Multilingualism in Madrid
LUCIDE city report

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Summary
The purpose of this report is to explore intercultural and multilingual phenomena in the city of Madrid. It begins with a historical overview of migratory movements in the city to emphasise that such movements are not exclusive, as we sometimes tend to think, but go hand in hand with globalisation. The report is oriented towards the present and intends to depict the contemporary reality of linguistic diversity in Madrid, on the basis of the parameters used by the LUCIDE network to examine multilingualism in education, public and private spheres, economic life and urban spaces. The report comprises both primary and secondary data sources, and its results show that although there is a notable presence of languages in the city of Madrid, there are few policies and initiatives which promote such linguistic capital.

1. Introduction
In this report, we journey through the multilingual and plurilingual realities of the city of Madrid. The report is part of the activities of the LUCIDE network (Languages in Urban Communities – Integration and Diversity for Europe), funded by the European Commission’s Lifelong Learning Programme, which sets out to depict the realities of multilingualism in the network’s thirteen European cities, along with partner cities in Canada and Australia.

In Madrid, as in the other cities of the LUCIDE network, our focus is on the study of the use of languages in different spheres of life such as: the public sphere, the educational sphere, economic life, the private sphere and our urban spaces. In this report, we shall share data from the project’s interviews, and suggest that the existing diversity in Madrid is not reflected in its policies. For example, promoting the use of certain languages (mainly English) over the others and even national languages (Galician, Basque, Catalan). To overcome the obstacles described in this report, we propose several actions such as the improvement in civic participation of the immigrant population or the articulation of initiatives to encourage a positive appreciation of the linguistic and cultural wealth of Madrid.
2. History of language diversity in Madrid

The Iberian Peninsula has a unique multilingual and multicultural history in Europe. Due to its geographical location and natural wealth, this part of Europe has a rich history of historical events, heterogeneous peoples and cultures. Madrid is, of course, a part of this history, despite being considerably younger than its neighbouring cities (Toledo, Ávila, Salamanca, etc.). It bears witness to the complexity of concepts such as immigration and autochthony which can seem so simple when observed from a distance. An important part of Madrid's story stems from the historic phase prior to the rise of the nation state: a time when immigration through conquest was common. The etymology of the name of Madrid involved the unconscious cooperation of antagonistic cultures. Thus, the tiny nucleus of the original population of the 8th century, probably of German origin (Visigoth), was known in the Romance language as Matrice, meaning “stream”. The Muslim-fortified settlement which followed a century later changed its name to Magrit: a combination of magra, “lean” in Arabic meaning “channel” or “riverbed”; and the suffix –it, from Latin –etum, meaning “abundance”.

Over the centuries, as it gradually grew as an urban area, Magrit became populated with different cultures and languages, some dominating others depending on the period. In short, it can be said that during the Middle Ages, the dying Gothic language resonated at some point in the streets and living rooms; the budding romance dialects derived from vulgar Latin were spoken by the splinter Muslim groups were at the border (speaking Mozarabic, Castillian, Austurian, etc.); there was Latin worship in the churches; Sephardic and Hebrew in their Jewish quarters; Arab mosques and markets; and Berber among the city’s militia.

Muslim immigration brought with it the vast cultural heritage of the most advanced medieval civilisation which revolutionised key aspects of Spanish-Visigothic Christian society, for instance in engineering, astronomy, medicine, navigation and the textile industry. Unprecedented standards in knowledge-based education and culture promoted the appearance of significant figures in the history of Science. Interestingly, one of them, Abu-l-Qasim Maslama1, is remembered not only as an important astronomer but also as the first person from Madrid of any renown. Despite the importance of Maslama, the contribution of Madrid (a small, walled city), to the production or dissemination of Andalusian culture pales in comparison to that of neighbouring cities such as Toledo.

The end of the Reconquista and the discovery of the Americas opened a new chapter in the history of Madrid which culminated in the transfer of the court to the city during the reign of the Habsburgs in 1561. It was at this time that its population multiplied by five in just forty years (100,000 inhabitants at the end of 16th century)2. The capital was transformed from a medieval city into a European metropolis and its economy became diversified and urbanised with a marked increase in the services sector. Population growth was mainly due to internal immigration from Castile and external immigration from other Peninsular Kingdoms under imperial rule. Madrid became a recipient of numerous immigrants from all corners of the empire. As evidence of this coexistence, hospitals were built at that time to provide healthcare for the various inhabitants, and Portuguese, German and French hospitals were created.

1  http://anderbal.blogspot.com.es/2012/11/cientificos-de-al-andalus.html
French immigration deserves a special mention since it was an unprecedented and a unique phenomenon: for seven centuries, from the Middle Ages to the 20th century, there was a relative constant flow of French immigrants from the Auvergne region. They engaged in craft trades, some of more affluent ancestry owned family businesses in the textile industry, most were bakers. During the 18th century there was a cultural transformation in Madrid: the gradual abandonment of the rigour and Castilian austerity of the Habsburgs in favour of modernity and French aesthetics. The classical tradition was embraced. This transformation was led by a single immigrant: King Philip V, the first French Bourbon. During his reign and that of his two immediate successors, Madrid embarked on large urban projects. Most of them bore the signature of another foreigner, Francesco Sabatini, architect of King Charles III.

The dynasty had an appetite for luxury but was unable to set up an industry capable of procuring it. Thus, at that time, the Royal Tapestry Factory (Real Fábrica de Tapices) and the royal porcelain Factory of Buen Retiro (Real Fábrica del Buen Retiro) were converted into export industries for the manufacture of luxury goods for European Royal Houses. Their craftsmen were Dutch and Neapolitan respectively.

During the 19th century, Spain experienced a period of marked decline as its international influence waned. Its economy was adversely affected by armed conflicts to the extent that eight bankruptcies were declared between 1809 and 1882. Especially dramatic was the Spanish Republican government in exile as a result of the civil war and the subsequent Franco Repression. Many of the exiles, as well as veterans, were intellectuals, scientists, teachers, and skilled workers: a terrible loss of talent for the reconstruction of the country after the war. Their main destinations were France, Latin America (especially Mexico and Argentina) and the US. However, due to its position in the centre of the Peninsula and as the last bastion of Republican resistance, the exodus from Madrid was less pronounced than that from the other cities and provinces.

As mentioned above, the status of the country’s capital gave Madrid economic pre-eminence, attracting population flows. Through several cycles of rural exodus, Madrid experienced a huge population growth in working-class neighbourhoods. This massive internal migration of the 19th and 20th centuries, mainly from Andalucia and Extremadura, brought with it the language varieties of the South.


The deficit in the balance of migration was maintained until the 1980s. This shifted in the 1990s and the early 2000s, in line with the economic boom of the period. The recent arrival of immigrants was encouraged by the authorities with the aim of establishing a low-skilled workforce in sectors of economic growth: intensive agriculture, mining and especially construction. For instance, Madrid undertook massive public work projects such the motorway tunnel in its central zone. A forest of cranes dominated the horizon and thousands of immigrants were employed. In this extensive building site, many languages and dialects were represented, including many varieties of Castilian, as well as Romanian, Ecuadorian, Bolivian, Malinke, Bulgarian, Arabic, Filipino varieties, and many more. Currently, immigration from Latin America stands out above all others, although there have been substantial inflows from Romania. We will return to these patterns below.

The linguistic diversity of Madrid at present is difficult to measure. The city council recorded the presence of 183 different nationalities⁴. The most widely spoken foreign languages are: Romanian; Wu and Mandarin (most Chinese people living in Madrid are from the province of Zhejiang, where Wu and its dialects are the indigenous languages. Mandarin is used as a lingua franca); Moroccan; Arabic and English. Quechua varieties are used extensively among Latin American immigrants.

The most important source available on languages spoken in Madrid is the study conducted in within the framework of the Multilingual Cities European Project in 2001. The basis of the study is a survey conducted among 25,000 primary schools to find out the languages spoken in the children’s homes. In total, 60 different languages were cited (Comellas Casanova, 2008)⁵. However, this was at a relatively early stage in the immigration boom so these numbers would certainly be exceeded if the study were repeated today.

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3. Contemporary perspectives

According to the latest census (July 2012), the number of registered foreigners in Madrid was 493,738, representing 15.2% of the total population of the city. In 2011, there was a 2.57% decline compared to the previous year, while in 2012, the foreign population dropped by 9.7%. The economic crisis in the country seems to be the main reason for this decline.

The greatest decreases occurred among immigrants from within the European Union (-16.8%), particularly among French (-23.7%), Polish (-23.6%) and Bulgarian (-21.8%) migrants. However, analysing the data by country, an even greater decline occurred among those from Central American countries which recorded an overall decline of -35.5%, without indicating the specific countries, although populations from Cuba (+1.3%) and Honduras (+20.9%) registered rises. The presence of immigrants from South America in general also fell by -11.7%, in contrast to North American populations (United States, Canada and Mexico), whose numbers rose (+4.8%). Finally, the Asian population which came to settle in Madrid increased by 2% this year, while the percentage of Africans fell by 4.6%. The number of Russians in Madrid increased by 7.1% compared to 2011.

When looking at individual districts, the central district emerges as being home to the highest percentage of immigrants (24.6%), followed by the districts of Usera (21.6%), Villaverde (20.7%), Tetuán and Carabanchel (20.6%), Carabanchel (22.8%) and Tetuán (21.8%). In general, neighbourhoods that are traditionally middle/high class have a low immigrant population (for instance, the central district of Retiro, 8.4%, Chamartín, 10.8% and Salamanca, 12.2%).
Figure 1. Distribution of population by countries in Latin America and the Caribbean 1st January 2012

Retrieved 10 January 2013.
4. The LUCIDE network

This section outlines the research activities of the LUCIDE network in 2012. The LUCIDE network (Languages in Urban Communities: Integration and Diversity for Europe) is composed of university and civic partners from thirteen European cities, along with research teams from Ottawa and Melbourne. The aims of our network are to depict how communication occurs in multilingual cities and to develop ideas about how to manage multilingual citizen communities. In LUCIDE's research activities, we are therefore interested in the real-life complexities faced by individuals in various spheres and aspects of city life. The five overarching topics we have set out to explore are:

1. Good practice in the provision of language learning opportunities for immigrants: How do immigrants learn the language of the host country and how are they helped to maintain their own languages? What happens in schools and also in adult education?

2. Social inclusion: How do cities support social inclusion through linguistic support in social services, health etc. and what kind of training is desirable in these areas? What happens about translation and interpreting?

3. Neighbouring languages: How do cities provide for communication and cultural exchange with “neighbouring languages”? What do we mean by neighbouring languages in a city context?

4. Intercultural dialogue: How do cities promote intercultural dialogue and understanding by celebrating community cultures in common spaces? What is the culture of a multilingual city?

5. New patterns of migration: Do particular challenges confront cities in countries that have traditionally been countries of emigration but are now receiving many immigrants? How do they respond to this changed perspective and what is the impact on civil society?

In defining what our network understands to be ‘multilingualism’, the distinction drawn by the work of the Council of Europe (Beacco, 2007) is helpful. We therefore employ the terms ‘multilingualism’ and ‘plurilingualism’ to distinguish between societal and individual multilingualism. Multilingualism refers to societal multilingualism: the co-existence of many languages, for the purposes of this study, within a city. Plurilingualism refers to an individual’s repertoire of languages, or “the capacity of individuals to use more than one language in social communication whatever their command of those languages” (Beacco, 2007, p. 19).

Our approach to researching multilingualism and plurilingualism in our cities considers language in its communicative processes and practice rather than from a more static perspective (e.g. counting people/languages). These communicative processes and practices may be understood within a typology of language use:

- Symbolic/representational use of language (bottom-up, realities of everyday life – how we use language to send messages)
- Transactional/communicative (e.g. pragmatic use/unofficial acceptance of ML/PL by authorities on the ground, for communicative efficiency)
- Authoritative/directive (official, uni-directional, tends towards monolingualism)

Our network is involved in secondary data collection and primary data collection. These two phases of data collection were designed to feed into the content development of our network: inter alia, its seminars, workshops and city reports. We present these two phases of our research activities below.

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9 Ibid
Secondary data collection

LUCIDE partners conducted meta-surveys of recent secondary data on multilingualism/plurilingualism in the network’s cities. The aim of this phase of our research was to help create a multiplicity of up-to-date narratives on the multi/plurilingual realities of the cities in our network, referring to data related to multilingual practices, processes and products in local contexts, and to develop original research questions for the next phase of primary research. As well as the more traditional academic or policy documents on multilingualism, we were also interested in examples of multilingualism. These varied in each sphere, but included artefacts (printed/visual/digital) which illustrated the multilingual reality of the city, like websites, advertising campaigns, public or private documents (biographies, diaries, official correspondence). When surveying pre-existing data, we took a broad rather than a narrow approach when deciding what could be included in the first phase of our research. In this phase of our research activities, we focused on recent data, published in 2010 and onwards, or the most recent possible, in order to ensure that we created up-to-date and fresh narratives of languages in each city, and to help formulate valid research questions for the primary data collection phase. In collecting secondary data, we distinguished between:

(a) data on/about multilingualism/plurilingualism (censuses, academic reports, civic studies, etc., employing a wide variety of methodologies). These tended to be narrative documents, although are not necessarily official or academic.

(b) manifestations/examples of multilingualism/plurilingualism present in (or available from) each city. These visual examples were found in printed images and graphic design, TV/film, computer/software design, Internet, digital multimedia, advertising in all media, fine art and photography, fashion, architecture, design, and urban design.

Five key spheres were delineated in order to provide for comprehensive and systematic exploration of how languages are encountered, used and learned in city life. These spheres included the public sphere, economic life, the private lives of citizens, and urban spaces or the ‘cityscape’. It was decided to examine education as an individual sphere, given the focus of our network on language learning, although often it falls within the public remit. Below, we define each sphere, and outline the type of data collected by partners.

1. The **public sphere** includes:
   - Local government/municipality/city council
   - Public services (health, transport, tourism)
   - Media (television, newspapers, digital media)
   - Civic events and festivals paid from public funds

Types of data collected in this sphere included census reports, population, language and employment statistics, provision of public services, translation/interpretation services, and public broadcasting. A noteworthy example from Strasbourg is a new project within the city’s public transportation company to provide its brochures and flyers in three languages (French, German, English), and to move towards including three additional languages (Spanish, Italian, Chinese) no later than 2015.

2. The **educational sphere** includes:
   - The public school system (from day nursery to adult education)
   - Vocational education
   - Lifelong learning
   - Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) involved in formal or informal education
   - Independent/private schools (including bilingual schools)
• Complementary education (‘Saturday’ schools, language academies)

• Cultural organisations/societies/associations

Types of data collected in this sphere included data on L1s (mother tongues) or home languages of students, students’ place of birth/nationality/ethnicity, languages of education in the ‘official’ school sector, languages of education in the private school sector (e.g. international schools/complementary schools, national curriculum information. One noteworthy example from London includes a school’s decision to replace previously translated leaflets sent home to parents with the provision of interpreters who visit the school in question instead.

3. The **economic sphere** includes:

• Large local/national companies and multinationals

• Industries and manufacturing

• SMEs

• Service providers (professional services)

• Financial transactions

Types of data collected in this sphere included information from chambers of commerce and employers’ associations, labour market studies, on official/unofficial languages in companies, languages in training and in internal & external communications. A noteworthy example of a facilitative policy in the economic sphere is found in the city of Hamburg, where a decision of the city’s Senate in 2006 set the objective of providing 20% of new apprenticeships in the city’s public administration to individuals from a migrant background within five years.

4. The **private sphere** includes:

• Activities related to family, friends and social networks

• Local or city-wide activities (such as festivals) that are not initiated by the public sphere (although they may receive public funding) but organised instead by local community groups

• Services that are offered by local communities (including volunteer activities)

• Local support networks

• Religious activities and organisations/structures

Types of data in this sphere included examples of privately organised festivals, religious activities, networks of migrant groups, support groups, clubs, meeting points, meet-up groups, sports, and other cultural activities (theatre, music, etc.). A noteworthy example of a meet-up group is the ‘Language Cafe Utrecht’⁷⁰, which provides students in Utrecht the opportunity to practise languages as well as discover other cultures in a relaxed group setting, in cafés and other venues in the city, at no cost to members.

5. **Urban spaces** encompass all publically visible and audible aspects of a city, and include:

• Public signage (shops, offices, public buildings, street signs)

• Advertising (billboards, leaflets, in public transport etc.)

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⁷⁰ [http://languagecafeutrecht.blogspot.co.uk/](http://languagecafeutrecht.blogspot.co.uk/)
• Graffiti and unofficial street art
• Monuments, art, sculptures (public art)
• Instructions on vending machines, noticeboards, other publically visible interfaces
• Announcements delivered via loudspeaker/other types of ‘audio’ announcements

Types of data collected in this sphere included studies of the city’s linguistic landscape and visual culture, official signposting at airports, train stations, in public transport, digital media, and advertising languages. One noteworthy example comes from Madrid, at the Tourist Centre located in Plaza Mayor where tourist information is offered in English, French, German and Italian (in addition to Spanish) and at their website where information is also available in Chinese, Japanese and Russian.

Reporting templates were deployed in order to simplify data recording and sharing in each of the spheres. These templates captured concise information from data on/about multilingualism and plurilingualism (narrative studies/reports etc.), and examples of multilingualism and plurilingualism. Templates collected information on (a) bibliographic information, content overview, methodology and key outcomes of empirical studies and research reports, and (b) on the authors/creators of examples and artefacts, a description of the example and its place of creation/observation. Secondary data was collected and shared via an online city survey. The data generated from this phase of the network’s research activities was employed to generate overarching research questions for the primary data collection phase (semi-structured interviews), and to feed into the content development of LUCIDE’s reports, seminars, workshops and city reports. This phase of secondary research yielded a considerable quantity of data which allowed us to generate a relevant set of research questions arising from the key areas identified in a content analysis of the recent studies and examples provided by city partners. We articulated the following research hypotheses, on language visibility (audibility), affordances and challenges:

1. Visibility

• We hypothesise that some languages are more visible than others in city life, and that this visibility/invisibility is meaningful (Which languages are most/least visible/invisible? Why? How do we figure out which languages are invisible?)

• We hypothesise that sometimes, when languages are visible, the visibility operates at a symbolic level. This symbolism is seen and understood by some, and largely ignored by others. Languages which are highly visible may not be the languages in which the various transactions and policies of city life are enacted.

2. Affordances at the level of governance/policy

• We hypothesise that when cities want to encourage multilingualism/plurilingualism, meaningful linguistic diversity (projects, examples of languages in use) will emerge (e.g. diversity of public library projects)

3. Challenges/obstacles

• We hypothesise that costs/inconvenience/lack of political will/prejudices can inhibit good communication between people in multilingual cities.

• We hypothesise that there is sometimes a mismatch between policy (as it is ‘promised’, and practice or daily reality), e.g. in health service interpretation provision

• We hypothesise that language is sometimes understood to represent cultural/economic capital; we also hypothesise that there may be contradictions in some cases (e.g. an indigenous language which is important culturally but may not seem to be important economically, or vice versa)
Primary data collection

In the second phase of our research, we sought to question city respondents about the reality of multi/plurilingualism in their city, about language policy/practice, visibility, affordances and challenges. A qualitative research design was deemed the most appropriate model, given the diversity of research sites, and the importance of gathering input from key stakeholders. A semi-standardised research design based on stakeholder interviewers was created to support primary data collection in each partner city. This phase involved the targeted questioning of selected individuals in the different spheres. Interviews were administered in a variety of modes: face-to-face, over the telephone/Skype, and via email. In the case of face-to-face and telephone interviews, these were recorded (audio only) and transcribed where possible.

The types of respondents in each sphere included, where possible, two types of individuals: (i) policy-maker/influencer, and (ii) policy-implementer/user-client-recipient. Sample templates of respondent types (role, place of work etc.) were provided from two cities as guides for partners. The semi-standardised model did not specify a minimum or maximum sample size, but indicated a target of two respondents per sphere.

A template of interview questions was provided for each research team, to be adapted according to the local context and to the background of the interviewees. Interviewers were encouraged to try to ask for specific examples rather than general statements where possible, and to try to focus on comments and reflections related to respondents’ own areas of expertise (health, education, arts, retail etc.).

The core interview questions included:

- Do you think that the issue of multilingualism is a sensitive matter in Madrid?
- We’ve noticed in our study of different examples of multilingualism that some languages are more visible than others in Madrid. In your area of work, are there any particularly important or visible languages? Any neglected or less visible languages?
- The co-existence of multiple languages in a city brings with it some challenges and choices for local government and companies, for example in terms of policy decisions. Do you agree with the way that this city approaches the issue of multilingualism? Can you give an example of a recent approach that you agree or disagree with?
- There seem to be two main ways of handling language barriers when we encounter a language we don’t understand, by either using human translation/interpretation, or with language technology (in the past, dictionaries, and nowadays, with online translation for instance). In your area of expertise, how are translation/interpretation handled? Do you think it is handled well and appropriately?
- Have you recently witnessed difficulties experienced by an individual or group because of a lack of proficiency in Castilian?
- Is there any one language you think deserves a boost in use or in visibility in this Madrid?
- Sometimes, languages are used symbolically, but there isn’t really any in-depth provision for the speakers of that language. Have you any experience of this type of symbolic, ‘on the surface’ language use in your area of work/expertise?
- If you could change one thing [about languages] in Madrid?

Context and background questions were developed, to be selected and adapted as necessary by interviewees. These included:

- What is your role/position, and what type of work do you do? / What kind of agency/institution do you work for?
- How would you identify your ethnic origin?
• Do you consider yourself to be monolingual/bilingual/plurilingual?

• Which languages do you speak or interact with in (a) your personal and (b) work life?

• Would you say that you are a keen language learner?

• If you have learned other languages, what has been the most significant language learning experience for you?

Semi-structured interviews generally involve a set of questions that the researcher plans to ask, but they also allow for flexibility if new topics come up during conversation. The nature of semi-structured interviews (rather than fully structured interviews) is that researchers tend not to approach the interviewee with prepared, detailed questions in a strict order. Whilst a semi-standardised list of questions was provided for research teams, researchers could select to omit questions, adapt questions, change the order of questions, and talk about new issues during the interview. A training pack on conducting semi-structured interviews was provided for all interviewers in the network, including useful strategies for successful interviewing and guidelines on ethical research.

Informed consent was gained from all interviewees, consent given in the knowledge of the possible consequences of participating in the research. Participants were told they could withdraw from the study at any time, and did not need to give a reason, without any negative consequences for them. A short information leaflet and a letter of invitation for potential respondents were provided for participants, in order to give them time to think over whether they would like to participate or not. Empirical research that involves human subjects is subject to ethical scrutiny. LUCIDE partners committed to ensuring that their city project meets the standards for ethical research as set out by their own university or national bodies. Whilst the type of research involved in our project does not carry a high level of risk for participants, it was nevertheless important to ensure that the tenets of ethical research were fully adhered to: that a researcher should respect the people who provide the data (for example, their right to privacy), and avoid doing them any harm in the process of collecting, analysing and publishing data (for example, causing any disruptions or stress). One of the key issues considered was whether any risk, discomfort, stress or embarrassment to participants was posed by the proposed research. In cases where individuals may feel under undue pressure to participate in the proposed project (e.g. if the researcher has a close professional or personal relationship with the sample population), a gatekeeper was used as a buffer between researcher and participants, (e.g. school principal, programme coordinator).

4.1. Multilingualism and Plurilingualism in Madrid’s Schools

In this section of our report we present data related to multilingualism and plurilingualism in schools in Madrid. As already mentioned, Spain has historically been a multicultural society composed of diverse groups with different languages and cultures. Traditionally, Spain has been a nation of emigration. Nevertheless, in recent decades, the nation has experienced significant immigration that is reflected by the inclusion of a large number of foreign students in the educational system.

Recent data (CNIIE-MECD, 2011-2012)¹¹ points out that 13.4% of schoolchildren enrolled in primary education are immigrants, totalling 51,974 individuals (See Figure 2). These pupils are mostly from South America, especially Ecuador. Others come from Europe, especially Romania, while some others have relocated from Africa, particularly Morocco. However, in recent years, there has been an increase in the number of immigrants from Asia, especially China (see Figure 3). It should be noted that these data refer to nationalities, not languages, but may be useful to give an idea of linguistic diversity in our schools. Whilst it is difficult to access official data in this context, a study by Broeder and Mijares

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(2004)\(^\text{12}\) identified the use of more than 50 different languages among the students in our city and a later study by Martin and Mijares (2007)\(^\text{13}\) describes the different languages used in Madrid schools.

Figure 2. Number of immigrant pupils in Madrid schools (school year 2011-2012) (CNIE-MECD, 2012)

According to Figure 3, we could assume that approximately 50% of immigrant pupils speak some Spanish, especially the Ecuadorian variety, and also the Dominican, Peruvian, Colombian or Cuban varieties. Moreover, given the significant presence of pupils from the European Union (26%) especially from eastern European countries, languages like Romanian, Bulgarian, Polish and Russian are very common. Some European languages like English, French, German, Italian, and Portuguese are also represented in our schools. Most immigrant pupils are enrolled in state (public) schools (see Figure 4).

Figure 3. Area of origin of foreign students in Madrid schools (school year 2011-2012) (CNIE-MECD, 2012)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>26%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>13%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>50%</td>
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<td>America</td>
<td>8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>1%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: CNIE-MECD (2011-2012)

12 Broeder, P. & Mijares, L. Multilingual Madrid. Languages at home and at school. Amsterdam: European Cultural Fundation, 2004
African students represent 13% of the student population (see Figure 3). They come mostly from Morocco and their home languages include Arabic and Berber. It is worth noting the presence of other language varieties spoken in Guinea, Cameroon and Gabon. Students from Asia (8%) are mainly from China.

Figure 4. Foreign students in Madrid Schools by type of Centre 2010-11 school year. Non University Education.

These diverse backgrounds present in Madrid’s schools confirm that we live in a culturally and linguistically diverse city. It is interesting to note that whilst multicultural experiences are encouraged in Madrid’s schools through curricular and extracurricular activities, the linguistic capital is rarely supported or used in learning experiences. Teachers have not received specific training on how to manage multilingual classrooms, and often students’ first languages, which could be a source of knowledge and contribution to academic learning, seem to be ignored.

According to the study by Broeder and Mijares (2004)\textsuperscript{14}, the present linguistic richness provided by immigrant pupils is not likely to be sustained. Young people tend to only use their native language at home with their parents and usually speak Spanish with their siblings, peers and friends. In addition, their study did show some pupils regularly using their first language(s) at home, use of these languages is not encouraged in school, and without receiving explicit instruction, immigrant pupils will not acquire written competence. Broeder and Mijares (ibid.) suggest that if actions are not taken to encourage and value the co-existence of multiple languages in schools, a pattern of subtractive bilingualism seems to be the only likely outcome.

Three semi-structured interviews within the parameters of the LUCIDE project were conducted in the educational sphere, with three teachers and one social educator. Three of the four individuals interviewed believed that multilingualism is a “touchy” subject. One respondent explained that giving priority to regional languages at the expense of the state language is a sensitive issue. All the respondents agreed that the most visible languages in Madrid are Spanish and English; the less visible languages were Romanian, Bulgarian, Chinese, and Arabic.

It was interesting to see that three of the four interviewees noted that multilingualism is not addressed in any way by the educational authorities in Madrid. The fourth respondent suggested that multilingualism in education is firstly addressed by what are described as “link classes”, classrooms designed for learning Spanish as a second language (although it seems that these have largely been discontinued at the time of writing), and secondly by the implementation of a bilingual strand in schools and colleges, which was aimed at promoting the teaching of a second language (usually English or French).

Regarding the implementation of this bilingual programme in Madrid’s schools, the three teachers described concern regarding students’ cognitive ability to grasp complex concepts in a different language, which is accompanied by a tendency among teachers to simplify some notions in order for students to understand them in a foreign language. They also commented that increasing classroom time in order to learn a foreign language may be detrimental to the study of other, equally important, subjects such as art.

Whilst these comments indicate some ambivalence regarding bilingual education, teachers agreed that the use of two languages (Spanish and English) should commence in kindergarten, but they also thought that longitudinal studies of the development of children in bilingual schools were necessary. These interviews demonstrated that English is cited as the most important second language. However, noting that Madrid has officially been a ‘monolingual’ city for many years, the teachers had misgivings regarding the introduction of other languages in the school curriculum, including the English language.

To draw these comments together, our four interviewees demonstrated agreement that multilingualism has not been satisfactorily addressed by the local educational authorities; the only positive experience they mention is the bilingual classrooms. Nevertheless, they all manifested ambivalent feelings towards this model, and were unable to suggest any other positive ways of promote the learning of or interest in other languages. The results of these interviews are in a way similar to the conclusions of the previous studies in the topic mentioned above: schools and teachers are not prepared (or have not been prepared) to promote multilingualism.

### 4.2 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in the public sphere.

Given that large-scale immigration to Madrid is so recent, one would expect the political authorities to have benefited from the experience and literature that exists in similar contexts in other parts of the world. However, in the light of the poor visibility of immigrant languages in the city, it would appear that Madrid is addressing the language issue more as a linguistic challenge rather than an opportunity for growth and diversity. A linguistic ideology which perceives diversity as a threat to the nation’s political and economic objectives is reflected in the recent promotion of bilingualism in schools, largely oriented towards the learning of English. Whilst learning the language most used in the world is very positive from any point of view, the enormous effort put into this task contrasts sharply with the indifference or neglect of other languages that inhabit the shared space of the city as well as varieties which are co-official languages in other parts of the country. Our interviews reflected the tensions in the choice of favouring bilingual schools. One of the interviewees in the LUCIDE survey commented: “In the Madrid Community, the extension of bilingualism to public schools, in my opinion, is an example of a prudent policy” (UCM-EM 1).

“**Yes, we want**” (sic): Community of Madrid Campaign
The almost total absence of Catalan, Galician and Basque in the public space of the capital is paradigmatic of this hegemony of vision. These three recognised national languages can be studied in some of Madrid’s schools or centres provided by the governments of these regions. Specialist language learning of these national varieties in tertiary education has been reduced to strands subsumed within undergraduate studies in modern languages following the Bologna reform. In the UCM-EM 2 interview, the respondent expressed his disagreement with “the lack of choice in the education system to study any of the other co-official languages of the state (Basque, Catalan or Galician)”. In addition, he highlighted “the non-obligatory nature of the education system to study a second language in addition to Castilian” and “the lack of choice to study in the School of Languages of the majority migrant communities in certain areas or neighbourhoods”. The same respondent noted: “There are no training policies to make multilingualism common among the population or any policies for sensitising or raising awareness to ensure that the use of another language is not a reason for discrimination or stigmatisation” (UCM-EM 2).

Some examples of successful multilingual provision occurs in areas such as health. The publishers of such materials include the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Science and Technology. With input from university working groups, guidelines are developed for multilingual information leaflets and other linguistic resources to be distributed among the various municipalities. Groups such as PMM (Migration and Multiculturality Program) or FITISPos15, located in Spain’s public universities, produce documentation and conduct research. One of the fundamental goals of FITISPos is training and research in translation and interpretation in public services. In Spain in general and in Madrid in particular, the needs for the translation of minority languages including Sub-Saharan languages and others like Arabic appear to lack professionalism, perhaps due to limited of financial or human resources, or indeed political will. Nevertheless, there are some valuable initiatives such as EPIC (EMSI, or School of Social Mediators for Immigration in the Community of Madrid) and SEMSI (Social Mediation and Intercultural Service, part of the City Council). The Community of Madrid introduced a telephone service in 2009 to provide simultaneous translation in hospitals, available on a 24/7 basis in over 50 languages.

Madrid City Council’s publishing service, part of the ‘Observatory on Migration’16 provides annual data on the immigrant population, including a quarterly magazine, Diálogos; an annual survey on attitudes to inward migration; and two information guides for immigrants, on resources and on adjusting to life in Madrid. However, these three publications are only available in Spanish.

15 http://www2.uah.es/traduccion/
16 http://www.madrid.es/portal/es/Inicio/Ayuntamiento/Servicios-Sociales/Inmigracion/Madrid-Convive?vgnextfmt=defaul ult&vgnextoid=43bd3f69e269f010VgnVCM2000000c205a0aRCRD&vgnextchannel=d33d9ad016e07010VgnVCM100000dc0ca8c0R CRD&idCapitulo=5516621
The City administration offers legal guidance and employment services for new arrivals as well as the provision of Spanish language classes. The language services are extremely precarious. Based in two offices in Madrid, a total of eleven language classes are in operation. Ten of these are at the beginner A1 and A2 proficiency levels; only one class is provided for more proficient speakers at B1 level. Information provided only in Spanish. The bulk of Spanish language teaching in Madrid seems to be carried out by NGOs, trade unions and some private foundations, often with limited resources. We will return to such language provision below in considering multilingualism in the private sphere.

The government of the Community of Madrid, unlike the City Council, offers an online portal for new arrivals to Madrid entitled ‘InmigraMadrid’, which provides information on health, employment, education and other services in Spanish, English, French and Romanian. CEPI centres (Centres for Participation and Integration) supported by the Community of Madrid are organised by ethnic groups (Spanish-Moroccan, Spanish-Bolivian etc.) function as intercultural meeting points between old and new residents, and provide training, counselling and sporting activities.

It would appear that the only sector that has made efforts to provide multilingual services is the tourism sector, particularly with regard to public transport. Services and documentation are provided in a range of languages but especially in English. In the suburban rail network, in the subway and bus lines to the airport, all voice-overs are provided in both English and Spanish. Tourist information maps are also available in various languages and can be obtained at the city’s Tourist Offices.

4.3. Multilingualism and plurilingualism in the economic sphere

Languages play an important role in certain sectors of economic activity of Madrid, which is evident especially in the presence of workers and foreign companies of countries whose language is not Spanish, international companies and international activity of domestic companies, foreign-owned companies, job vacancies, training sector dedicated to the teaching of languages and the tourism sector.

Languages and employment

According to an estimate by Arce and Mahía (2010, 1)

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immigrants have made a significant impact on the GDP of the Madrid region, especially taking into account the arrival of more than one million immigrants between 2000-2007. Arce and Mahía analysed two aspects of Madrid’s economy arising from the integration of new arrivals. First, the “production effect” due to the integration of these workers in the labour market, and second, the “induced demand effect” referring to the increased consumption generated by their presence. The authors estimated the production effect of the total labour production at 8.93% in 2007, and the induced demand effect at 1.63%. This means that the presence of immigrants in the labour market provides a net contribution to the economy as well as generating economic activity.

Language proficiency for communication or performance of professional activity plays a very important role in accessing employment. Proficiency in Spanish (in the case of immigrants), and knowledge of other languages (for the locals), is an increasingly common requirement in job vacancies published in newspapers and specialist websites. Rodríguez Rodríguez (2007)

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published the results of a study conducted to analyse the mismatch between training and employment in the immigrant population of the Community of Madrid, where he studied the level of knowledge of Spanish among the two largest groups of non-Spanish speaking populations in Madrid: Romanians and Moroccans. The results showed a clear mismatch between education and employment among immigrant populations and revealed their perceived lack of

18 Rodríguez, Vicente, coord., Inmigración, formación y empleo en la comunidad de Madrid, Madrid, Consejo Económico y Social, 2008: 133
knowledge of the language as one of the main obstacles to finding work.

According to Gallardo, Satué, of Amo and Sereno (2011)¹⁹, in an interview with different managers of specialist companies on job vacancies, English is the language most demanded by companies, followed by French, and (recently on the rise) German, as a result of job opportunities. Firstly, Languages such as Chinese and Portuguese are in demand for commercial activities in the construction sector. There is also a demand for Romanian and Polish due to the expansion of commercial activities and investment in these countries by Spanish companies.

Some of the examples of announcements of job vacancies published in specialised websites show the demand for knowledge of the following languages:

- "Trilingual Accountant – German and English. Madrid. €25,000 to €35,000 per year"
- "Recognised consulting firm located in the centre of Madrid seeking a Tax Advisor/Accountant for immediate employment. Fluency in German and English (other languages an added advantage) necessary"

Knowledge of several languages is becoming a professional requirement even for entry-level jobs and traineeships. The current economic crisis in Spain is obliging the citizens of Madrid to see knowledge of other languages as key to their employability, especially if one takes into account that three out of every four job vacancies in Europe are currently based in Germany, France and the United Kingdom. According to data published by EURES, these three countries provide more than 600,000 jobs, representing 70% of the employment offered in the 30 countries connected to the European network. The economic situation facing Spain has caused many Spanish companies to refocus their activities and seek to do business in other countries. This movement towards international markets has led many companies based in Madrid to look for workers who are fluent in English as an international lingua franca or those with profiles that include command of the language of the country of destination or action/contract. Hence many job vacancies for companies based in Madrid stipulate that candidates must have knowledge of other languages.

Furthermore, the largest percentage of international companies in the region is based in Madrid and it receives numerous investment projects from foreign companies that involve the creation and maintenance of direct jobs. The main geographical origin of these projects are the United States, Germany, the UK and France, with the result that employees with a knowledge of English and French are required for these companies’ business activities even though they are located in Madrid. As one interviewee commented:

"English is the most used language in my work environment. The international expansion taking place in the company where I work is mainly in the Anglo-Saxon or Ibero-American speaking countries. Therefore, both in written and spoken communication, English is the language other than Spanish which is mostly used. In the recent past, French was also required (for a project in Algeria), but to a lesser extent than English."

The teaching of languages in the city of Madrid is a dynamic sector of activity, which is being reconfigured to respond to market demands. Language learning is an on-going concern in the education of Spanish citizens. Despite the fact that the Spanish study English as a second language in school from an early age, there are difficulties with their ultimate levels of achievement. The program of bilingual schools mentioned earlier seeks to address this situation. The city of Madrid also provides language learning through centres such as the British Institute, German College, French High School and Italian Lyceum. The activities of the Chamber of Commerce of Madrid confirm the importance of the knowledge of languages in the professional field. This organisation offers many languages course oriented towards business: English, German, Chinese, Russian, French, Italian, Portuguese, Japanese and Arabic. Companies also try to encourage language learning among their employees. Data published in the work of Sanz and Méndez (2007) show that among companies in Madrid, one of the largest items of expenditure on staff training is languages.

Another economic sector linked to languages in the city of Madrid is the tourism sector, which requires professionals with language skills in hotel establishments, catering and all tourist centres. Madrid receives almost 10 million visitors per year, making it the fifth most visited European capital. Such activity plays an important role in the economy of the city since it is estimated that the average expenditure per tourist per stay is just over €1,000. The main countries of origin for tourists are France, Italy and the UK, and this influences the presence of these languages at sites of interest, although English dominates in the sector overall. Unlike the other sectors where Madrid’s City Council website only provides information in Spanish, in the case of tourism, its website is provided in six languages: Spanish, French, English, Chinese, Japanese and Russian.

4.4. Multilingualism in the private sphere

The development of a dynamic and multilingual network of private and voluntary associations in Madrid is a fairly recent phenomenon which accompanied the increase in migration from 2000 onwards. The main aim of many of these associations is to foster and promote the integration process, by supporting members through training, counselling or legal services or by providing a space to maintain customs and traditions. In short, they give voice and visibility to immigrants who claim their role as citizens, and contribute to the construction of an intercultural society, understood as a place of co-existence and democratic space between cultures. This section considers some significant immigrant associations, known as Immigrant Participation and Integration Centres (CEPIs), mentioned briefly earlier.

The Spanish-Moroccan Centre

This centre, which is managed by the “La Rueca” Association, has been designed as a social and cultural support centre to help with the integration of immigrant population with particular focus on the Moroccan community. Its main aim is to promote Arabic and Moroccan culture and traditions among the population of Madrid, and to create a space for cultural exchange, develop public participation and facilitate true multicultural relations in the neighbourhoods of the city where Moroccans have a major presence.

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The Spanish-Romanian Centre

The Spanish-Romanian Centre informs Romanian and other immigrants about the resources available in Madrid to address their problems and concerns. It offers an interesting socio-cultural space to facilitate the integration of Romanians into the society of Madrid. It also promotes leisure, cultural and sporting activities.

The Spanish-African Centre

This centre offers many services, such as job search workshops, occupational courses in geriatrics, construction, hairdressing, Spanish and African cuisine, crafts, dressmaking, African dance and Spanish language improvement. It also organises information sessions to raise the awareness of Madrid citizens about the African countries and people and enables the immigrants to get to know Madrid better. The centre also has spaces for art exhibitions and audio-visual projects on different Spanish and African cultural themes.

The Spanish-Bulgarian Centre

This centre, managed by the Bulgarian-Spanish Association “Cirilo y Metodio” created in April 2006, has the aim of promoting social and cultural ideas and helping the Bulgarian community residing in Madrid with their social, cultural and professional integration into local society, as well as the preservation of Bulgarian identity.

The centre’s main work is to provide legal, professional and social assistance. It facilitates information and guidance on administrative processes and basic issues of integration. It offers training courses, help and advice for job application. It organises talks, seminars, conferences and debates on intercultural integration. It also sets up celebrations of important Bulgarian festivals and promotes the relations and social networks between Bulgaria and Spain.

Regarding important festivals organised by groups of immigrants in Madrid, it is worth mentioning the celebration of the arrival of the Chinese New Year with various colourful and attractive activities. According to the lunar calendar, every year the Chinese community, numbering more than 30,000 in the capital, celebrate this traditional festivity, also known as Spring Festival, which marks the end of the winter season and the beginning of the crop planting cycle.

Normally it is celebrated with a great parade in the very heart of Madrid, marching from Puerta del Sol to Plaza de España, with a colourful display of lions and dragons dancing along the street, traditional costumes, red lanterns, noisy drums and gongs, musical shows and martial arts demonstrations. This spectacular event, which has become a kind of multicultural forum with more and more locals, immigrants and tourists from many different nationalities enjoying it, is a meaningful example of the growing integration and knowledge of the Chinese culture in Madrid’s wider society.
Madrid offers a variety of language exchange opportunities. Some of these just involve people sitting down for a chat, others focus on debates and conferences. Whatever their choice, everyone has the same thing in mind: to have a good time and practise their language skills.

**Beer Station:** Decorated in the style of an old train station, this international beer bar is renowned for its cosy atmosphere and long beer list. They host weekly performances with live concerts and stand-up comedy (some shows are in English, with native comedians), but Thursdays are for late-night language exchanges. Café Madrid is another beautiful classical café which offers language exchanges on Wednesdays and Thursdays after 9.30pm.

**The James Joyce Irish Pub:** This pub is named after the Irish writer, but the establishment has much more to offer than just drinks and food. Sundays are for language exchanges (with a moderator), and on Mondays, visitors can debate in English about literature, politics and other engaging topics. Two other Irish pubs, Moore's and O'Neill's, also offer language exchanges.

**Grazie Mille:** the genuine taste of Italy in Madrid with a menu that will delight the most demanding palates. On Wednesdays, they set language exchanges to chill-out music, with an international fun atmosphere and free Italian snacks. On Thursdays it’s Erasmus Night, an opportunity to speak the many languages of Madrid’s exchange students.

**J&J Books and Coffee:** Coffee and books go hand in hand in this establishment because you can choose a book from the shelf and leaf through it over a cup of tea. They host Spanish-English exchanges on Wednesdays and Thursdays. There is a Quiz Night on Fridays, with questions and answers in English.

**Downtown Madrid:** a cute bar with contemporary music and a soft spot for hits from the 80s and 90s that sometimes hosts stand-up performances. Thursdays are for cultural exchange: English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish are always on the list.

Apart from these locations, there are a number of language exchange groups in the city. MadridBabel (http://www.madridbabel.es/) is an international cultural exchange group that provides the opportunity to practice a wide range of languages among people from all over the world as well as create a comfortable and friendly environment to make new acquaintances in Madrid. MadridBabel organises two weekly international encounters at Café Galdós.

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22 Source: http://www.esmadrid.com/es/portal.do
In addition to the two weekly encounters, MadridBabel organises many other events in Madrid and surrounding areas. These include going through original version of films (with subtitles in Spanish), international dinners and tapas at a variety of restaurants and bars, excursions, trips, sports, cultural visits, wine tastings, etc. MadridBabel has been awarded with the prize “Best Intercambio of the Year” by the European Vibe Magazine, and they have the recognition and participation of the Madrid Visitors & Convention Bureau. Café Tandem (http://www.cafetandem.com) is an online community that organises get-togethers to practice as many languages as possible, including English, French, German and Spanish. Meet-ups take place in a different location in Madrid every week. Lingua2 (www.lingua2.eu) is an online community with more than 250 enrolled members who exchange language activities in Spanish, English, German, Portuguese, Russian, Italian, French, Chinese and Japanese.

4.5 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in urban spaces

The cityscapes of Madrid respond to different phenomena that have transformed the city and owe their origin to various causes (Muñoz Carrobles, 2010). On one hand, the multilingual manifestations of the “official face” of the city, essentially linked to tourism, a major source of income in Spain and with a clear impact on Madrid as the capital. The most obvious manifestation is found at the Tourist Centre located in Plaza Mayor. With a staff who are experts in tourism and languages, they provide information on a range of cultural and leisure activities offered by the city. The resources made available to tourists are also designed with a plurality of languages as a criterion: a complete collection of audio guides in English, French German and Italian (in addition to Spanish) and the website http://www.esMADRID.com are available in Chinese, Japanese and Russian as well as in the languages already indicated. The range of services is also centred on multilingualism and the specific needs of tourists such as police procedures, credit card cancellation, contact with embassies and consulates are also offered in different languages.

The impact of tourism on the multilingual dimension of the urban space is clearest in the signalling of cultural spaces: road signs, public buildings, monuments, signposting are all designed to guide tourists through the city’s main sights.
Businesses, primarily in the hospitality industry and trade, are the other areas concerned: restaurant offers, names of foreign shops etc. can all be found in English. This is also driven by the effect of globalisation, which occasionally uses languages as an image of exclusivity and sophistication. This is more than a manifestation of multiculturalism existing in the city.

However, it is the “unofficial” face of the city which integrates the maximum variety of languages and shows a level of inclusion in everyday life that does not occur in the previous dimension. With immigration at the origin and centre of this scenario, it is in this area where minority languages emerge with little presence in the official linguistic landscape: Romanian, Polish, Chinese, Bengali, Senegalese, Arabic and so forth.

Many businesses and restaurants have emerged to meet the needs of the local population and are managed by and directed towards customers of a specific nationality. An example of this is the Leganitos Street which hosts nearly 20 Chinese establishments offering different services (hairdressers, driving schools, food shops, restaurants, other businesses, etc.).

Areas such as Usera or Lavapiés are neighbourhoods where different languages co-exist and make their presence felt on shop signs, posters and other signage. Lavapiés is perceived as a neighbourhood by local citizens but has no official administrative delimitation, belonging to the Central District of Madrid which is home to the highest percentage of Madrid's immigrant population. Its origins were as a Jewish Quarter and it has, therefore, historically always been a part of the outskirts of the city, identified as a space receiving immigrants and marginal populations. After the Spanish Civil War, it became a district welcoming socially excluded people and people from the losing side of the Civil War and eventually received the highest percentage of rural immigrants of any area in Madrid. This internal immigration was supplanted by outside immigration from the 1980s: Cubans, Argentine exiles and Moroccan immigrants making it “one of the first neighbourhoods in Madrid to receive foreign populations and among those with the highest percentage of non-EU immigration in the capital. (In February 2010, according to the municipal census data, the percentage of foreign residents in the Embajadores District was 33.3%, well above the Madrid average which is around 17.2%)” (Peñalta, 2010).

Multilingualism is not only manifested in signs and posters but in the language that fills the urban space through the different cultural events promoted by various groups. The celebration on the occasion of the Chinese New Year is organised by the Chinese Merchants’ Association of Spain and the La Corrala Neighbours Association; the celebration becomes a real mix of nationalities: Chinese, Arab, Africans and Spanish share the festival through the streets dressed in red, lanterns, dragons and ideograms meaning “Good Luck” and “Spring.” The whole neighbourhood participates in the chimes at 5 pm, shouting “KUNG HEI FAT CHOI!”

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25 Ibid
But the Chinese Community is not the only one that occupies the urban space to share their culture. The Bengali community is also visible.

This poster advertised an initiative of the APA Public School, Santa María in Lavapiés, with the support of Imagine India (Indian Film Festival) and Casa Asia: it was a recital in which children of Spanish and Bengali families shared the joint reading of Tagore texts.

The axis of change of the city of Madrid is therefore determined not only by opening up to Europe and the rest of the world as a result of globalisation, but also due to a change in its migration dynamics. Being the centre of internal immigration, Spanish towns and other provinces, it has also accommodated a large number of people from a large number of different countries, many of them with languages and alphabets completely different from Spanish. This change has generated a double linguistic impact resulting in two different landscapes: on one hand, the “official face” that accommodates primarily European languages with the strong presence of English; and on the other, the “unofficial” space, resulting from immigration languages which have a greater impact in the urban area, with much more influence on the dimensions of urban space and life than the former. As a result of this change, the Transforming Madrid Initiative has recently been launched (driven from the Madrid College of Architects (COAM), a platform that brings together eleven groups of architects of the city whose first proposal is to make a model showing the major transformations the city has undergone in the last decade and their vital consequences.
5. Analysis of the main topics for discussion

This section considers the many languages present in Madrid in light of the data collected during the LUCIDE project under five key themes.

Language teaching for immigrants:

✔ There are few classroom experiences of initiatives that encourage the maintenance of the languages of the countries of origin of immigrant students. Whilst multiculturalism is promoted through activities and resources (sharing of cultures, religious differences, food, festivals etc.), multiculturalism does not translate into multilingualism in the classroom. The only experience in this regard is that of the bilingual schools promoted by the Community of Madrid but always from a model centred on two languages and with a clear predominance of English as a second language.

✔ Underlying this trend is the belief among teachers that the best way of integrating immigrants is through a good knowledge of the language of the host country. This means that they often promote the exclusive use of the language of the host country at all times with the aim of improving their language skills and hence their integration.

✔ This trend also applies to the different national varieties of Spanish and in the same way, there is a tendency not to accept other varieties of the language in the classroom, (Ecuadorian, Peruvian, Mexican, Colombian etc.).

✔ With regard to adult education, there are two distinct trends. On one hand, the low-income immigrant population which does not take any training in the language of the host country. These people do not normally engage in jobs requiring linguistic competence but somehow possess some basic language skills that enable them to manage socially. They do not have the time, desire, or financial resources to improve their general language proficiency. In their private sphere, these groups just get along within their own social circles and therefore maintain their language of origin. This concentration in their own communities has also allowed them to develop businesses that target the needs of their own group and managed by themselves and where they hire people of the same nationality and language. This contributes to the plurality of languages in the city but not the development of multilingual situations: the different nationalities share urban spaces but in monolingual or bilingual communities.

✔ And on the other hand, the supply and demand for language learning among European immigrants, who are mostly students, is high. This group is made up of different social, cultural and economic profiles than the one above. In most cases, they are just passing through, with no intention of residing here in the medium or long term. As part of their life experience, they understand that learning the language of the country in which they live is important as well as the relationship with other people who are in the same situation. Within this group, there are prolific examples of multilingual initiatives organised on an informal basis and during their free time (meetings in bars, social networks, organisation of joint activities, etc.). Like the previous case, this also occurs in the private sphere.

Social Inclusion and Language Support in Social Services:

✔ There are some initiatives in Madrid to address some basic needs in the health and legal fields but are insufficient and with the current economic situation and cuts that are being implemented, they are being depleted even further.

✔ Tourism is the only area in which there is an involvement of the public sphere in the promotion of multilingualism. It is clearly manifested in the efforts made by the City Council to articulate material and human resources for tourism as well as offering translation and interpretation services to visitors to the city.
Cultural and Communicative Exchange with the “neighbouring languages”:

✔ Madrid is not a city where different languages co-exist in the sense of a historically bilingual city. This reality is also reflected in the very low presence of other autonomous languages (Catalán, Basque, or Galician), co-official languages of the State. These languages are present in the city life, but there is little communicative exchange between the language communities.

Intercultural Dialogue through cultural events in public spaces:

✔ Cultural events in public spaces emerge from immigrants themselves and, in Madrid, these are generally promoted from within private sphere. Institutional involvement or backing comes only when they have already emerged as successful initiatives and only then are they promoted and supported by the government.

New immigration patterns:

✔ Madrid, given its historical and social circumstances, has grown from a city of emigrants to accommodate substantial immigration in the last decade. This has made the city a multilingual space but it is still far from turning this diversity of languages into an actual phenomenon of multilingualism. Although it is an open, friendly and international tourist city, it is not as warm and welcoming to immigrants, especially those from marginal and minority groups or certain nationalities.

✔ The presence of immigrants in the city in all its dimensions has not produced a parallel development in the presence and co-existence of their languages. There is a two-tier development here: the top tier includes multilingualism where traditional European languages (English, French, German and Italian) are present. The second tier integrates multilingualism represented by less successful immigrant groups (Romanian, Moroccan, Bengali, Senegalese, Nigerian, etc.), where their languages are not recognized as resources for themselves or for others.

✔ A case of differential development has occurred with Chinese. Although it began as a minority language within the lower tier, the progressive conversion of China as an economic power and the rise of its businesses in the city of Madrid have made Mandarin a highly coveted language. A similar case has occurred with German which, despite being a European language, has traditionally been relegated to third place behind English and French. However, due to the employment opportunities associated with the German economy at the moment, it has also experienced a sharp increase in demand.

✔ Linked to the above, the economic crisis Spain is currently facing obliges the citizens of Madrid to consider knowledge of other languages as key to employability, especially if one takes into account that currently three out of every four job vacancies in the European Union are located in Germany, France and the United Kingdom.
6. Conclusion

The following final section traces the lines of multilingualism in Madrid and establishes some proposals for improvements aimed at the development, promotion, and strengthening of multilingualism in the city:

✔ Policies and actions to foster increased language learning and use have been implemented but they are recent, and overly focused on bilingualism with English as a second language. Their impact over the medium/long term is yet to be determined. However, these initiatives, and especially those applied in education, are clearly creating the need to learn other languages and sensitise the population towards the importance of language learning.

✔ In the final analysis and according to the typology of the use of language established in the focus of our study, we conclude that in Madrid:

- With regard to symbolic and representational use of language, the everyday life of the city of Madrid shows the existence of a vast diversity of nationalities and languages (including alphabets), but little co-existence between them. The languages are next to each other but there are few initiatives to share this linguistic diversity in public spaces.

- With regard to transactional and communicative use, multilingual language practices are not frequently used for the transmission of ideas born with communicative intent or by the authorities or among immigrant groups.

- Among the latter, multilingualism is widely used as an element of cultural dissemination (to transmit culture to the community and other citizens), and as an instrument for discussion and exchange of ideas and contents.

- And finally, regarding authoritative and directive use, the trend is for monolingualism, with Spanish as the only official language of communication even when it comes to disseminating information, resources and services to immigrant groups whose languages of origin are not Spanish. Openness to other languages only manifests from an approach to bilingualism with a strong presence of English as a second language.

✔ Given these points, we propose that it is vital to consider:

- Providing greater public visibility to the multilingualism that exists in the city of Madrid: it is necessary to articulate specific actions to disseminate initiatives for different nationalities in other languages which emerge from the private sphere and promote them in public spaces (for instance, on the website of the City Council, cultural centres etc.)

- Creating channels of participation for the immigrant population: public organisations must collect and respond to the linguistic needs of immigrant citizens, offering specific resources and services in a variety of languages. Otherwise, they will undermine their effectiveness.

- Articulating information and training activities on the diversity of languages in two directions:
  - On the Spanish language as an instrument of integration for immigrant groups.
  - On the different languages of origin of immigrant populations residing in Madrid in order to increase their visibility; increase the knowledge and understanding of these languages among citizens in general; promote the maintenance of immigrant groups and co-existence of the different languages in urban spaces.

- Defining actions for the promotion of minority languages in the city of Madrid, to promote a parallel development of multilingualism linked to tourism with more institutional support and dissemination.

- Ensuring institutional support of initiatives for multilingualism emerging in the private sphere, by giving them
greater visibility and integrating them in the different dimensions of cultural and social life of the city.

- Strengthening language support services in civil society with special attention to areas which recognise the basic rights of citizens: education, health and the legal field.
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Multilingualism in Dublin: LUCIDE city report (AUGUST 2013)

By Lorna Carson, Sarah McMonagle, Deirdre Murphy