

# Language immersion in Catalonia

AN EFFECTIVE AND SUCCESSFUL MODEL

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# **Language immersion in Catalonia**

**AN EFFECTIVE AND SUCCESSFUL MODEL**

**«In a community where there is a widespread, conscious desire to achieve a bilingual or multilingual society, priority must be given at the beginning of school education to the language or languages which have least chance of being developed».**

**W. LAMBERT**

**«[...] the Immersion Programme is the most effective education project for producing citizens competent in two languages».**

**J. ARNAU**

<b>1. Introduction: what is language immersion and what is its aim?</b>	<b>05</b>
<b>2. The Catalan school system: features, characteristics and a little history</b>	<b>06</b>
<b>3. The importance of immersion: language as a tool for social cohes</b>	<b>08</b>
<b>4. A method widely used outside Catalonia</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>4.1. Canada</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>4.2. The Basque Country</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>4.3. Belgium</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>4.4. Summary</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>5. Empirical proof of Catalonia's success</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>6. Conclusions</b>	<b>21</b>

## 1. Introduction: what is language immersion and what is its aim?

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Language immersion is a learning method consisting of total or partial exposure to a language. It is used at all stages of the children's learning process, from when they are very young until they are teenagers. Although it does not necessarily have to be related to young people and teenagers, it is one of the learning strategies most commonly used in school in various States in the world.

We are not, therefore, talking about an obsolete, archaic or residual method. On the contrary, it is embedded in the curriculum for many schools all round the world. It must be remembered, then, that there is nothing unknown about this situation, which has been analysed and studied, attracting some criticism and objections but, above all, praise of all kinds.

There is basically one great aim for immersion, common and shared everywhere it is applied in the world: to ensure that a language is learned in as short a time as possible, always bearing in mind the desirability of learners achieving the highest possible levels of lexical and grammatical knowledge and communicative capacity. Ultimately, we should not forget that this methodology is applied intensively.

It must also be specified that there are various models of immersion: depending on the more specific aims pursued; depending on the level of immersion (often fixed at percentages that can vary); or depending on the age of the learners and other factors. So, although the methodology and general purpose are the same, sociolinguistic and sociocultural aspects must always be taken into account to define the most appropriate model in each society.

# 2. The Catalan school system: features, characteristics and a little history

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As we have seen, there are various immersion models. In the case of Catalonia, which is the one that concerns us now, in the schools where immersion is carried out – theoretically all public schools and private schools with private funding– the model takes the form of fixing Catalan as the vehicular language for all subjects taught, except, of course, for Spanish and English. It should be specified that the immersion programme is a bilingual educational model considered to be an enrichment model (Fishman, 1976)<sup>1</sup> and is a total bilingualism programme. Undoubtedly, the most notable characteristic of these is that they are specially designed not just for a linguistic minority, but for the whole community. This is a particular feature of our system not reproduced in many other places<sup>2</sup>.

One of the aspects that has been becoming more important when it comes to analysing the situation is the sociolinguistic context of Catalan society over the last few decades. Following a great wave of immigration affecting the region – particularly the metropolitan areas of Barcelona and Tarragona – the presence of Catalan was drastically reduced and the main language came to be Spanish, the first language of the vast majority of people who settled in Catalonia at that time. In this context, then, something had to be done to ensure that Catalan continued to be an important, necessary and useful language for society while not being an impediment to newcomers adapting to a new socio-territorial situation.

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<sup>1</sup> The reference is the book *Bilingual Education: An International Sociological Perspective*.

<sup>2</sup> Information taken from the document “Bases teòriques del Programa d’Immersion Lingüística del Servei d’Ensenyament del Català. 2004”. XTEC: *Immersion lingüística. Pla d’immersion*. Language Immersion and Reception Services. Ministry of Education of the Government of Catalonia.

It can be consulted at: [http://www.xtec.cat/alfresco/d/d/workspace/SpacesStore/02b4b23d-1e7e-439f-bb4e-0545d91b269a/Dossier0\\_pil\\_rev.pdf](http://www.xtec.cat/alfresco/d/d/workspace/SpacesStore/02b4b23d-1e7e-439f-bb4e-0545d91b269a/Dossier0_pil_rev.pdf)

The Language Immersion Programme (PIL) was first applied in the 1983-4 academic year in 19 publicly funded schools in Santa Coloma de Gramenet, where the majority of the school population was Spanish-speaking. It was first applied at the Rosselló-Porcel School in 1983, following pressure from several families who wanted their children educated in Catalan. Due to the success and good results of the initial experience, in 1989-90 language immersion was followed in more than 700 schools in Catalonia (now involving more than 52,000 pupils). From the 1992-3 academic year, teaching in Catalan became the educational model throughout Catalonia.

So that schools could have the legal and legislative tools they needed, the Government of Catalonia has promoted all legal and budgetary measures necessary so that this desire could be made effective and real. So, in 1983, the Language Normalisation Act (Act 7/1983)<sup>3</sup>, was approved, the first step for consolidating the initial moves. In 1998, the legal text was expanded, giving rise to the Language Policy Act (Act 1/1998)<sup>4</sup>. Finally, and more specifically focusing only on the issue of education, the Catalan Parliament approved the Catalan Education Act (Act 12/2009)<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> It can be consulted at: [http://portaljuridic.gencat.cat/ca/pjur\\_ocults/pjur\\_resultats\\_fitxa/?action=fitxa&documentId=12299](http://portaljuridic.gencat.cat/ca/pjur_ocults/pjur_resultats_fitxa/?action=fitxa&documentId=12299)

<sup>4</sup> It can be consulted at: [http://portaljuridic.gencat.cat/ca/pjur\\_ocults/pjur\\_resultats\\_fitxa/?action=fitxa&mode=single&documentId=171269&language=ca\\_ES](http://portaljuridic.gencat.cat/ca/pjur_ocults/pjur_resultats_fitxa/?action=fitxa&mode=single&documentId=171269&language=ca_ES)

<sup>5</sup> It can be consulted at: [http://portaljuridic.gencat.cat/ca/pjur\\_ocults/pjur\\_resultats\\_fitxa/?action=fitxa&documentId=480169](http://portaljuridic.gencat.cat/ca/pjur_ocults/pjur_resultats_fitxa/?action=fitxa&documentId=480169)

### **3. The importance of immersion: language as a tool for social cohesion**

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Language immersion guarantees success in acquiring linguistic competence in the languages used socially. It has also been a decisive tool making knowledge and command of Catalan universal throughout the school population therefore acting as a tool for social cohesion. It is a model capable of bringing pupils together regardless of the language they speak at home, preparing them to be competent in the world of work, allowing equality of opportunity, and contributing to making everyone feel they are an important part of a single society, without any kind of exclusion.

This priority for Catalan in the education system is in no way contemptuous of other languages. In fact, it balances Catalan with the culture of origin and makes it possible for this country to manage its multilingualism with full respect for the diversity of languages in our world by helping to consolidate Catalan as a common language for the territory. So, Catalan is Catalonia's common language – the shared language – and everyone is treated in the same way. No one is marginalised due to language issues.

Had the immersion system not been implemented, there would have been two great dangers to Catalan society. Firstly, there would have been a very great risk of social and linguistic segregation, which would mean a serious social division, with Catalan pupils segregated based on language criteria. Secondly, there would also be a lack of language competence in Catalan among children of Spanish-speaking families, who would have no opportunity to speak and develop it in their family environment.



Language immersion also has other social and collective benefits, such as the recognition of the diversity of languages which is so important today in a multilingual society like ours. In this way, from a very young age, children are aware of the need to respect the other people who make up society whatever their language is. Catalan is something that unites them all, allowing them to communicate and understand one another.

However, this system has historically been attacked head on by certain Spanish organisations, particularly political ones. These attacks have regularly involved taking the system to court. Among the reasons cited have been the supposed loss of competence in expression in Spanish compared with other autonomous communities (debunked by the studies carried out); supposed mental problems which have never been confirmed; and accusations of discrimination on the grounds of language and the infringement of individual rights.

# 4. A method widely used outside Catalonia

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Around the 1960s, there was an important change of opinion among experts concerning language learning and bilingualism. This was due to the appearance of empirical studies demonstrating that bilingualism did not have unfavourable effects on intellectual development and that teaching in a language other than the pupil's first language could give better results than traditional teaching in the first language. This went against beliefs held until that time. The first studies pointing in this direction were those of Lambert (1962)<sup>6</sup>.

Despite the fact that each territory (whether or not it is a State) has its own dynamics, characteristics, features and peculiarities making it unique and different from all the others, the situation in Catalonia could to some extent (despite the differences, of course) be compared with some other (socio)linguistic situations with which it shares some similarities. We will now look at some of these cases and review the most important figures and some results of their immersion programmes.

## 4.1. Canada

In Canada, the official languages of the federal state and its public administration are English and French. In the province of Quebec, the official language has been French since the approval of the French Language Charter, while in the province of New Brunswick French shares official status with English. We will now give some details about the beginning of immersion in the province of Quebec and why it occurred.”

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<sup>6</sup> LAMBERT M.; PEAL E. (1962). “The relation of bilingualism to intelligence”, in *Psychological Monographs*. 75 (546), pp 1-23.

The first immersion experiment took place in 1965 – it is worth noting that this was the first experiment of its kind anywhere in the world – specifically at the Saint Lambert school. Previously, in 1963, parents from this school had been concerned because, when their children left, there were big gaps in their French, preventing them communicating effectively in the language outside school. They believed this was a serious obstacle when it came to finding work, for example.

Two years later, the first experimental French immersion class was set up: teaching children whose family language was English in a second language, French, so that in their first three years the only teaching language in the school was the second language for its pupils. English was gradually introduced in subsequent years. The good results achieved in the evaluation of the programme made it clear that the objectives set had been achieved. Ultimately, they showed that teaching children in a second language from when they started school did not represent any impediment to these pupils achieving academic success.

### 4.2. The Basque Country

In the Basque Country there are two official languages: Basque and Spanish. In this sense, despite the great sociolinguistic differences between the two territories, the situation can also be considered more or less parallel to that in Catalonia.

Three lines of education coexist simultaneously in the school system. One is only in Basque (which we can consider to be language immersion in Basque); one is entirely in Spanish and one is divided 50-50 between the two languages.

Various studies have shown the effectiveness of being bilingual when it comes to learning other languages (in this case, English). Cenoz (1991)<sup>7</sup> studied the acquisition of English as L3 by students completing secondary education in the Basque Country's education system characterised by the presence of two languages – Basque and Spanish – the first or second languages of the students depending on their situation. There were also bilingual families. Among other factors, such as the age when

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<sup>7</sup> In the book *Enseñanza-aprendizaje del inglés como L2 o L3*.

## Language immersion in Catalonia

students began studying English, the number of hours of lessons they have had, etc. the researchers wanted to test how far being bilingual affected the acquisition of English as L3. The results showed them that the level of bilingualism in fact has a significant positive effect on all the dimensions of language analysed: oral and written comprehension, oral and written expression, grammar and vocabulary in English as L3. In other words, the better the pupil's knowledge of Basque and Spanish, the better their knowledge of the foreign language too.

Another study on the Basque Country is the one by Lasagabaster (2000)<sup>8</sup>, who analysed students aged 11-12 and 13-14 from two different language models in the Basque school system. In this case, the results showed that pupils from model D (immersion in Basque, ensuring bilingual competence in Basque and Spanish) obtained significantly better results in English as L3 than those in model A, the programme in which Spanish is the vehicular language, with one hour a day of Basque and not guaranteeing “balanced” bilingualism in these two languages. Once again, bilingualism appears as an element predicting relative success in developing the command of another language.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> In the study “Three languages and three linguistic models in the Basque educational system”, in the book *English in Europe: The Acquisition of a Third Language*.

<sup>9</sup> These two studies are collected in the following volume: STRUBELL, Miquel et al. (2016). *Resultats del model lingüístic escolar de Catalunya. l'evidència empírica*; specifically on page 35.

### 4.3. Belgium

In Belgium, two different languages have coexisted since the 19<sup>th</sup> century and, in time, they have come to mark well-defined linguistic territories, except for Brussels and some border areas of language transition and confluence. They are French and Dutch, spoken in the Flanders region.

Historically, there have been situations of diglossia, which have led to a certain reticence on both sides, particularly among the Flemish. Despite this, Dutch has been the teaching language in schools in the Flanders region for a long time, as well as the language for receiving immigrants on arrival. This has not prevented French being taught as a second language, although it is not the vehicular language in schools.

So, this education system has also made a commitment to the presence of the Dutch language, despite the high immigration rates and number of families for whom Dutch is not their first language.

### 4.4. Summary

From this brief review, it seems clear that this model of commitment to a region's own language in schools, in differing percentages depending on the case, is neither residual nor anachronistic nor old-fashioned.

# 5. Empirical proof of Catalonia's success

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A document from the Government of Catalonia's Office of Education Policy includes the contributions of other authors and bodies on various general aspects related to immersion and its effects on the learning of the two official languages of Catalonia.<sup>10</sup> The following points from the results of the language immersion programmes in Catalonia should be highlighted:

- «According to the results provided by INCE<sup>11</sup> throughout 1999 in order to assess the different levels of knowledge of 12-year-old pupils in Spain, in the Spanish test, pupils in Catalonia obtained similar results to the rest of the country (64.71% correct compared to 65%). In addition, in tests such as comprehension, for example, pupils from Catalonia beat the Spanish average (65.68% correct compared to 65%). In other words, the incorporation of Catalan as the vehicular language of teaching, whether based on programmes for maintaining the family language or language immersion programmes, does not lead to poorer knowledge of the Spanish language.».
- «The studies carried out on immersion pupils' knowledge of Spanish shows that there are no significant differences when this is compared with the knowledge of Spanish of their counterparts who do not follow this kind of programme, or with

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<sup>10</sup> «Bases teòriques del Programa d'Immersion Lingüística del Servei d'Ensenyament del Català. 2004». XTEC: Immersion lingüística. Pla d'immersion. Language Immersion and Reception Services. Ministry of Education of the Government of Catalonia.

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<sup>11</sup> The document from the Catalan Ministry of Education refers to the study *EVALUACIÓN DE LA EDUCACIÓN SECUNDARIA OBLIGATORIA (2000)*.

<sup>12</sup> This refers to the study *El coneixement de llengua catalana i llengua castellana en acabar l'ensenyament obligatori el 1990*.

<sup>13</sup> This refers to the study *Estudio comparativo del conocimiento del catalán y del castellano al final del ciclo superior de EGB*.

their own knowledge of Catalan. All the studies carried out confirm that their knowledge of Spanish is similar to that of fellow pupils who have been taught in Spanish (Bel *et al.*, 1991<sup>12</sup>, 1993<sup>13</sup> and 1994<sup>14</sup>; Arnau *et al.*, 1994<sup>15</sup>; Serra, 1989<sup>16</sup>; Serra i Vila, 1996<sup>17</sup>).

- «Finally, the results obtained by Serra (1997)<sup>18</sup> with a sample of fourth-year primary school pupils belonging to Spanish-speaking families of lower social origin, show that pupils who follow an immersion programme have a significantly better oral and written knowledge of Catalan than pupils from the sample taught in their mother tongue. The immersion students also proved significantly better at reading comprehension, and their overall knowledge of Spanish was no different from that of the others. The research concluded that, even in more unfavourable situations, participation in an immersion programme could be beneficial.»

Aside from the Government and its institutions, other bodies have also analysed the results of language immersion, concentrating on entirely objective analysis in relation to learning in Catalan in Catalonia. The most complete study aimed at dispelling the doubts in this area is the publication *Resultats del model lingüístic escolar de Catalunya. L'evidència empírica*<sup>19</sup> (Results of the school language model in Catalonia. The empirical evidence), carried out by the UOC (Open University of Catalonia) with the cooperation of the best-known scholars in this area. We will therefore review the main results of this study, highlighting some figures that destroy the myths being spread against language immersion and showing that it is not damaging for pupils of non-Catalan-speaking origin.

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<sup>14</sup> This refers to the study *Estudio comparativo del conocimiento del catalán en sexto, séptimo y octavo de EGB en 1990*.

<sup>15</sup> This refers to the study *A comparative study of the knowledge of Catalan and Spanish among 8th-grade school children in Catalonia*.

<sup>16</sup> This refers to the study *Resultados académicos y desarrollo cognitivo en un programa de inmersión dirigido a escolares de nivel socio-cultural bajo*.

<sup>17</sup> This refers to the study *Coneixement lingüístic i matemàtic d'escolars de nivell sociocultural baix en programes d'immersió*.

<sup>18</sup> This refers to the study *Immersion lingüística, rendiment acadèmic i classe social*.

<sup>19</sup> It can be downloaded from this link: [http://www.uoc.edu/portal/ca/catedra\\_multilinguisme/index.html](http://www.uoc.edu/portal/ca/catedra_multilinguisme/index.html)

## Language immersion in Catalonia

The first answer sought arises from the following question: “Do Spanish-speaking pupils complete compulsory schooling with deficits in their school knowledge because they have studied in a language – Catalan – that is not their own?”

By analysing data on subjects like mathematics, sciences and reading comprehension from various years’ PISA reports and focusing on the comparison between Spanish-speaking pupils in Catalonia and the other autonomous communities in Spain, the conclusion is that:

1. «Spanish-speaking pupils taught in Catalan equalled and even surpassed the mathematical knowledge of their peers taught in Spanish in Catalonia and their peers in the rest of Spain. The Spanish-speaking pupils assessed in Catalonia were also clearly from a lower social and cultural class than the average pupils assessed in Spain» (p. 11).
2. «The differences between the two samples in the results obtained are not significant, which means the results of Spanish-speaking pupils in Catalonia fall within the Spanish average [...]. The analysis shows that, once a correction has been made for the influence of the social and cultural class of the families in the results of all Spanish-speaking pupils, Spanish-speaking Catalans show no significant differences in their results from the majority of Spanish-speaking pupils from the rest of Spain» (p. 12).
3. «The differences in results do not seem to be related to the teaching language but rather to other variables involved in educational practice and school organisation. A good example is the equivalence of the results of Spanish-speaking pupils from Catalonia and those from the Madrid region in the tests evaluated» (p. 13).

A second analysis focuses on the following question: “Do pupils in the Catalan education system have deficits in school knowledge compared to pupils from other contexts?”



To answer this question, the author of this article compares the results of Catalan pupils with those of pupils from 20 other countries. The results are as follows:

1. «Pupils from the immersion programme obtain significantly better results than their opposite numbers following a Spanish programme in the content blocks Numbers and Operations, Measurement, Geometry and Algebra and Functions, as well as in the mathematical process categories Procedural Knowledge and Problem Solving. The information presented is extremely valid and reliable considering firstly the quality of the test and the precise definition and assessment of all the variables affecting the results and, secondly, the social and cultural class of the pupils» (p. 17).
2. «In reading comprehension, Catalonia is in an intermediate position, above the average for the OECD and far above Spain, which has a considerable percentage of monolingual population attending monolingual programmes in Spanish. “In reading comprehension, Catalonia is in an intermediate position, above the average for the OECD and far above Spain» (p. 17-18).
3. «All the data analysed provides no evidence that schoolchildren in Catalonia have deficits in school knowledge because they have followed a curriculum taught in Catalan (which for many of them is their L2). There is even some evidence to the contrary: their school knowledge can actually be better. The most valid and reliable internal comparison made of the immersion programmes, on mathematical knowledge, is along these lines. The PISA assessments confirm that the school results of pupils from Catalonia are better than those in the rest of Spain, a context where most pupils follow a monolingual programme in their L1» (p. 19-20).

The third question the report attempts to deal with is: “Do pupils complete their compulsory schooling with deficits in their knowledge of Spanish because they have (mainly) studied in Catalan?”

## Language immersion in Catalonia

By comparing language competences in Spanish at two different stages – Primary and Secondary – for Catalan pupils on one hand and pupils from other education systems in Spain on the other, the following conclusions are reached:

1. «The data collected in various studies and the results provided by the Assessment Institute (previously the National Institute of Education System Assessment and Quality, INECSE), which is responsible to the Spanish Ministry of Education, and the Higher Council of Education System Assessment (CSD'A), which is responsible to the Catalan Government, indicate that knowledge of Spanish in Catalonia is equivalent and, in some cases, even better than the knowledge of pupils in Spain» (p. 23).
2. «At the end of primary school, knowledge of Spanish among Catalan pupils is equivalent to the overall knowledge among those of the same age in Spain. Finally, concerning communicative language competences in the fourth year of primary school, the results of the General Diagnosis Assessment (EGD) for 2009 indicate that Catalan pupils have an average score (502) slightly higher than their Spanish counterparts (500)» (p. 25).
3. «The set of data presented shows that Catalan children and young people do not know less Spanish just because they have been taught in Catalan. Moreover, they know just as much or more Spanish than children and young people from Spain. As a result, it can be clearly stated that the results support the language immersion model» (p. 27).

Having found out about the new data from these studies, the next question to arise in response was: “Do the (or many of the) Spanish-speaking pupils (and speakers of other languages) complete compulsory education with (important) deficits in Catalan if they do not (principally) study in Catalan?”

To make this analysis, one of the most important facts to be borne in mind is that the comparison is between pupils of the same social and cultural class, some taught in Spanish (their own language) and the others in Catalan (immersion language). Data is also obtained from other studies comparing Spanish and Catalan more specifically from other aspects of language competence.

Several quite revealing conclusions are drawn:

1. «Spanish-speaking pupils taught in a language immersion programme in Catalan know significantly more Catalan than Spanish-speaking pupils taught in Spanish. The knowledge of Catalan among the immersion group is also more evenly distributed than in the group taught in Spanish» (p. 29).
2. «The data on the knowledge of Catalan and Spanish of second-year secondary school pupils from 2002 and 2004 shows that these pupils' knowledge of Catalan and Spanish is equivalent in skills related to comprehension and oral expression, but they know more Spanish than Catalan with regard to skills related to written expression. If education was not in Catalan, it seems clear that the results would be even more biased towards Spanish» (p. 31).
3. «The most significant variable with respect to knowledge of written Catalan – the variable with the greatest weight – is the sociolinguistic environment, in the sense that the more catalanised this is, the better the results. In fact, this variable is more important than the mother's educational level, which is usually one of the most important variables in all studies on pupils' academic performance. In other words, foreign pupils' knowledge of Catalan depends to a very great extent on their contact with Catalan. This is so much the case that if they were taught in Spanish, their results in Catalan would be very unsatisfactory» (p. 31).

The next topic dealt with by the study concerns multilingualism, asking this question: “Do people who have acquired a command of two languages early in life find it easier to learn another language than monolingual people?”

## Language immersion in Catalonia

The answers are clear and unequivocal:

1. «From a purely linguistic point of view, this set of social and cognitive advantages [bilingualism] promotes the easier and more efficient acquisition of new languages (Larsen-Freeman, 1983) . In a way, we can say that bilingualism ‘prepares’ a person for learning a third language because bilingual people have a double phonetic system, which gives them greater flexibility when producing the sounds of new languages. In addition, having developed a clear metalingual awareness early on, the bilingual person is more sensitive in distinguishing between correct and incorrect constructions in other languages; in understanding the arbitrary relationship between words and objects in different languages; and, ultimately, for reflecting in general on languages» (p. 33).
2. «Two pieces of research carried out in Catalonia by the language acquisition research group ALLENCAM (Acquisition of Languages from Multilingual Catalonia) have analysed this issue: the studies by Sanz (2008)<sup>21</sup> and Roquet Pugès and Pérez-Vidal (2008)<sup>22</sup>. It can be added that the analysis confirmed Sanz’s results by showing that the pupils in both groups who regularly read and write in both languages achieved a balanced bilingualism with a very high standard in the two of them, and also very high levels of English as L3 » (p. 36).

Internationally, language immersion in Catalonia has also received praise and very favourable opinions. The Council of Europe, for example, in various reports published some years ago, recommended total immersion in Catalan as an example of good practice in school multilingualism and the protection of regional languages. The arguments cited in favour of language immersion have been collected over the years as the Council has published reports resulting from the monitoring of Spain’s application of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> This refers to the study “Assessing global second language proficiency”, in the book *Classroom Oriented Research in Second Language Acquisition*.

<sup>21</sup> This refers to the study “Predicting enhanced L3 learning in bilingual contexts: The role of biliteracy” in the book *A Portrait of the Young in the New Multilingual Spain*.

## 6. Conclusions

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Two statements seem to follow logically from everything we have mentioned: firstly, this system ensures that pupils who are Catalan-speaking from the beginning are bilingual when they complete compulsory education, as the social environment in Catalonia is highly favourable to Spanish. Secondly, children who do not have Catalan as their primary language are competent in both official languages of Catalonia thanks to the immersion method. Language immersion therefore makes it possible for people who do not speak Catalan as their first language to learn it, ensuring they achieve the same perfect command of it as those who do.

Aside from this, the data from the many studies carried out has also shown that, in Catalonia, children who speak languages other than Catalan have no problems as a result of studying in Catalan in the language immersion system. On the contrary, bilingualism helps them be more capable of learning other languages.

In addition, based on objective facts, such as the reports by the Council of Europe favourable to the development of language immersion in Catalonia, we can confirm that the Catalan education system is a model that enjoys explicit support far beyond our borders. The language immersion model is supported not only by Catalan institutions, but also by European ones

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<sup>22</sup> The reference is the study "*La lectura bilingüe: factor esencial para la adquisición de la competencia escrita en una tercera llengua*" in the book *25 years of Applied Linguistics in Spain. Milestones and Challenges*.

<sup>23</sup> Various reports can be consulted on the corresponding European Council website, making relevant observations on language immersion in Catalonia: [http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/minlang/default\\_en.asp](http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/minlang/default_en.asp).





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