

Integration and Linguistic Attitudes of the African Population Living in Jaén

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Abstract: *From the point of view of the sociology of language, and taking into consideration both the native languages and the host language, this article analyses in which sense the linguistic situation of immigrants in the host environment can be an obstacle to their social integration. It also explores the role represented by the linguistic attitudes of the immigrant in the integration process – and how these result, for example, in a greater or lesser tendency to use either the native or the host language.*

Keywords: *Immigration, integration, linguistic attitudes, multilingualism, sociology of language.*

Resumen: *Desde el punto de vista de la sociología del lenguaje y teniendo en consideración la lengua madre y la lengua del país de recepción, este artículo analiza in qué sentido la situación lingüística de los inmigrantes en el entorno del país de recepción puede convertirse en un obstáculo para su integración social. También se explora el papel que juegan las actitudes lingüísticas de los inmigrantes en el proceso de integración y cómo estas afectan, por ejemplo, a la tendencia mayor o menor de utilizar bien sus lenguas madres bien la lengua del país receptor.*

Palabras clave: *Inmigración, integración, actitudes lingüísticas, multilingüismo, sociología del lenguaje.*

1. Introduction

Almost four decades ago, Trudgill (1974:141-144) highlighted the existence of numerous multilingual societies in the world, showing that cases of monolingualism were really scarce. Even in Europe, state monolingualism was more apparent than real. We must think that, if such was the situation in the early 1970s, to this day it can only be affirmed that such multilingualism has gone ostensibly further in the unstoppable era of globalization. This is apparent if we note the complexity of the European linguistic map outlined by Extra and Gorter (2008). The intensification of migratory movements has been a very important factor in the configuration of such multilingualism. In this sense, there has been a

significant transformation in the case of Spain where, in a matter of only a few years, an unprecedented wave of immigrants has exponentially multiplied the linguistic richness which can be traced in its streets. We must note that, while other European countries welcomed their first great wave of immigrants in the 1950s and 1960s, Spain – still immersed in a dictatorship – produced emigrants. Moreover, in Spain there is the case of the autonomous region of Andalusia, which is especially unique given its rapid transformation from a land of emigration to one of immigration. This is due to at least two reasons: (i) its geographical location, which makes it a maritime frontier between the European Union and Africa, and (ii) its socioeconomic situation, characterised by a prolonged historical backwardness affecting its development, which has only very recently been alleviated and which still exists in comparison to other Spanish regions, and even more so in comparison to the European Union.

It could be argued (Codó 2008:14) that the sudden and massive increase of immigration has generated a situation for which the country was not prepared and which poses numerous challenges to governmental bodies at different levels, including the linguistic one. In this sense, even though language is an essential piece in the jigsaw puzzle of the social integration of immigrants, the truth is that this linguistic issue has not received all the attention it deserves from political and academic circles. Let us take the work of Pérez Yruela and Rinken's *La integración de los inmigrantes en la sociedad andaluza [The Integration of Immigrants in Andalusian Society]* (2005). Even though it is a book which accounts for a thorough research project devoted to the study of the integration of immigrants in Andalusian society, it only includes a few paragraphs on the teaching of Spanish in the educational system. In relation to this, it is worth remembering that some researchers such as García Marcos (2008:150) lay emphasis on the fact that two very different aspects must be tackled as regards the linguistic aspect of immigration: the learning of Spanish on the part of the immigrants on the one hand, and the sociolinguistic location of their native languages in the host society on the other. This logically affects not only immigrant school children but also the immigrant population as a whole.

2. Objectives

Any language policy action related to immigration must start from a deep prior knowledge of this situation, something which is lacking nowadays in the case of Spain. In order to fill a part of that void, this present research

aims at investigating:

- (i) in which sense the linguistic situation of immigrants can result in an obstacle to their social integration
- (ii) in close connection with the former aim which role is represented by the linguistic attitudes adopted by the immigrants regarding their native and host languages.

This analysis will be carried out on the basis of data gathered in the city of Jaén, which is one of the eight main capital cities of the autonomous region of Andalusia. It will focus on its African population of over 18 years old. The reason for having chosen this group is that, as is stated in section 5, the African population comprises the highest percentage of non-Spanish speaking immigrants living in Jaén. As for analysing only those over 18 years old, this is due to the fact that as well as the legal complications arising from work concerning underaged children I am mostly interested in social, labour and psychological variables linked with the adult population.

3.Theoretical Framework

This research falls within the context of sociolinguistics and is in keeping with a general concern which has guided much of the work in this discipline from its outset, namely that of the relationships between language and social exclusion in the context of industrial and economic development in Western societies (Hernández Campoy and Almedia 2005:11). Nowadays this is taking shape in a palpable way in the waves of immigrants generated by globalization. Besides, in what concerns the general overview of linguistic research, speaker-focused research such as this must inevitably fall within the scope of the theoretical revolution which has been taking place since the last third of the previous century when the idealised structural-generative paradigm was superseded by the search for one of linguistics and communication (Gutiérrez Ordóñez 2002:142-143).

In the framework of sociolinguistic research, this research is specifically inserted under the topic of the sociology of language, or to use a different term (Fishman 1972; Coulmas 2003), under that of macrosociolinguistics. This is so to the extent that the analyses of aspects such as who is speaking to whom and in which language, and the social

impact of these facts are undertaken (Trudgill 1974:32-33). Additionally, from the point of view of the social psychology of language, speakers' attitudes are analysed as regards the linguistic diversity with which they coexist. Ultimately, the aim is to deepen our knowledge about the social arrangement of linguistic use, the rules which explain linguistic behaviour, and the symbolic value of linguistic facts within societies.

4. Knowledge about situations of multilingualism

As Extra and Gorter (2008:33-34) point out in reference to the European Union, the majority of efforts pertaining to the linguistic situations generated by migration flows are centred on the immigrants' acquisition of the host language. However, the attention paid to native languages is scarce, and consequently, so is our knowledge about the situation in this sense. As a result, it is not infrequent that the need for a deep analysis which allows for accurate intervention is termed as 'urgent' (Nygren-Junkin 2008:274; Barni and Bagna 2008:297). We have noted elsewhere (Fernández García 2009:71) how the growing awareness of that need has resulted in the spread of research initiatives in this direction. Such work has so far revealed the enormous linguistic variety which is being brought about by the migratory phenomenon, even in rural areas and small cities.

This situation can be clearly illustrated through comparison. According to Edwards (2008:255), all the foreign languages spoken in London amount to 300, among whose speakers there is, for example, a population of 850,000 students, and about a score of communities of speakers with over 50,000 members. Let us take the case of Jaén, whose population is about 117,000. The foreign population over 18 years old was 2997 in this city in September 2010, but, after discarding the population whose L1 is Spanish, this figure was reduced to 1604 people. So, after having questioned about 79% of these people, the number of languages among them amounts to 92.¹ Given the extremely low percentage represented by the foreign population of Jaén as compared to that of London, it is striking that the number of foreign languages spoken is not as disproportionate.

Therefore, the enormous complexity of such a linguistic map complicates the task of obtaining reliable data on a large scale. In this sense, Nygren-Junkin (2008:274) maintains that the only reasonably viable procedure is to conduct representative samples with a local scope.

¹ The list of these languages can be seen in Fernández García (2011).

Of course, this scope of action offers some advantages: namely, that it entails an amount of work which can be assumed by research teams while at the same time constituting a whole in itself from which conclusions can be drawn and actions can be suggested. It is precisely within this scope to which our research on the city of Jaén has been limited.

5. Data gathering about the city of Jaén

A research project entitled *Catálogo de lenguas y censo lingüístico de la población extranjera estable de la ciudad de Jaén [A Language Catalogue and Linguistic Census of the Stable Foreign Population in the City of Jaén]* was launched with a view to contributing to the urgent need to learn about the linguistic situations brought about by immigration. This project is currently being carried out and financed by the Regional Ministry for Innovation, Science and Technology of the Junta de Andalucía and by The European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) (P07-HUM-03057). As the title itself reveals, two aspects are developed in it: on the one hand, the catalogue classifies the languages found according to their genetic affiliation and characterises them typologically. On the other hand, the census aims at a reliable sociolinguistic examination of the different speaking collectives found.

As regards the methodology used, data gathering has been carried out through a questionnaire which has been submitted to the immigrant population over 18 years old residing in the city. It is not difficult to imagine how numerous difficulties have hindered the execution of such a task. Firstly, there is the difficulty of having to establish person-to-person contact with all immigrants and, the second difficulty corresponds to the chances of success in getting the potential respondents to agree to cooperate. It must be noted that due to legal constraints, it is not possible to have access to a list of personal data *a priori*, and the Town Hall has only supplied global population figures specifying age, gender and country of origin.

During the fieldwork (from April 2009 to December 2010), various strategies have been undertaken to search for respondents. These range from establishing contact with associations and NGOs to installing stands in official institutions (in the Foreigners' Office located in the city as well as at the University), and also to visiting all businesses and small enterprises run by foreigners. Additionally, other *ad hoc* means have been adopted to find other individuals from those groups who are less

represented among all the respondents. It is worth insisting on the importance of diversifying these strategies for searching for respondents, given the problem that a significant amount of research on the foreign population is subject to marked biases when contact with respondents is established, which in turn significantly reduces the interviewees' social range.

This present article approaches the analysis of certain items of the questionnaire, concentrating on data which can be considered partial from two perspectives: a) partial as regards geographic origin in that they refer only to the African population, which comprises the highest percentage of non-Spanish speaking immigrants living in Jaén and b) partial in the sense that the data obtained some months before the end of the questionnaire's implementation, at the beginning of September 2010, are analysed as a whole. This present analysis must thus be considered a forerunner of another global one from both the perspectives mentioned, which will be carried out in the near future. Consequently, the specific data used in this study concern the African population over 18 years old, whose population rose, according to official records, to 840 people in September 2010. Of these 546 acted as respondents, 345 having taken the standard questionnaire and 201 having answered a brief 'urgent' questionnaire. The standard questionnaire requested basic personal data, information about social and working aspects concerning both their home and host countries, information about their mother tongue(s) and other languages they had learnt, specific information about their command of the Spanish language and information about their linguistic attitudes towards their mother tongue(s) and towards Spanish. The brief 'urgent' questionnaire was used only when the conductor of this activity was worried about 'losing' a respondent, and it only requested basic personal data and information concerning their mother tongue(s). The respondents' origins include 14 countries, among which the most widely represented are Morocco (73%) and Algeria (3%) from the Maghreb and Senegal (13%), Mali (3%), and Nigeria (2%) from Sub-Saharan Africa.²

6. Obstacles in the integration process

I have discussed elsewhere (Fernández García 2009:61) how the process of integration of immigrants can be directed by the host society by

² Subsequently, the data analysed in this article correspond to the standard questionnaires. The questions corresponding to the analysed items are included in an annex at the end.

concentrating on assimilation or multiculturalism:

It has been pointed out (Extra y Yagmur, 2005: 23-24; Pitkänen, Verma and Kalekin-Fishman, 2002: 3-5) that in the European Union much importance is given to the integration of immigrants but from a rather imprecise concept of integration, which can go from assimilation to multiculturalism. Indeed, this means, in the case of assimilation, that immigrants must blur their differences regarding the new environment in which they become integrated until they conceive, in the case of multiculturalism, that these aforementioned differences constitute a value for this society which should be nurtured and maintained

From a linguistic perspective, this dilemma leads to stressing the teaching of the host language in the first case, and to promoting the preservation of the native languages in the second. It can be rightly argued that it is advisable to back an integration process which does not neglect either of these aspects. With respect to the former, the work of Remennick (2003), for example, shows how the immigrant needs to attain an adequate level of command of the target language in order to opt for a real possibility of social integration. Remenick's research on the vast collective of Russian speakers living in Israel relates their poor command of Hebrew on the one hand to their social isolation. However, on the other hand he states that it is evident that there is a significant relationship between a high linguistic competence in the host language and an improvement in the immigrants' socioeconomic position. Moreno-Fernández (2009:139), on his part, cites research which sustains that there is a general correlation between the command of the host language and the individual's income.

I will now relate the data on the respondents' occupation to their command of Spanish and their educational background. Before delving into this analysis, it must be noted that I have classified the immigrants' occupations into five groups (A, B, C, D, and E) in accordance with the parameters offered by the CNO (The National Classification of Occupations made by the Spanish National Institute of Statistics³), which distinguishes between nine.:

³<http://www.ine.es/jaxi/menu.do?type=pcaxis&path=/t40/cno11&file=inebase&L=0>

Table 1. Classification of occupations in groups

	Group A	Group B	Group C	Group D	Group E
Correspondence with CNO groups	1-2	3-4	5-8	9	unemployed

These groups can be understood as corresponding to highly-qualified (group A), medium-qualified (group B), low-qualified (group C), and non-qualified occupations (group D) with a corresponding level of income. To these a group E must be added, which includes the unemployed (I exclude those individuals who identified themselves as students, as well as a woman who stated that she was a housewife but not a job-seeker).

The first general data gathered vividly confirm the aforementioned correlation between a higher command of the target language and the possibility of obtaining a better occupation. Table 2 shows the average level of command of Spanish of the individuals belonging to each occupational group (1= low; 2= medium; 3= high):

Table 2. Correlation between occupation and average language command of Spanish

	Group A	Group B	Group C	Group D	Group E
Language command	2.71	2.50	2.31	1.88	2.09

Except for the slight rise shown by group E (i.e., the unemployed), we can observe a neat tendency according to which a better occupation (i.e., occupational group) runs parallel to a higher command of Spanish.⁴ Nonetheless, there is a relevant fact which must be noted, and that is that a higher command of Spanish is usually associated with a higher level of academic qualifications, as shown in Table 3:

Table 3. Correlation between level of academic qualifications and average language command of Spanish

	University	Secondary Education	Primary Educ./ No Studies
Language command	2.53	2.17	1.86

⁴ Furthermore, it appears logical to assume that the level of Spanish spoken by an immigrant will improve the longer he/she continues to live in Spain. Hence, the variable “length of residence” will have an indirect bearing on the securing of an improved position both socially and in the labour market.

A better command of Spanish and a higher level of academic qualifications seem to be highly relevant elements for obtaining a better social position. It is thus not surprising that Moroccans have a better employment status. They arrive with better qualifications and they have a higher command of Spanish. Table 4 shows the average qualification level of Moroccans in comparison with individuals coming from other African countries:

Table 4. Level of academic qualifications sorted by place of origin

	University	Secondary Education	Primary Educ./ No Studies
Morocco	29%	40%	31%
Rest of Africa	7%	46%	47%

As regards the average command of Spanish, Table 5 shows the correlation between level of academic qualifications and average language command, comparing the data of Moroccans to those of the other African countries:

Table 5. Correlation between level of academic qualifications and average language command sorted by place of origin

		University	Secondary Education	Primary Educ./ No Qualifications
Language Command	Morocco	2.54	2.24	2.08
	Rest of Africa	2.43	2.04	1.57

It is not only evident that the Moroccans' command of Spanish is higher, but also that the lower the individual's academic qualifications, the broader the difference is between both variables. Additionally, what seems to happen is that these facts trigger a tendency for the Moroccans to find a better occupation than other Africans, even when their levels of training and their command of Spanish are the same. Table 6 shows the percentage of individuals who have an occupation which demands a certain level of qualification, even if this is low (groups A, B, C), together with those who have a non-qualified job (group D) and those who are unemployed (group E), taking as a reference only those individuals with university studies and distinguishing Moroccans from other African natives:

Table 6. Occupational groups of individuals with university studies sorted by place of origin

	Groups A, B, C	Group D	Group E
Morocco	68%	9%	23%
The rest of Africa	14%	43%	43%

In other words, the Moroccans with university degrees, unlike the rest, tend to find a job with a certain level of qualification, even if low, and their unemployment rate could be considered 'reasonable' as compared to that of those individuals coming from other African countries. This is so even though their respective knowledge of Spanish is similar.

One could think, in relation to this, that Spain's neighbouring geographic position with the Maghreb, and particularly with Morocco, together with special ties held between the two countries in recent history, contributes to the Moroccans feeling more at home in the Spanish host country than those coming from other countries, especially the Sub-Saharanans (such as the Senegalese and Nigerians for example). This leads to the Moroccans being benefitted more easily regarding labour integration. Furthermore, one must evidently not forget the different effects of employers' racist attitudes, a complex factor which no doubt acts together with the other variables explained.

Thus, despite the fact that the data on the city of Jaén confirm the relevance of the immigrants' command of Spanish, it is no less true that it is an oversimplification to correlate the immigrants' command of the host language to their possibilities of social and working promotion, given that other variables also have a significant impact, as already explained. Consequently, this leads us to think that the sociolinguistic circumstances of the host context often pose a serious obstacle to the aspirations for social mobility which the newcomer can harbour. In the case of Spain, if we consider the typical social and working situation of a high percentage of immigrants, we will have to agree that they start from a significant disadvantage in this sense. The newly-arrived immigrant generally encounters limited options to join the workforce. Therefore, it is often the case that, under the best of assumptions, they will take low-qualified jobs which offer low social recognition. Through these, the individual joins certain types of *social networks* (Milroy and Milroy 1992) and becomes familiar with certain types of sociolects which are often socially disregarded. As a result, even individuals who might have a wide communicative repertoire in their mother tongue – and in other languages in many cases – and who might master varied registers, may be

condemned to being categorised in sociolinguistically stigmatised varieties of Spanish.

Thus it appears evident that there are some conditioning factors from the perspective of assimilation (i.e., as regards the learning of the host language). These factors foment social inequality amongst immigrants, a circumstance which can turn into an enormous obstacle to integration. But these obstacles do not only arise from the perspective of assimilation but also from that of multiculturalism. I have insisted elsewhere (Fernández García, forthcoming) on the advantages to be reaped if the educational systems of the host countries make room for the immigrants' native languages, which in the case of Spain is done only rarely. Proof of the advantages to be obtained by doing so is given, for instance, by Tannenbaum and Berkovich (2005), again as regards the Russian-speaking immigrants in Israel: the second-generation immigrants who are not taught in their native language experience an increase in the intergenerational conflicts which typically arise with the coming of adolescence.

Whether it be an awareness of the break with their culture which results from the loss of their linguistic ties, or other reasons, the truth is that immigrants are clearly willing for their children to retain these linguistic ties. In the case of the African population of Jaén, when asked whether they would be willing to allow their children to learn only Spanish and renounce their native language, 96.2% of the people questioned answered negatively, whereas only 3.8% of them expressed their willingness to do so. Out of that extremely high percentage of people who support retaining their mother tongue, the great majority argued that their main or sole reason was to retain ties with their culture of origin.

Therefore we can confirm that the majority of Africans settled in Jaén have clear aspirations to prolong their linguistic roots as part of their cultural heritage in subsequent generations. However, this wish usually clashes with a lack of appropriate channels to do so in the case of Spain. As previously noted, this negatively affects – albeit indirectly – the integration process insofar as it seems to increase family conflicts because it weakens intergenerational ties. However, this is not the only argument in favour of the maintenance of the immigrants' native languages, which can and must be supported, apparently without any doubt, in various ways. Speaking generally, there are at least three reasons for this: cultural, legal and economic reasons. From the cultural point of view, the defence of multilingualism fosters a plural society, bearing in mind that many

immigrant groups attach vital importance to their own language. From the legal viewpoint, there is a recognition of the right to retain and transmit one's own language; and from the economic point of view, this fosters knowledge which possesses enormous instrumental utility to increasingly internationalised societies. From this last perspective, Martín Rojo (2004: 20) affirms Heller's (1999) idea that the transformation of national economies (agricultural and industrial ones) into globalized economies (service and information ones) is converting multilingualism into a new and much valued asset

7. The linguistic attitudes of immigrants

Among the different aspects worth analysing as regards the social integration of immigrants, we find the essential element of their linguistic attitudes. In general, the concept of attitude can be understood as a disposition to answer either favourably or unfavourably to a given object, situation, etc. In this sense, the attitudes which immigrants show towards their own language and towards the host language can condition the integration process in a significant way. Moreover, if the public authorities show a willingness to combine assimilation and multiculturalism in the best possible way during the integration process, it is necessary to acquire adequate knowledge about the linguistic attitudes of the different collectives of immigrants who settle in a given territory. This is so because linguistic attitudes, even though individualised, also hold a psychosocial dimension, insofar as individuals are drawn by attitudes which are predominant in the groups which they enter. As Moreno-Fernández (2009:136) notes, these attitudes can be framed into the two basic paths which immigrants can take when they settle in their new community, and which are once again, assimilation vs. multiculturalism.

Immigrants generally hold an attitude of *linguistic loyalty* (Mesthrie 2001), i.e., of attachment to their native language, and they are rarely prone to abandon it, at least in the case of the first generation. Their attitude towards the host language is, however, more variable, depending on various factors. In any case, learning a second language does not imply renouncing the first, as some pro-assimilation approaches affirm (Martín Rojo 2004:34). As a matter of fact, it is possible to think that those individuals who do not consider their linguistic roots under threat may be more receptive to the host language and show a more positive attitude towards communicative convergence, whereas the opposite could provoke

a greater rejection. This second case often runs parallel to the individuals' perception that they are undergoing a process of subtractive bilingualism in which a better skill in the new language will bring about an impoverishment of competence in their native language. Hence, contrary to what one may think initially, by promoting the perseverance of the immigrants' mother tongue (a multiculturalist impetus) more positive attitudes towards the host language may be fostered (an assimilating impetus).

As regards these issues, the African population of the city of Jaén shows a positively favourable situation towards an integration progress which unites assimilation and multiculturalism, insofar as a great majority of these immigrants combine their linguistic loyalty with favourable attitudes towards the host language, Spanish. As far as the first aspect is concerned, when asked about their willingness to abandon their mother tongue to communicate only in Spanish, the figures obtained almost coincide with those previously commented on as regards their willingness to preserve their language in the second generation. 94.6% of the respondents declared themselves reluctant to abandon it, whereas 5.4% did show their willingness to do so. There are two main reasons for this great majority's unwillingness to abandon their language. From an emotional perspective, they consider that they maintain an essential tie with it (as they have always spoken it, it is linked to their culture, religion, customs, etc.). From a more practical point of view, they consider it a necessary tool to maintain contact with their relatives and with their place of origin in general.

As regards the perception which the African population of Jaén has about the Spanish language, the results in Table 7 gather global data related to the questions given to respondents about whether they wished to improve their command of Spanish, whether they liked this language, and whether they found it difficult:

Table 7. Linguistic attitudes towards Spanish

Wish to improve his/her Spanish		Likes Spanish		Finds Spanish difficult	
yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
97.4%	2.6%	97.9%	2.1%	41.2%	58.8%

As noted above, the African population of Jaén shows a strong loyalty to its linguistic origins, but this does not prove to be an obstacle for

developing positive attitudes towards the Spanish language. An overwhelming majority declare that they like it and that they wish to improve their command of it, even though 41.2% of them maintain that they find it a difficult language to learn.

As far as this last aspect is concerned, i. e., the perception of the difficulty which learning Spanish entails, only two nationalities showed a majority of respondents who considered it difficult: those from Gambia (60%), and those from Senegal (68%). This is not a minor detail, given that actions regarding linguistic policy directed towards the teaching of Spanish as L2 to immigrants should take into consideration the specific circumstances and difficulties of each group. Indeed, it is no coincidence that the countries in question are both Sub-Saharan, as they are further socioculturally and also linguistically speaking from Spain. Wolof is their native tongue in the majority of cases (it should be analysed to what extent this fact entails an added difficulty to learn Spanish, so that specific materials can be designed to overcome this problem).

Therefore, data show that a great majority of the African population of the city of Jaén favour the dual aspect of the integration process: on the one hand, this population require that this process does not forsake the multicultural focus, which seems to demand from the host society a special effort (which is an *ideological* effort above all, but also an economic one). On the other hand, it shows a compromise with assimilation, which demands a parallel effort on both parts. It is worth insisting on this last fact as this is not always the case, and in this sense certain immigrant groups show specific features beyond individual differences. For example, there is a well-known tendency for the Chinese population to form closed communities abroad, especially in the case of big cities, and person-to-person contact in a small city such as Jaén confirms the absence of a willingness to integrate in general. Thus, it is seldom the case that first-generation immigrants speak Spanish, even at a very elementary level, and it is only the second generation of immigrants, who go to school in Spain, who have a good command of it. As Beltrán and García explain (2001: 291), this self-isolation becomes important to them insofar as they believe that if they live apart from the host society they will be able to keep their culture intact, a culture which they believe is superior to the western one, including the language.

8. Use of Spanish vs. mother tongue

As aforementioned, linguistic attitudes condition to a large extent the communicative behaviour of speakers. Hence, it will be enlightening in

this respect to analyse the data on how the different groups tend to use their mother tongue and the host language: whether they tend to use the latter in the public sphere and the former in their private lives; whether they tend to maximise the use of the latter, thus progressively diminishing the use of the former; or, on the contrary, whether they aspire to use the former in the greatest possible number of contexts. It is therefore necessary, from the perspective of the communicative accommodation theory, to observe whether convergent or divergent attitudes predominate, which, as Garret (2010:106) explains, could be made patent in a number of ways, starting from the choice of language used in different communicative frameworks. In this sense, it is not only of interest to find convergent or divergent patterns among different collectives. When a convergent attitude towards the host language can be detected it is also relevant to distinguish a whether this is of an *instrumental* or an *integrating* nature (García Marcos 1999:162): when it is of an instrumental nature the convergent attitude will be fostered by a desire for social recognition and sociolinguistic progress; when it is of an integrating nature, it will respond to a real desire for identification with the cultural parameters of the host societies.

In this sense, Turrell (2001:17-18) explains the different attitudes of Maghrebi and Sub-Saharan on the one hand, and Chinese on the other. She points out that Maghrebi and Sub-Saharan immigrants are characterised by their willingness to learn the host language quickly and to become integrated socially, and their second generation counterparts tend to switch languages (constituting convergence of an integrating nature); however, at the same time she points out that they are zealous defenders of their cultural roots, including the learning of their mother tongue by their second generation descendants (as the data in section 6 confirm). Chinese immigrants (as highlighted in section 7) could spend years in Spain without having learnt even a minimum of the host language, be this Spanish or any other of the regional autonomic languages (showing an attitude of divergence). On the other hand they usually foster the learning of the host language in their children, as they are conscious of its value in their social progress (showing an attitude of instrumental convergence), although they do this without abandoning the mother tongue in the home and even reinforcing their offspring's knowledge of it with language classes in order to assure its maintenance.

Table 8 shows the general data about the habitual use of Spanish and the mother tongue in the African population of Jaén, together with

specific data on Senegal and Morocco:

Table 8. Habitual use of Spanish vs. mother tongue

	Habitual use of Spanish		Habitual use of the mother tongue	
	yes	no	yes	no
Senegal	89.3%	10.7%	96.4%	3.6%
Morocco	96.1%	3.9%	89.7%	10.3%
Global average rate	95%	5%	88.8%	11.2%

In accordance with the results analysed so far, it is not surprising that, generally, both Spanish and the mother tongue are frequently used. In other words, the African population of Jaén generally uses Spanish habitually in certain contexts (95%), but at the same time they do not renounce using their mother tongue habitually in other cases (88.8%).

On the other hand, the table includes specific data on the Moroccans and the Senegalese, the two most representative African communities in the city. The Moroccans can also be considered the representative profile of the Maghrebi immigrant and the Senegalese of the Sub-Saharan immigrant. Firstly, we can observe that the Moroccans – who have reached the highest level of integration into the workforce (section 6) – show a higher than average percentage in their habitual use of Spanish, whereas only 3.9% of them affirmed that they did not use it frequently. Secondly, the Senegalese – who find that Spanish is more difficult for them to learn (section 7) – represent double the average percentage of immigrants questioned who do not use it frequently (10.7%). Furthermore, only 3.6 % their collective admits to not using their mother tongue habitually, a percentage which is less than a third of the average (11.2%) for other immigrants; in other words, the Senegalese are less linguistically integrated, thus reversing the average results and showing a greater use of their native language (96.4%) rather than Spanish (89.3%). In the third place, it should be added that the Senegalese are not as well integrated into the workforce as the Moroccans are, and this runs parallel to the fact that the average command of Spanish of the latter is superior to that of all Africans as a whole, whereas that of the Senegalese is noticeably lower, as Table 9 shows:

Table 9. Average command of the language sorted by place of origin

Morocco	Africa	Senegal
2.28	2.13	1.75

Moving forward in this analysis, one can add that going beyond the information about the immigrants' proportional use of Spanish and the mother tongue the questionnaire has requested information about the contexts in which they use one language or the other, their perception of the purposes for which they need Spanish and also to what extent they believe their lives could change if they learnt this language better. The answers obtained are surprising to a certain extent, as contrary to what may be thought, there is not a systematic and generalized situation of diglossia: although it is true that there is a great tendency to use Spanish in the workplace and the native language at home, these data cannot be generalized as many of the respondents report a wide and diverse use of Spanish in all life contexts, without excluding the use of their mother tongue in certain situations. On the other hand, it is interesting to verify that those who do not generally use Spanish do not restrict their use of it to the workplace or to deal with administrative issues or for commerce, but likewise use it to maintain various social relationships. As far as the use of the mother tongue is concerned, they frequently answer that it is useful for communicating with their families and fellow countrymen in Jaén, and especially to contact their place of origin by telephone.

In addition to this, there is a wide awareness among respondents that a higher command of Spanish will result in an improvement of their life conditions in Jaén in general and on the employment front in particular. Therefore, it can be stated that there is a generalized attitude of convergence towards Spanish. It is used in a wide range of contexts, and there is a general willingness to improve their command of the language. Nonetheless, it is not difficult to understand that such an attitude of convergence is of a more instrumental than integrating nature in most cases. In general, immigrants are convinced that their lives will improve if they have a greater knowledge of Spanish. However, a great majority are thinking about improving their working and socioeconomic situation, and they sporadically mention the idea that they might want to attain a better command of Spanish to improve coexistence and social integration.

9. Conclusions

The migratory movements which have been taking place since the last decades of the twentieth century constitute a powerful force of change in European societies. As Codó (2008:3) explains, they have developed a multidimensional influence. Thus, even though immigrant collectives play

a highly significant socioeconomic role in our societies, the differences between their varying cultural backgrounds are no less important. And it is clear that language constitutes an essential element in this last aspect, with the general emergence of multilingual situations which were less frequent in the past. Such a transformation takes on a special meaning in a context such as that of Spain, and particularly in Andalusia, where emigration has uninterruptedly and rapidly shifted to immigration.

This present work forms part of a research project which, from the viewpoint of macrosociolinguistics, aims at improving our knowledge about the current linguistic situation in the city of Jaén. It springs from the conviction that only a deep knowledge of the sociolinguistic reality of migratory phenomena will allow us to take adequate measures in the two spheres of action where these are necessary: the host language, on the one hand, and the native languages of immigrants, on the other. It has been argued that both paths of action are directly related to the two ways whereby the host society can channel the process of integration of immigrants, namely, assimilation and multiculturalism. We have also stated that the key to a positive integration process most probably resides in the parallel development of both paths.

With this ultimate aim in mind and using a widely representative sample of respondents, some basic aspects of the sociolinguistic situation of the largest non-Spanish speaking community in the city of Jaén, the Africans, have been analysed. On the one hand, this has been done with a view to distinguishing the importance of certain linguistic factors at play in their process of integration and, on the other, to weighing up the core linguistic attitudes which this population shows towards the circumstances of linguistic contact in which they live. In the first place, the two aspects in which the linguistic factor can result in an obstacle in the process of integration have been analysed. From an assimilationist perspective, I have explored the degree to which a lower or higher command in the host language can influence the employment status which the immigrant can obtain. In this sense, the general data gathered tend to confirm the stance taken in the specialised bibliography on this subject. There is a systematic correlation between a higher command of Spanish and a better working situation, where a neat descending line which represents language command is drawn from the group with a highly qualified occupation to that of non-qualified jobs. Together with these data, I have also verified that the higher the respondents' academic qualification is, the better command of the language they have.

The conjunction of both factors explains why the Moroccans enjoy a better working situation than the average African, as they combine a higher qualification with a better command of Spanish. This fact seems to foster a tendency in Moroccan immigrants to obtain a better occupation compared to other Africans. This tendency is maintained even when qualification and language command are at the same level. Given this fact, we should therefore clarify this correlation between language command and social and working situations. This can be done by pointing out the diversity of variables at play in this case, and the way in which various conditioning factors tend to foment social inequality among immigrants. This is true to the extent that a majority of them are usually condemned from their arrival to live in sociolinguistic contexts which do not foster their social advancement.

Thus we find a first type of obstacle to the integration of immigrants from the assimilationist point of view, that is, as regards skills in the host language. Secondly, these obstacles also loom in the multiculturalist horizon. There is an overwhelming majority of respondents who expressly declare their wish to maintain the use of their native language for the next generation, as they consider it to be an essential part of their vital identity. Together with this wish, the specialised bibliography on this subject also reveals that the weakening of ties with the mother tongue in immigrant families tends to debilitate all intergenerational ties, thus increasing social unrest. Added to this are the general lack of channels in Spain which allow immigrants to maintain and develop their native languages for the next generations. It is clear, therefore, that the present scenario reveals significant obstacles to the process of integration of immigrants, even from the multiculturalist point of view.

In this sense, we must not forget the verified fact that promoting the mother tongues of immigrants seems to foster the acquisition of the host language, and is far from being an obstacle to it. This is due to a higher amount of receptiveness on the part of individuals who do not perceive their linguistic roots in danger. In other words, this fosters positive linguistic attitudes in immigrants. In this sense, it must be stated that the linguistic attitudes of the Africans living in Jaén generally appear to be suitable for an adequate process of integration which combines assimilation and multiculturalism. This is because respondents generally show high loyalty to their linguistic origins as well as an excellent predisposition to the host language. Such linguistic attitudes are reflected

in their habitual use of Spanish and of their native languages. Thus, there is a high percentage of individuals who often use Spanish, and the same can be said of those who usually speak their mother tongue. Nonetheless, in this sense there are differences on which we should ponder, such as the fact that Moroccans, with their higher than average command of Spanish and better work situation, tend to use Spanish more and their mother tongue less, whereas the Senegalese, who do not enjoy these high levels of work integration, who have a markedly lower command of Spanish and who explicitly consider it a difficult language, affirm that they habitually use their native language more than Spanish. With Morocco and Senegal being the two most demographically representative countries in the city of Jaén, these tendencies could be considered representative of the differential respective situations in which Maghrebis and Sub-Saharan find themselves. These data should definitely be taken into account when it comes to designing specific actions of linguistic policy to level the imbalance which can occur during the integration process.

The host society should not waste what definitely seems to be a significant willingness to become integrated on the part of the African population of Jaén. In this sense, the results of the questionnaires show that their use of Spanish is highly frequent as well as wide and varied. Besides a significant use of their native language, immigrants tend to use Spanish beyond the working and public spheres. Such a wide use and the wish to improve their command of the host language run parallel to the widely spread idea that a higher command of Spanish will contribute to the improvement of their standard of life. As a conclusion, it seems clear that the African population of Jaén generally seeks integration without either resisting assimilation or renouncing multiculturalism.

Annex. Items of the questionnaire analysed

The items of the questionnaire analysed in this article are the four last ones which correspond to questions 14, 15, 16 and 17. In the questionnaire they are formulated in the following way:

14. Your knowledge of and attitude towards the Spanish language:
- Level of knowledge: High Medium Low
 - Would you like to improve it? Yes No
 - Do you like the Spanish language? Yes No
 - Do you believe, generally, that Spanish is difficult? Yes No
Why?

15. Your use and expectations of the Spanish language:

- Do you habitually use Spanish? Yes No In which contexts do you do so?
- For what do you need / use Spanish?

16. Your stance and attitude towards your mother tongue:

- Do you habitually use your mother tongue? Yes No
- In what contexts do you do so?

17. Your mother tongue versus Spanish:

- Would you be willing to stop using your mother tongue and communicate exclusively in Spanish? Yes No Why?
- Would you be willing to allow your children to learn only Spanish? Yes No Why?

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