. The Statute of Autonomy defines Catalan as the native language and establishes the official status of the Catalan and Spanish languages. It is up to the educational system to guarantee, at the end of compulsory schooling, linguistic competence in both languages among all students of Catalonia. Beyond these considerations, it is clear that insufficient knowledge among certain groups of one or of both official languages can be a problem with serious consequences for integration and cohesion of our society.

Here, linguistic normalization is once again tied to social cohesion in Catalonia. However, this excerpt also indicates that members of society who may otherwise not partake in compulsory schooling – namely, adult immigrants – can become a hindrance to social cohesion without sufficient knowledge of Catalan and/or Spanish. As such, language education – with a clear emphasis on Catalan – is emphasized as the primary means of maintaining social cohesion. This is especially salient in the *Llei d'acollida de les persones immigrades i de les retornades a Catalunya of 2010*, which is also geared towards immigrant

populations. In its preamble, this Act situates reception services for migrants and returnees to Catalonia as a part of the European framework for immigrant policies. Specifically, it cites the EU's *Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the European Union*, indicating that "This principle states that the basic knowledge of the host society's language, history and institutions is indispensable to integration and that enabling immigrants to acquire this basic knowledge is essential to successful integration" (p. 16–17).

This framework guides subsequent articles in this Act, including that which focuses on requirements for immigrants and returnees to develop basic language skills. Article 9 in particular outlines these requirements, the first of which insists that immigrants and returnees "must acquire basic language skills in Catalan and Spanish," (p. 32) drawing on the EU's *Common European Framework for Reference for Languages (CEFR)* as the standard for gauging proficiency. While basic skills in both languages are recognized as necessary components of integration, it is worth noting that training takes place through the Consortium for Language Normalization, an organization established to promote the learning and use of Catalan. The prioritization of Catalan is further illustrated in its designation as

> the common language for implementing reception and integration policies. It also is the language of training and information, a basic instrument for full integration in the country. To that end, the language learning offered by first reception services shall begin with the acquisition of basic skills in Catalan (p. 32).

As evident from this quote, Catalan alone is viewed as a necessary – and perhaps sufficient – means of achieving "full" integration. Spanish, however, is only alluded to as a secondary priority that merits attention only "to those people who have attained basic skills in Catalan and request or require it" (p. 32).

Finally, one notable absence from Article 9 is any mention of immigrant languages and whether or not they play a role in language learning. This aspect is briefly addressed in Article 12 of this policy, where first reception services are guaranteed to "use the languages of service users in addition to Catalan in information and training activities whenever this may be necessary, and also use them in teaching materials pursuant to the recommendations and technical protocols drawn up for this purpose." (p. 35). While the above clarifies the role of immigrant languages in the context of language learning, it is evident that this role is limited to that of fostering smoother transactions, and not of contributing to integration.

4.4. Integration as a Bidirectional Process

Like EU and national policy, regional policies in both Madrid and Catalonia indicate that goals such as social cohesion and integration are to be achieved collectively by efforts from the immigrant and native-born communities. This mutual responsibility is

frequently characterized as a process involving interaction between both communities, being described as "bidirectional." In the context of Catalonia, knowledge of Catalan once again serves as a unifying element between the two populations, as illustrated in the *Pla de ciutadania i de les migracions, 2017–2020*:

> Al mateix temps cal dir que, perquè la cultura pública comuna sigui comuna de debò (i no allò que els que van arribar abans imposen als que arriben després) cal que la fem entre tots. Cal que tothom hi participi. Cal que tothom tingui prou competència en la llengua comuna per poder-ho fer. Cal que tots els espais públics siguin espais d'interacció entre catalans de tots els orígens (p. 5).

> And for the common public culture to be truly common – and not what the people who came before impose on those who arrive later – we need to do it together. Everybody must get involved. Everybody must have sufficient competence in the common language to be able to do this. Every public space must be a space for interaction between Catalans of all origins.

Here, this text describes social cohesion in Catalonia as a collective responsibility, contrasting it with a one-sided situation in which one group assimilates at the imposition of the other. This shared responsibility also includes having a shared knowledge of *la llengua comuna*, which can be understood as Catalan, and the catalyst for successfully involving all members of society. Additionally, this excerpt groups both the more established community and the immigrant community as Catalans, emphasizing the presence of a *cultura pública comuna*. This collective identity is further underlined in the text by grouping native-born and immigrant members as *catalans de tots els orígens*, suggesting that anyone residing in Catalonia is already a member of the Catalan community. This is a notable contrast against discourse in Madrid's *Plan de inmigración de la comunidad de Madrid 2019–2021* (see section 4.2), where immigrants are referenced as *personas extranjeras*, regardless of their nationality, and thus positioned as outsiders. While these mutual efforts from both communities are mentioned across Catalan texts, as evident in the excerpt from *Llei 10/2010* below, describing native-born and immigrant communities alike as "Catalan" is not a consistent practice:

> La responsabilitat de la integració i, per tant, de l'acollida no és únicament de les persones nouvingudes. Es tracta d'una responsabilitat mútua, tant dels que immigren a Catalunya com de les catalanes i dels catalans, i així ho expressa el primer dels Principis bàsics comuns de la política d'integració d'immigrants a la Unió Europea: "La integració és un procés bidireccional i dinàmic d'ajustament mutu de tots els immigrants i residents als estats membres (p. 4).

> The responsibility for integration and therefore for reception is not only held by newcomers. It is a shared responsibility of both immigrants to Catalonia and Catalans themselves, as stated by the first of the Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the European Union: "Integration is a dynamic two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of member states".

Unlike the previous excerpt, the above text designates "Catalans" as members of the native-born community, distinguishing them from the immigrant community in Catalonia. Furthermore, this text draws on discourse from *Common Basic Principles for Immi-*

grant Integration Policy in the EU, directly quoting and upholding the EU's conceptualization of integration as a bidirectional process of accommodation. Similarly, Madrid texts acknowledge the shared responsibility of all community members and place importance on the maintenance of heritage identity. Taken from the *Plan de inmigración de la comunidad de Madrid 2019–2021*, this excerpt emphasizes the bidirectionality of integration by shifting away from an assimilation framework:

> La sociedad de acogida comparte con la persona migrante la responsabilidad de contribuir a la integración. En un país democrático y plural, la persona que llega no debe perder, contra su voluntad, su bagaje cultural, religioso o de costumbres, puesto que el objetivo de una adecuada integración no es la asimilación, sino incorporar la diversidad en el marco del respeto al ordenamiento jurídico y los derechos humanos (p. 56).

> The host society shares with the migrant person the responsibility of contributing to integration. In a democratic and pluralistic country, the person who arrives must not lose, against their will, their cultural or religious background or their customs, since the objective of adequate integration is not assimilation, but to incorporate diversity into the framework of respect for the legal system and human rights.

As with the case of Catalonia's *Pla de ciutadania i de les migracions, 2017–2020*, this Madrid policy similarly points out the inadequacy of a one-sided assimilation framework. However, while the former positions assimilation as a one-sided imposition, the latter takes a subtractive approach and places responsibility on the receptive society for the potential loss of heritage identity, indicating that such loss could be against an immigrant's will. This responsibility, however, is not explicitly assigned; nor does this excerpt instruct members of the receptive society on how they may specifically contribute to assimilation or heritage culture loss, nor how they may contribute positively to immigrants' social integration.

Like the Catalan policies, the bidirectional nature of integration is not always consistently delineated in Madrid policy. For instance, the *Plan de inmigración de la comunidad de Madrid 2019–2021* addresses the distinct experiences of first- and second-generation immigrants acknowledging that individuals of the second-generation may face unique challenges for integration in a school environment that are distinct from their first-generation parents. The policy states that while their parents face cultural, linguistic, and educational differences throughout the process of becoming a part of the society, members of the second generation face challenges associated with their parents' level of integration:

> Las segundas generaciones nacidas en España no se enfrentan a una parte de esas dificultades ya que ingresan en el sistema escolar desde el inicio, aunque pueden encontrar otras, relacionadas con el grado de integración de sus progenitores, una lengua materna distinta o las diferencias entre las costumbres de sus hogares y las que se encuentran en el entorno de la escuela o de sus amigos, que pueden provocar confusión con respecto a su identidad y la cultura a la que pertenecen (p. 38).

> The second generations born in Spain do not face some of these difficulties since they enter the school system from the beginning, although they can encounter other issues, related to the extent to which their parents are integrated, having a different mother tongue, or having differences between the customs of their homes and those found in the school environment or among their friends, which can cause confusion with respect to their identity and the culture to which they belong.

This excerpt conceptualizes integration as a continual process that not only extends beyond the first-generation, but also presents new challenges for subsequent generations. However, the notion of mutual responsibility among the receptive and migrant communities is absent in this context. The burden of integration is placed specifically on first generation immigrants. This text indicates that issues faced by second-generation immigrants are a reflection of their home environment and the extent to which their parents have integrated. As such, the policy does not take into account other external factors that may be the source of these difficulties. Although the previously cited excerpt from this policy highlights the importance of maintaining heritage culture and practices, the above excerpt shifts away from a perspective of multiculturalism. Instead, the authors of the policy employ singular forms in reference to *identidad* and *cultura* to which migrants belong. The use of the singular form implies that there may be only one of each and that subsequent generations must make a choice between opposing practices. This excerpt frames language, once again, as a difficulty to be overcome rather than a resource. In this instance, first-generation immigrant parents are blamed for their children's lack of integration if they use a different language other than the dominant language. Language is framed as a problem for integration, and, a cause for confusion for subsequent generations. Framing language as a problem for integration in this way undermines the goal of multiculturalism and diversity that is put forth in other areas of the policy.

5. Conclusion

This study examined the ideologies which shape the national and regional integration policies of Madrid and Catalonia as it relates to immigrants' language practices. One of the central findings of this study highlights the relationship between language and integration into the host society. Specifically, learning the language of the host society is designated as a necessary component to integration. Integration, in turn, is represented as a necessary tool for contributing to society. Use of the dominant language is framed as a marker of active citizenship. However, the absence of immigrant languages as part of this formulation suggests that the linguistic practices of these groups – while valued for contributing to diversity and multiculturalism – are not viewed as significant to achieving broader goals such as social cohesion. Additionally, while discourse across EU, national, and regional policies emphasize the bidirectional nature of integration, the responsibility is ultimately placed on immigrant populations. These responsibilities often take the form of language learning requirements in Spanish and/or Catalan without allocating any space for migrant language maintenance in the process.

Moreover, while policies at every level advocate for multiculturalism, linguistic diversity is only valued insofar as it does not challenge or disrupt the process of integration.

By not making maintenance a priority or a possibility in integration policies, these policies construct a space where migrant languages may not belong or do not have an active role within society, effectively transforming integration discourse into that of assimilation. While language maintenance programs such as ELCO (Enseñanza de Lengua y Cultura de Origen – Education of Language and Culture of Origin) do exist, these programs are largely absent throughout the policies. Consequently, the goal of bidirectional integration and multiculturalism are undermined and contradicted. At the regional level, the discourses regarding integration reflect somewhat distinctive ideologies. Madrid policies frame language as a problem such that it places assimilation as its central aim. The language of the Madrid regional policies attribute identity and cultural confusion to immigrant languages. While Catalonia policies similarly emphasize a connection between language learning and integration, migrant policies in this region are rooted in linguistic ideologies that center around the construction of a collective identity for the autonomous community as a whole that is clearly marked by Catalan use. In this case, successful integration in this context implies actively contributing to the linguistic normalization of Catalan.

Ultimately, this study highlights how policies discursively construct a relationship between language and integration for immigrant populations, often in ways that invalidate or erase the linguistic practices of immigrant communities. While the scope of this study centered on Madrid and Catalonia, a study of policies in Spain's other autonomous communities, which recognize other regional languages in addition to Spanish, is warranted. Finally, it is critical to also examine how integration policies are put into practice, and whether the ideologies that stem from these policies are reflected in the community at large.

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