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The case of Spain**

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

Over the last decades, questions about managing linguistic pluralism and multilingualism have become a major political and scholarly concern. Linguistic diversity constitutes a salient dimension of the new social and political contexts of complex cultural diversity or 'super-diversity' (Vertovec 2007). Thus, a great political challenge emerges in the articulation of the functional character of different languages as a medium of social integration and of expression of collective identities.

In contexts of plurilingualism, the distribution of linguistic rights has to do with which linguistic communities, out of those co-existing in the private sphere, find recognition in the public domain. The extent to which different vehicular languages, taken as the languages used for communication among people that may have different or more than one mother tongues, may become part of a common or standardized communicative framework depends upon how linguistic policies are defined. Yet, language has both an instrumental and an expressive dimension. Whereas from an instrumental perspective, language is primarily understood as a medium that denominates things and facts, allowing thus people to communicate, the expressive aspects are crucial to how the members of a community conceive of themselves and frame their way of life (Taylor 1985). The instrumental and expressive dimensions cannot be separated easily; nor can one be reduced to the other. Linguistic policies need to be sensitive to both. However, managing the relationship between these two dimensions of language appears to be a terrain of dispute, in particular when subject to multiple political levels and actors:

*Under democratic conditions, language policy is not only a tool for establishing an extensive frame of communication but it is also directed towards protecting the status or the "honour" of the members of the linguistic community and overcoming collective resentment in institutional contexts marked by cultural heterogeneity (Kraus 2008, 77).*

Language is a key component of citizenship rights in a double sense. First, linguistic rights largely enable the exercise of other citizenship rights due to the ubiquity of language in all dimensions of collective life, and second, they strongly facilitate the configuration of a shared sense of community since social cohesion is not possible among a community that cannot speak fluently. Yet citizenship is a multi-layered phenomenon (Kymlicka 1995; Yuval-Davis 1999), which clearly exceeds the limits of the nation state, and has relevant developments at the sub-national level. Building on this assumption, the objective of this paper is to assess whether and how the current Spanish political regime has managed to accommodate the various linguistic communities, which in some cases overlap with the formal limits of the sub-national units, i.e. the autonomous communities (regional governments), whereas in others they do not coincide at all. More specifically, this paper aims to disentangle the political dilemmas and multifaceted claims regarding linguistic policies in Spain, being this a rather complex and subtle policy area in which multiple layers of national identity, social conflict and value formation converge. Additionally, linguistic policy often creates political tensions in the territory, not only across the national and regional levels, but also within the regional arena itself. Given these circumstances, the nature of linguistic conflicts and their political underpinnings have continuously generated controversy in both scholarly and policy debates in Spain.

There are four official languages in Spain, but only Castilian is official in the entire territory. Basque, Catalan and Galician are only co-official in certain regions, i.e. autonomous communities, and thus subject to a specific legal framework. Each of these languages, in turn, entails particular conflicts and debates in terms of which linguistic policy to follow, on the one hand, and of how to balance the use of these various languages, on the other. In addition, there are minorities in other regions, placed in well-defined territorial areas, which use any of these co-official languages, enjoying lower and dissimilar levels of protection. Finally, during the 2000s Spain received several millions of migrants



coming from different countries of the world, enriching thus the linguistic diversity of the country, while also creating new challenges for already existing linguistic policies and legal frameworks. Furthermore, in recent decades the push for globalization added pressure to acquire a third language, making it still more difficult to keep the fragile equilibriums in place within and across regions.

A main outcome of this paper is that the linguistic policies established in Spain to manage the diversity of languages that exist at multiple levels since democratization are constantly exposed to political conflicts. This is because they occur at the crossroads where different types of communities interact (*a la Kymlicka*). First, these '*linguistic communities*' are not always a majority in the regions where they are placed, and obviously they are a minority all-together in respect to Castilian. These linguistic communities call for recognition, linguistic rights and guarantees, including affirmative action. Second, in a number of cases they coincide with '*sub-national communities*'. These have their own identities – relying on regional institutions and policies in many areas – and which implement linguistic policies to support co-official languages to assure and expand their use vis-à-vis the use of Castilian, as far as the linguistic preferences of the majority of the population and their capabilities would allow in the short run. Third, Castilian has a powerful but undefined status in Spain: a *linguae francae* for some, a linguistic community of a majority of the population, and a '*nation-state*' language in many respects. In all, there is not a consensus on the role of Castilian, which all linguistic communities in Spain accept. Finally, there are '*migrant communities*' – internal movers, European Union (EU) movers and third-country nationals. These have expanded enormously all over the Spanish territory during the last decades, and have thus come to share spaces with most of the already existing '*linguistic communities*', while also reshaping the sociolinguistic context to some extent. This third type of community requires a different set of policies, whose implementation lie in the hands of national and sub-national or local governments, and which should be attentive to multiculturalism and ethnic diversity, including but also going beyond linguistic issues.

A number of sub-national governments in Spain face the challenge of addressing various linguistic communities and their claims. Their policies and models attempt thus to accommodate pressures arising from different organized actors and social groups. Whereas the national government's policies would favour the *status quo* where Castilian remains as the dominant language, or develop policies to expand Castilian across the map, we expect some constituencies to support political parties defending policies that attempt to strengthen co-official languages. To the extent that they are politically organized, immigrant communities might also ask for linguistic protection, multiculturalists' rights and direct support to their cultural activities, depending on the social context and existing cleavages. Given this social and cultural complexity, defining a political strategy capable of keeping linguistic policies away from political conflict seems rather impossible.

To clarify the political dilemmas emerging from these issues, the empirical part of this paper focuses on the identification of claims made in the public sphere by representatives of any of the linguistic communities that coexist at the sub-national level in Spain regarding linguistic rights of citizens (increasing rights, protection of existing rights and claims against discrimination). Our analysis delves into four Spanish regions: Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, the Basque Country and Galicia, each of which displays very different characteristics regarding their sociolinguistic situation. In our analysis, we look more closely into the linguistic claims made in recent years (from 2005 onwards) by different actors involved in linguistic conflicts, with a particular focus on the areas of public education, media and the public space. We make use of media and document inquiry mechanisms. This information constitutes the empirical basis upon which we then provide a comparative assessment of the selected regions. We expect to find variation across the cases regarding the extent to which political and social conflicts increased, or on the contrary, they turned out to be cases of accommodation and claim reduction. Under which circumstances each of the cases falls is a matter of discussion in the



comparative analysis, while the extent to which these responses can be transferred to the EU level are assessed in a specific section.

## 2 ON LINGUISTIC PLURALISM AND MULTILINGUALISM

Over the last decades, questions of linguistic pluralism and multilingualism have become a major concern in research on cultural claims and conflicts in ethnic and multinational polities.

Most often, linguistic diversity is acknowledged as a place of cultural mixture, a challenge for identity-building processes and a source of tension between individual and collective cultural rights. Nevertheless, whereas most literature assumes a sociolinguistic perspective and, to a lesser extent, a comparative law approach, theoretical perspectives on multi-language policy and linguistic rights remain largely underdeveloped.

With a focus on the linkages between political regimes and linguistic policy models, most studies have looked into the ways in which governments have attempted to manage linguistic conflicts, pursuing either assimilation or pluralistic strategies (Pool 1990; Esman 1994; Ager 1996). A normative strand of literature has delved into the linguistic policy as a sub-theory within nation-building theory, and has thus bridged two relevant issues: linguistic policy and the question of nation-building and national minorities' rights in multinational contexts (Beer and Jacob 1985; Kraus 2000). Nevertheless, political theory has practically ignored theoretical perspectives on language policy and linguistic rights (Requejo 1999; Patten 2001; Branchadell 2003). Despite these limitations, Kymlicka and Patten (2003) and Kraus (2008) have certainly contributed to this debate between linguistic policy and political theory. Furthermore, debates on the tensions between individual and collective cultural rights (Taylor 1992), issues of justice (Carens 2000) and the right of cultural groups to defend their language (Kymlicka 1995; Fletcher 1997; Lichtenberg 1997) are also relevant contributions from a political philosophy perspective. Other studies have emphasized the importance of cultural pluralism in the organizational structure of liberal democracies (Requejo 1999) and of minorities' rights to cultural resistance (Guibernau 1996). Finally, classical normative theories on nationalism have addressed the role of linguistic differences in the emergence of nationalism (Gellner 1983) and the relevant role of language in the generation of national awareness (Anderson 1991).

From a Spanish perspective, linguistic nationalism has been the focus of a wide literature since the mid-1980s, as analyses attempted to frame the cases of linguistic conflict in Spain within wider processes of nation-building, national minorities' cultural claims and the emergence of linguistic nationalism (Beswick 2007). Additionally, the literature has questioned the situation of linguistic minorities, along with the goals and outcomes of linguistic policies, claims and conflicts, related to linguistic discrimination, always in the context of their territorial location within the country.

The literature on linguistic planning, taken as a set of policy actions (Hoffmann 2000; Argelaguet 1996), its design, implementation and subsequent role in the generation of linguistic rights is abundant. Assuming a comparative approach, many studies have delved into the specificities of sub-national level languages within Spain (Bastardas 1988; Wright 1996; Keating 1998; Pla Boix 2010). Studies, including descriptive views on the status of the linguistic communities co-existing in the Spanish context, have focused on the dual character of the Spanish linguistic policy model. This dual model reflects a tension between monolingual positions based on liberal Hispano-centric perspectives, on the one hand, and multilingual positions developed in the periphery, based on the protection of linguistic diversity, on the other (see *inter alia* Barrera González 2004 and Pla Boix 2010). The dual monolingual and plurilingual structure of the Spanish model, both in the core and in the



periphery respectively, finds expression in two elements. First, the dominance of a monolingual policy model in the regions of the core – where the language in the private and public spheres is the same. Second, the emergence of two different policy models in the peripheral regions. These include an option for immersion of the whole population in the co-official language and a second model based on the option to keep both languages available as a choice for the whole population (Castilian and the co-official language).

Whereas the monolingual policy model elevates the common national language to a uniquely prominent position, the other two models bring in a second language, though differently. The immersion model caters for the speakers of a sub-national language and aims to nurture these indigenous tongues, all of which may imply a private-public sphere language switch for users of the common national language (Vila 1995) – as a strategy to compensate for its dominance. Finally, the bilingual model implies that more than one tongue may be used as vehicular language; in the public domain, they remain as option for each citizen. Yet the literature addressing language policy practices in Spain has fundamentally focused on the regions where Castilian co-exists with a co-official language. This co-existence is regulated by the region's own legislative framework of linguistic normalization, which can be based either on the bilingual model or on the 'immersion' model (see *interalia* Siguan 1992; Etxebarria 1995; Blas de Arroyo 1998; Herreras 2006; Turell 2007).

Still, most studies assume a descriptive perspective when analysing the linguistic situation in Spain (Siguan 1992; Turell 2007) and fail to provide a clear assessment of the main conflicts and claims related to situations of linguistic discrimination. Additionally, there is a strong asymmetry between the literature delving into the specific cases of Catalonia, the Basque Country, Galicia and the Balearic Islands, whereas the number of studies on the Catalan experience turns out to be much larger compared to the others cases. Furthermore, to our knowledge studies have failed to provide a comparative assessment of how different regional governments deal with linguistic diversity and conflicts. This issue certainly demands further scrutiny given that almost half the population is at least bilingual in Spain. Moreover, the country has been acknowledged as 'one of the oldest economically developed multilingual states in the world' (Hoffmann 2000, 49). While this situation lays open the need to explore the relation between languages and linguistic communities at the national and regional levels and within the regional level as well, attention should also be placed on the ways in which national and regional governments' policies have responded to these long-term relationships as they attempted to manage linguistic demands and claims.

### 3 LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY AND THE POLITICIZATION OF LANGUAGE IN SPAIN

Castilian is the national majority language in Spain. Still, whereas regional languages have always been present in Spain, these were repressed during Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975). This severe proscription affected the public sphere where Castilian remained as the only language. Regional languages were thus mainly used at home and family circles. In all, this only language policy backfired as it 'triggered great linguistic and cultural awareness and a popular desire to recoup these languages and their cultures' (Lasagabaster 2011, 111). The impact, yet, varied across regions. Thus, for example, in Galicia, for many centuries schooling was in Castilian and restricted to a minority, while the population was almost universally monolingual in Galician; all of which in turn, triggered hierarchical relations between the two languages (Silva 2000). In the case of Catalonia, Catalan was standardized already at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and during the dictatorship Catalan was the vehicular language at the Escola Catalana, which comprised a network of cooperative schools. In a





rather similar vein, in the 1960s, Basque was used in schools in the so-called *ikastolak*; i.e. schools for students whose mother tongue was Basque.

Only with democratic restoration and through the Constitution enacted in 1978, did regional languages – Basque, Catalan and Galician – become formally and legally recognized. Thus, they underwent a major revitalization and normalization process. The 1978 Constitution acknowledged Castilian as the official language, and these three regional languages as co-official languages along with Castilian in accordance with their Statues of Autonomy. Additionally, the Spanish Constitution of 1978 established the framework for a decentralized territorial model relying on the devolution of particular administrative and legislative competences in several domains, including language, to the regions.

The Spanish multilingual context can be characterized by a dual structure made up of a monolingual centre and a bilingual periphery of regions with their ‘own language’ that co-exists with Castilian. These include Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Valencia (Catalan), the Basque Country and Navarra (Basque) and Galicia (Galician). Though established in the Spanish constitution, this ‘supervised freedom’ (Pradilla Cardona 2007, 92) was not exempt from controversy, being the linguistic question a highly contested terrain. Linguistic policies have been fraught with tensions. As we will show, the political and legal spheres have become an instrumental framework to articulate the tension between conflicting positions in the linguistic policy management of the diverse communicative ecosystems co-existing in the Spanish multilingual periphery.

Spain comprises 17 autonomous communities. Six of these have currently two official languages: their own language – Basque, Catalan or Galician – and Castilian. These include the Basque Autonomous Community and Navarra, Catalonia, Balearic Islands and the Valencian Community, and finally, Galicia. Taken as a whole, around 50% of the Spanish population live in territories with their own language and law-making competences in this policy area. This makes Spain a relevant context to study language conflicts and policy models. However, it entails higher complexity, especially when compared to other European countries. To capture this linguistic diversity, but at the same time to keep our research within manageable boundaries, we have selected four cases: Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, the Basque Country, and Galicia. Both the Valencian community and Navarra were left out because the use of the co-official language in these autonomous communities – Catalan and Basque, respectively – is far from homogeneous.

Within the four selected communities, we have identified situations or episodes of conflicts around linguistic policy models implemented in the public sphere. On investigating the current literature and newspapers, periodicals and other media in search of empirical data, we found that there have been raising claims concerning linguistic policies over the last decade. Furthermore, it constitutes one of the most contested terrains in the articulation of different linguistic policy practices, being education and public signalization especially contested policies. Based on this, we then proceeded to select cases that would show variation in terms of the actors involved and the claims put forward. In all, through this thorough case selection we intended to assure sufficient relevant empirical material to build the narrative and the comparative analysis between policies and across communities.

The selected cases (presented in Table 1) relate thus to linguistic problems and claims in the public sphere. More specifically, these relate to education, media and the public space, all of which have traditionally constituted the main target areas of linguistic normalization policies. The conflicts enclosed in the cases refer to proposed and attempted changes to the existing linguistic model, which involve, among other features, a redefinition of the status of co-official languages in the institutional domain.



	<i>Catalonia</i>	<i>Balearic Islands</i>	<i>Basque Country</i>	<i>Galicia</i>
<i>Education</i>	Introduction of Castilian as language of instruction in the Catalan model of immersion (2006-2014)	Decree of Integral Language Treatment: implementation of a trilingual model (2011-2015)	Reform for an immersion model in Basque (2005-2009)	Decree of Plurilingualism: implementation of a trilingual model (2010-2015)
<i>Media and public space</i>	Catalan and Castilian in commercial and traffic signs (2010-2015)	RTV Mallorca and the retransmission of channels of the Catalan TV (2011-2015)	Basque and Castilian in traffic and street signs (2007-2014)	Introduction of programming in English in RTVG (2009-2011)

Source: Own elaboration

Our key goal is to describe and compare conflicts generated by proposed changes of linguistic models (immersion, bilingual and trilingual), mainly prompted by political actors and affecting language uses in the educational system, audio-visual media and public space signalization in these four regions. The paper provides two levels of analysis. The research relies on the internal analysis of different individual cases – claims – taken place at the sub-national level – scope, actors (both claimants and addressees), channels and repertoire. On this basis, we then present an external analysis to assess similarities and differences between the cases. Both the internal and external analyses of these various cases is intended to fuel comprehensive explanations regarding how and to what extent Spain has managed to accommodate the various national and sub-national linguistic communities. Our analysis builds on different episodes to provide in-depth knowledge of complex dynamics caused by the multi-layered structure of citizenship.

The cases selected for the analysis relate to conflicts generated by attempts to promote changes in the linguistic model of public education, audio-visual media and public space signalization, between 2005 and 2015, either by regional governments or by societal actors. They are relevant in terms of complexity, length, diversity of actors and variance in the political implications. The description of the cases assesses the following dimensions: scope, actors, addressees, channel and political levels involved in the conflict. The criteria used in the selection of cases are complexity (number of actors involved), visibility (in media) and variance in the scope of the claims.

#### 4 THE LINGUISTIC POLICY FRAMEWORK IN CATALONIA, THE BALEARIC ISLANDS, THE BASQUE COUNTRY AND GALICIA

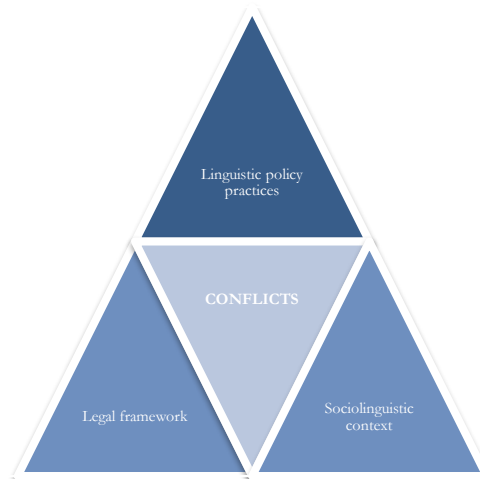
The final objective of this paper is to provide an analytical assessment of the policy solutions implemented to respond to the demands and particular claims put forward, that is to say the actual linguistic policy practices. Still, these must be apprehended within the specific social and legal frameworks at various levels – sub-national, national and regional (EU) levels that offer thus a backdrop upon which conflicts and claims are enacted. Additionally, these also determine the limits or boundaries of the policy responses provided in the public sphere, which, as we will show, vary across communities and between policy areas.

To fully assess the linguistic conflicts, claims and policies devised, we first delve into the complexities and nuances of the legal frameworks and sociolinguist contexts in sections 3 and 4. Sections 5 and 6 more directly address the conflicts, the actors and claims involved, all of which will allow us to assess the actual linguistic policy practices in a comparative manner in section 7.



To provide an analytical assessment of the particular policy solutions implemented to respond to these demands and claims, our research acknowledges the social, political and legal complexity surrounding these different cases. The analysis builds on the relationship between three main dimensions: the legal framework defining linguistic rights, the sociolinguistic situation of the co-existing linguistic communities, and the linguistic policy practices implemented at the sub-national level. In so doing, we show that the claims formulated in the selected cases have to do with perceived differences regarding how competing linguistic policy models are related to different political and legal interpretations on both the legal dimension and the sociolinguistic context (see Figure 1).

**Figure 1. Dimensions of analysis of linguistic conflicts**



*Source: Own elaboration*

#### **4.1 THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK**

Although the Constitution of 1978 includes some provisions related to language (art. 3; 20.3; 148.1.17; and final provision) there is no specific mention to what linguistic model should be enhanced in the public sphere at the sub-national level and under what criteria. The definition of linguistic rights is 'indirectly' articulated through the recognition of a regime of *official* and *co-official status* of Castilian and the own language respectively (art. 3) combined with the recognition of fundamental rights with a strong linguistic content, such as the right to education (art. 27) (Milian i Massana 2013). This implies that the incorporation of both languages within the sub-national institutional sphere (education, administration and media) through specific linguistic policy strategies should be guaranteed under conditions of non-discrimination (art. 14). Still, the 'how' question is in practice a non-well-defined terrain, thus left to interpretative positions, which have constituted a core component of the conflicts here addressed. The lack of a consensual approach on the linguistic model has led to an alternation of linguistic policy practices, contingent on the position of the ruling party and its interpretation on the legal framework (see Table 2) and the sociolinguistic context.



Both the Statutes of Autonomy and the Laws on Linguistic Normalization make up the sub-national framework that regulates the linguistic question in the regions under study in this paper. In this respect, the Statutes of Autonomy of Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, the Basque Country and Galicia share some key characteristics. First, they recognize their own language as distinct from and co-official with Castilian. Second, linguistic rights are defined in terms of the right 'to know and use' both languages. Third, all of them introduce the principle of non-discrimination on grounds of language. The *Law of Linguistic Normalization* frames the management of language within the institutional space and regulates the respective linguistic policies based on the Spanish Constitution and the Statutes of Autonomy. It addresses the use of Castilian and the autonomous community's own language in public education, media and administration, involving, in practice, different degrees of bilingualism depending on the type of linguistic model and the sociolinguistic situation in each region.

<b>Table 2. Legal framework</b>		
<i>European level</i>		
<i>Lisbon Treaty</i> (2007)	Art. 165	Respect of linguistic diversity and promotion of languages of Member States
<i>Secondary legislation</i>	EU	Decision of the European Parliament and of the Council of 17 July 2000 on the European Year of Languages 2001 Council Resolution of 21 November 2008 on a European strategy for multilingualism European Parliament resolution of 24 March 2009 on Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a shared commitment
<i>National level</i>		
Spanish Constitution (1978)		
	Preamble	Protection of all Spanish languages
	Art. 3	Spanish is the official language of Spain Co-official status of other Spanish languages Respect and protection of Spanish linguistic diversity
<i>Sub-national level</i>		
• <b>CATALONIA</b>		
Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia (1979, 2006)	Art. 6	Preferential use of Catalan ( <i>declared unconstitutional by the sentence of the Constitutional Court 31/2010 of 28 June</i> ). Co-official status
	Cap. III: Linguistic rights and obligations	Principle of non-discrimination on grounds of language (art.32) Right to linguistic option in the public space (art. 33 and 34) Catalan as vehicular language in education (art.35)
	Art. 143: Own language	Competency on Catalan
Linguistic normalization law of Catalonia (1983)		
• <b>BALEARIC ISLANDS</b>		
Statute of Autonomy of the Balearic Islands (1983, 2007)	Preamble	Catalan language as component of the national identity
	Art. 4 'La lengua propia'	Co-official status Linguistic right as the right to know and use the Catalan
Linguistic normalization law of the Balearic Islands (1986)		
• <b>BASQUE COUNTRY</b>		
Statute of Autonomy of the Basque	Art. 6	Linguistic right as the right to know and use both Euskera and Castilian



Country (1979)		Co-official status: the use and knowledge of both languages shall be guaranteed  Principle of non-discrimination
Linguistic normalization law on the use of the Euskera (1982)		

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>GALICIA</b></li> </ul>		
Statute of Autonomy of Galicia (1981, 2002)	Art. 5	Galician is defined as the own language of Galicia.  Co-official status of Galician  Linguistic right as the right to know and use both Castilian and Galician  The Galician shall be promoted in the public space  Principle of non-discrimination on grounds of language
	Cap. III	Use of Galician in the education
	Cap. IV	Use of Galician in the media
Linguistic normalization law of Galicia (1983)		

Source: Own elaboration

#### 4.2 THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION

Claims for and against specific linguistic policy models are strongly based on the sociolinguistic situation of co-existing linguistic communities in each territory. Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, the Basque Country and Galicia show relevant sociolinguistic differences in terms of the level of integration in the public and private spheres of both Castilian and their own languages. The revitalization of their languages in the public space has been remarkable particularly in Catalonia and in the Basque Country, though to a lesser extent. On the contrary, Galician has not experienced similar developments after democratic restoration. Differences in the proportions of Castilian and the own language as languages of customary use is mainly related to the variation observed in Castilian-speaking migration flows across these two autonomous communities (see Turell 2007). The level of language use and competence attained in these communities varies a great deal. Moreover, the respective political context also constitutes an element of variance, with wide implications for the type of linguistic policy models promoted.

On the one hand, the Popular Party (PP), the main conservative party at the national level, has usually governed the Balearic Islands and Galicia. The PP shows low sensitivity to the question of national minorities and portrays a strong 'Hispano-centric' discourse (Barrera González 2004), according to which linguistic diversity should be subject to the maintenance of the dominant character of Castilian. On the other hand, regional conservative parties, namely, the federation *Convergència i Unió* (CiU) and the Basque Nationalist Party (EAJ-PNV) have ruled Catalonia and the Basque Country during most the democratic period, respectively, and the defence of language, particularly in the Catalan case, has been a central element in their identity policy.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, differences emerge across the four autonomous communities under study in this paper. First, it is worth mentioning the lack of comparable data in relation to the sociolinguistic uses of the different co-official languages in Spain. Data is mainly collected and



analysed at the regional level. Hence, there are important differences in terms of the dimensions and categories used within each autonomous community.

Catalonia is, together with the Valencian Community and the Balearic Islands, one of the three autonomous communities in which population speaks Catalan. Both in Catalonia and in the Balearic islands, the number of people who understand, speak, read and write Catalan has been increasing since the mid-1980s. Their language skills have also developed. This surge relates to educational policies, which were also facilitated by the fact that Catalan was already standardised in the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, the situation is different in Galicia where these numbers have been going down. Whereas this can certainly be related to the immersion model in place in Catalonia since democratic restoration, when it comes to its use, figures show that the presence of Catalan is much more frequent in public areas, precisely where language use is more regulated and therefore more guaranteed.

<b>Language capabilities</b>	<i>Understand Catalan</i>	<i>Speak Catalan</i>	<i>Read Catalan</i>	<i>Write Catalan</i>
	94.3%	80.4%	82.4%	60.4%
<b>Usual language</b>	<i>Catalan</i>	<i>Catalan and Castilian</i>	<i>Castilian</i>	<i>Other languages and other combinations</i>
2008	35.6%	12.0%	45.9%	6.5%
2013	36.3%	6.8%	50.7%	5.9%
Place of Birth: Catalonia	56.5%	8.8%	34.0%	0.7%
Place of Birth: Rest of Spain	8.7%	5.3%	85.1%	0.9%
Place of Birth: Rest of the world	5.6%	2.3%	62.1%	30.0%

*Source: Own elaboration based on Generalitat de Catalunya 2013 and Idescat 2014; data for 15 year-old and older population living in Catalonia*

Knowledge of Catalan has also expanded in the Balearic Islands and at a similar rate to population growth (Observatori de la llengua catalana 2013). This translates into the fact that almost 42% of the population living in that autonomous community usually speaks Catalan. However, the number of people that can hardly speak Catalan is over 34%.

<b>Language capabilities</b>	<i>Understand Catalan</i>	<i>Speak Catalan</i>	<i>Read Catalan</i>	<i>Write Catalan</i>
	85%	63.41%	70.82%	47.9%
<b>Frequency of use</b>	<i>Almost always</i>	<i>Yes, but not as much as I would like to</i>	<i>No, people always speak Castilian</i>	<i>No, because I can hardly speak it</i>
	41.9%	5.8%	10.3%	34%

*Source: Own elaboration based on Ibestat 2010; data for 16 year-old and older population living in the Balearic Islands*



In Galicia, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century more than 90% of the population spoke only Galician (Loredo Gutierrez et al. 2008). With democratic restoration and despite the implementation of normalization laws, the number of people who can speak, understand, read and write Galician has been declining. Thus, among the population under 15, the percentage of those who can speak little or none, Galician has increased to 22.70 %, whereas among the population aged 65 or more it does not reach 9%. When it comes to its use, the family remains the main locus for learning the language (82.17%). Furthermore, it is where Galician is more intensely used. What is surprising in the case of Galicia is that even if a law regulating the use of Galician was passed already in 1983 to restore the use of the language in those domains, from which it was excluded under the dictatorship, and different decrees were issued to complement the legal framework, real implementation still lags behind. Thus, the presence of this language is guaranteed in the public space, i.e. public administration.

<b>Language capabilities (speak)</b>	<i>A lot</i>	<i>Pretty much</i>	<i>Hardly/cannot speak</i>	
	57.31%	29.62%	13.07%	
<b>Language uses</b>	<i>At home/family</i>	<i>Friends</i>	<i>School teachers</i>	<i>Public administration</i>
	41.68%	33.10%	35.6%	29.36%
<b>Frequency of use</b>	<i>Always in Galician</i>	<i>More Galician than Castilian</i>	<i>More Castilian than Galician</i>	<i>Always in Castilian</i>
	31.20%	20.29%	22.26%	26.25%

Source: Own elaboration based on IGE 2014; data for 5 year-old or older population living in Galicia

Finally, when analysing the sociolinguistic context in the Basque Country, we find that the percentage of people that uses Euskera more than Castilian has increased in recent years in a region where the sociolinguistic context gains in complexity because of the presence of French. The surge in the number of 'bilingual' people in the Basque Country can certainly be the result of the bilingual educations system (Huguet et al. 2008). Still, almost 60% of the population does not speak or understand Euskera (EUSTAT 2011).

<b>Language capabilities</b>	<i>Bilingual</i>	<i>Passive bilingual</i>	<i>Only Spanish</i>	
	27%	14.7%	58.3%	
<b>Frequency of use</b>	<i>Always in Castilian/French</i>	<i>Less Euskera than Castilian/French</i>	<i>Both Euskera and Castilian/French</i>	<i>More Euskera than Castilian/French</i>
	70.8%	8.1%	6.2%	9.9%
<b>Language uses*</b>	<i>Family</i>	<i>Workplace</i>	<i>Friends</i>	<i>Local services</i>
	14.2%	19.6%	17.8%	19.4%

Source: Own elaboration based on Sociolinguistic poll 2011 published by the Basque Government in 2013; data for 16 year-old and older population living in the Basque Country

\* Data for those who use Euskera as much or more than Castilian/French





## 5 CASE STUDY I: LINGUISTIC CLAIMS IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION (2005-2015)

### **5.1 THE RULING OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT 31/2010 OF 28 JUNE. CATALAN AND CASTILIAN AS LANGUAGES OF INSTRUCTION IN THE CATALAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM (2006-2014)**

From a historical perspective, different expansive moments linked to pro-active political junctures have characterized the formation of the Catalan linguistic community. Although the Catalan language is widely recognized and integrated into the sub-national public sphere, principally in the field of education, the level of use in the private domain is lower than in the institutional one, mainly because Catalonia has traditionally been a great receiver of Spanish-speaking migrants, from both other Spanish regions and Latin America. In this sense, the role that the working classes played in the pre-Francoism period to maintain the continuity of the Catalan through its everyday use changed with the new migration patterns, starting in the 1960s and reinforced during the last decades. Thus, normalization policies turned out to be decisive to revitalize the use of Catalan (see Pradilla Cardona 2007).

Over the last decades, the question of whether Castilian should also be considered a vehicular language in the Catalan educational system has become a major cause of conflict between the Catalan government defending a 'linguistic immersion model'<sup>1</sup>, and the central government defending a 'bilingual model' by which Castilian should carry greater weight in the curricular programme. In 2010, the Constitutional Court ruled out as unconstitutional<sup>2</sup> the 'preferential' status of Catalan in primary and secondary public education, as stated in the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia approved in 2006:

*'Catalonia's own language is Catalan. As such, Catalan is the language of normal and preferential use in Public Administration bodies and in the public media of Catalonia, and is also de language of normal use for teaching and learning in the education system'* (Art.6, Section 1).

Being the linguistic rights in the field of education addressed as follows:

*'Pupils have the right to receive an education in Catalan at non-university level. They also have the right and obligation to have a sufficient oral and written knowledge of Catalan and Castilian upon completing compulsory education, whatever their habitual language of use when starting their education. The Catalan and Castilian languages shall be sufficiently represented in the curricula'* (Art. 35, Section 2).

The current Statute of Autonomy was approved by referendum on 18 June 2006. After its approval, the Statute was subject to seven petitions of unconstitutionality, one of them interposed by the PP and which contested more than 100 articles including those related to language and linguistic rights. The main argument of the appeal was the asymmetry between Catalonia and the rest of regions in relation to the national level:

*'[The Catalan Statute] has unilaterally wiped out the state model, moving it away from the current state of the autonomies to an asymmetric confederation that favors Catalonia'* (Mariano Rajoy, president of the PP. El País, 31/07/ 2006).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> All curricular subjects shall be taught in Catalan, except Castilian Language and Spanish Literature.

<sup>2</sup> Ruling of the Constitutional Court 31/2010 of 28 June.

<sup>3</sup> All translations are by the authors.





This problem of asymmetry as argued by the PP was embedded in some elements introduced in the Statute, including the use of the term 'nation', the preferential status assigned to Catalan, the establishment of distinct rights and duties in the definition of a Catalan citizenship and the redistribution of competences in favour of the sub-national (regional) level. In June 2010, the ruling of the Constitutional Court declared 14 articles as unconstitutional. More specifically, the article 6.1 on the Catalan language was considered partially unconstitutional. It was argued that the 'preferential' status of Catalan in the public administration, media and educational system implied an excluding type of territorialisation of Catalan. Furthermore, the latter violated the principle of equality between Catalan and Castilian (co-official status) and discriminated in favour of the use of Castilian since the adjective 'preferential' implied the primacy of Catalan over Castilian.<sup>4</sup> Finally, up to five dispositions related to language were subject to interpretation:

*'The duty of learning Catalan cannot be understood as a legally enforceable obligation with widespread nature'* (Interpretation on the Art. 6.2).

*'It cannot be legitimately interpreted that education should be provided only and exclusively in one of the two co-official languages. It is constitutionally required that both languages are recognized as vehicular'* (Interpretation on the Art. 35).

*'The duty to use Catalan does not involve a ban on the use of Castilian by public and private entities and the personnel at their service in internal and external relations, without that normal use of Castilian being formally conditioned'* (Interpretation on the Art. 50.5).

The interpretation of Art. 35 (related to linguistic rights in the educational system) reopened the debate on the linguistic model in the Catalan educational system. Whereas it argued that Catalan should have a prominent role in the public sphere, the ruling of the Constitutional Court stated that both languages should be recognized as languages of instruction, avoiding a situation in which only one of both co-official languages worked as vehicular language. In July 2010, the greatest demonstration in the democratic history of Catalonia (El País, 11/07/2010) took place against the ruling of the Constitutional Court. Promoted by Òmnium Cultural<sup>5</sup> and supported by political parties, unions and civil society organizations (CSOs), the participants protested against the ruling under the motto: *'We are a nation. We decide'*.

After the ruling of the Constitutional Court and with the new education law passed by the then Prime Minister, Mariano Rajoy (PP) in 2013,<sup>6</sup> a number of legal processes demanding the inclusion of Castilian as vehicular language in the Catalan educational system were introduced. In March 2013, the Superior Court of Justice of Catalonia confirmed that the Catalan administration should introduce a bilingual model in some educational centres upon request of the families. In a number of schools in Barcelona, Tarragona and Girona, bilingual education was demanded and in January 2014, the Superior Court of Justice of Catalonia ruled that 25% of the curricula should be taught in Castilian in five schools. In April 2014, the Superior Court dismissed the appeal brought by the institutions involved. The argument used by the Superior Court against the immersion model was that Castilian

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<sup>4</sup> See Constitutional Court Ruling 31/2010, of 28 June 2010, p.33.

<sup>5</sup> Òmnium Cultural is the main association for the promotion of Catalan language and culture and one of the main civil society actors, together with Assamblea Nacional Catalana (ANC) in the articulation of the independence process in Catalonia.

<sup>6</sup> See Ley Orgánica para la Mejora de la Calidad Educativa (LOMCE) 8/2013.



should be a language of instruction in a specific proportion since the right to education does not guarantee the right to choose to receive education in just one of the official languages.

In 2015, a number of families claimed for an economic compensation for not having the possibility of receiving education in Castilian in the Catalan public system and for having to take their children to private schools where Castilian was the language of instruction, as regulated by the Royal Decree 591/2014 approved in July 2014.

<b>Table 7. Education in the Catalan case. Dimensions of analysis</b>		
<b>(a) Actors</b>		
	<i>For (bilingual model)</i>	<i>Against (bilingual model)</i>
Political	PP; Ciudadanos (C's)	CiU; Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC); Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya (PSC); Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds (ICV); Esquerra Unida i Alternativa (EUiA); Ciutadans pel Canvi (CpC)
Unions		Union General de Trabajadores de España (UGT); Comisiones Obreras (CCOO)
Educative community		Federació d'Associacions de Mares i Pares d'Alumnes de Catalunya (FaPac)
Civil society	Convivència Cívica	Òmnium Cultural; Fundació Privada d'Empresaris (FemCAT); Plataforma per la Llengua; Associació Catalana de Municipis i Comarques (ACMC); Somescola-cat
<b>(b) Arguments</b>		
	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>
Political	The bilingual model is supported by a significant part of the Catalan society	The immersion model enjoys a wide social consensus
Socio-linguistic	Discriminatory effect on Castilian of the immersion model	Discriminatory effect on Catalan
Pedagogical	Positive effects for Castilian-speaking pupils since they would receive education in their mother tongue	Only the immersion model in Catalan guarantees the proficiency in both Catalan and Castilian
Social	The bilingual model incorporates the value of linguistic pluralism into education The immersion model is against social cohesion Discriminatory effects for pupils with migration background in terms of educational attainment	The immersion model generates social cohesion The bilingual model discriminates those who have Castilian as mother tongue, since Catalan is the institutional language in Catalonia It favours the inclusion of migrants
Legal	The immersion model in Catalan is against the Spanish Constitution	The individual right to choose the vehicular language is not possible since the language of instruction must be fixed by the administration
Cultural		Catalan is a key element of the Catalan national identity and culture
<b>(c) Channels</b>		
Legal	Constitutional Court Superior Court of Justice of Catalonia	
Political	Parliamentary debate	
Civil	Public demonstrations	

Source: Own elaboration



## 5.2 INTEGRAL LANGUAGE TREATMENT OR DECREE OF TRILINGUALISM IN THE BALEARIC ISLANDS (2011-2015)

The Decree of *'Trilingüisme'* or *'Integral Treatment of Language'* (TIL)<sup>7</sup> is a legal framework that regulates the curricular language in primary and secondary education in the Balearic Islands. Replacing the previous model introduced in the 1990s, which enjoyed a notable social and political consensus, the TIL aimed at implementing a rule of proportionality of 1/3 of Catalan, Castilian and English in the curriculum. The previous model was not a model of linguistic immersion, but rather a bilingual model based on a rule of minima that guaranteed a minimum of 50% of the curricula being taught in Catalan while the remaining 50% was defined according to the linguistic project of each educational centre.

Between 2011 and 2012, the *Govern Balear*, with Rafael Bosch as Education Counsellor, implemented a campaign to know the preferences of the families regarding the language of instruction across three options: Catalan, Castilian or the language chosen by the centre. Most families chose Catalan as preferential language. Despite the results of the consultation, the Decree regulating the TIL in non-tertiary education was published in the Official Journal of the Balearic Islands (BOIB) in April 2013. One month later, the main unions –CCOO, Sindicat de Treballadors i Treballadors Intersindical de les Illes Balears (STEI-I) and Federació de Treballadors de l'Ensenyament (FETE-UGT) interposed a litigious appeal. In September 2013, a historic demonstration against the TIL took place in the main cities of the Balearic Islands, bringing together unions, the educative community, citizens, opposition parties and CSOs. The *'Assamblea de Docents'* (Teachers' Assembly) promoted an open-ended strike. In 2014, a number of school heads and leadership teams presented their resignation because of their disagreement with the new linguistic policy. Despite the significant number of educational centres that disagreed with the TIL, between May and July 2014, the *Govern* approved a new decree regulating the implementation of the new linguistic project. In September 2014, the Superior Court of Justice of the Balearic Islands superseded the decree on the basis that it was in breach with Art. 35 of the Statute of Autonomy. This article established that the *Govern* should have consulted the University of the Balearic Islands as advisory organism in matters of language. In January 2015, the Superior Court allowed the appeal interposed by the *Govern Balear*.

The implementation of the TIL by the Balearic government in the hands of the PP faced a strong opposition from unions, the educative community (teachers, families and students), the main opposition political parties, cultural organisations and CSOs. The main arguments against its implementation were of a legal, pedagogic, economic and political nature.

First, the TIL was considered a political strategy to undermine the weight of Catalan at the institutional level:

*'The objective is to eliminate Catalan. The Catalan language is a source of national pride'* (Francina Armengol, Federació del Partit Socialista Obrer Espanyol a les Illes Balears/PSIB-PSOE), parliamentary debate).

*'Teaching at school is equal, but outside school there is no equality, Castilian is present everywhere but Catalan and English are not; thus it will be difficult for the school to provide experience to the children if they lack other experiences outside'* (Ricard Vila, Col.legi Rafal Vell, 324.notícies).

Second, the policy change was refused given the lack of pedagogic orientation and resources for its adequate implementation:

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<sup>7</sup> Decree 15/2013 19 April 2013.



*'It is complicated: because teachers lack the necessary pedagogical orientation to apply the TIL, the educational community and the teachers, in particular, consider that this is a pedagogic aberration, and they have always asked for its gradual implementation and based on pedagogical and psychological criteria within the teaching of these languages'* (Maria Alarcón-Secretaria General FETE-UGT. 'El Matins' TV3).

*'This is an attack on the language, on the labour rights of the teachers, and evidently students are the victims'* (Oscar Prats, IES sa Blanca Dona, 324.notícies).

*'A well-established trilingual system may be very good, but it is necessary to provide centres with resources, with native teachers'* (Pablo de la Fuente, APIMA San Jordi, 324.notícies).

The arguments used by the *Govern Balear* referred to the advantages of the trilingual model in terms of promotion of competitiveness and the fight against school failure:

*'This government will go ahead with all the reforms deemed necessary, and one of the reforms that is necessary is educational reform. This is because of one simple reason, because I do not want to lead the worst results in educational failure and early dropout in Spain and Europe'* (José Ramon Bauzá, president of the *Govern Balear*, 324.notícies).

In all, instruction in Catalan stands in the majority position in public schools (between 90% in pre-school and primary education and 84% in secondary education). These percentages drop dramatically when considering private schools, where education is mostly bilingual (57.6% in pre-school, 62.8% in primary school and 64.4% in secondary school) (Observatory of the Catalan Language 2014).

<b>Table 8. Education in the Balearic case. Dimensions of analysis</b>		
<b>(a) Actors</b>		
	<i>For (TIL)</i>	<i>Against (TIL)</i>
Political	PPB	PSIB-PSOE
Unions		CCOO; Sindicat de Treballadors i Treballadors-Intersindical de les Illes Balears (STEI-I); FETE-UGT
Educative community	Estudiants Lliures de les Illes Balears	FAPA (parents); Assamblea de Docents (teachers)
Civil society		Més per Mallorca; Proposta per les Illes; Obra Cultural Balear
<b>(b) Arguments</b>		
	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>
Political	EU recommendations on multilingualism	Lack of support of the Balearic society
Socio-linguistic		Discriminatory effect on Catalan
Economic	Promotion of competitiveness	Lack of resources
Pedagogical	Reduction of school failure	Lack of pedagogical orientation
Social		Negative impact on families with scarce resources Against integration of immigrants
Cultural		Catalan as key element of Balearic identity
<b>(c) Channels</b>		
Legal	Superior Court of Justice	
Political	Parliamentary debate	
Civil	Public demonstrations; strikes	

Source: Own elaboration



### **5.3 THE LINGUISTIC REFORM FOR AN IMMERSION MODEL IN EUSKERA IN THE BASQUE COUNTRY (2005-2009)**

During the pre-democratic period, Euskera experienced a strong deterioration in favour of Castilian due to the linguistic repression under the Franco regime and the new migration pattern at the intra-regional level. With the Statute of Autonomy of 1979 and Law 10/1982 on the Normalization of the use of Euskera, the 'reversing language shift', which affirms the basic principle of a community's right to use its language (Fishman 1991), became a core goal of the Basque linguistic policy. As Euskera was introduced in the public sphere, including the administration, the educational system and the media, the social function of the Basque language was strongly promoted, thus enabling its inter-generational transmission after 40 years of dictatorship (Fernández-Ulloa 2005). Although Euskera remains today a minority language because of the lack of official status in the past, data show that the number of Basque-speaking people has notably increased over the last decades (Cenoz & Perales 2007).

During the democratic period, a number of decrees and laws regulated the incorporation of Euskera into the educational system.<sup>8</sup> In contrast to the immersion model in Catalonia and the bilingual model in the Balearic Islands and in Galicia, the Basque Country has implemented a comprehensive model. This combined both the immersion and bilingual models and was designed based on three options: Model A, Castilian as the vehicular language, excepting the subject of Basque Language; Model B, part of the curricular programme is taught in Castilian and the other in Euskera; and Model D, Euskera is the vehicular language, excepting the subject of Castilian language. Since its implementation, the immersion model in Euskera (option D) has gained relevance and has become increasingly widespread in primary education and, to a lesser extent, in secondary education.

In 2005, the Basque parliament – with the votes of the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV), Eusko Alkartasuna (EA), Ezker Batua – Berdeak (EB), Euskal Herriko Alderdi Komunista (EHAK), Aralar and the Basque Socialist Party (PSE-EE) – demanded the reform of the linguistic policy in the educational system in order to improve the degree of bilingualism achieved at the end of secondary education. In 2007, the main lines of the reform were presented and in October of that same year, the government approved the new curricula in Basque, fixing a new status for Euskera as the main language of instruction in compulsory education (with a minimum of 60% of the curricular programme). The reform was intended to shift the linguistic model towards a model of immersion in Euskera. Nevertheless, the lack of consensus among the members of the coalition (PNV-EB-EA), the opposition political parties (PSE, PP) and unions (CCOO) prompted the revision of the bill. In July 2008, the PNV publically expressed its discrepancies with the promoter of the reform (EA) and demanded more flexibility. In November, EA presented the final text of the reform to the educative agents without the support of their coalition colleagues. Finally, the reformed text was approved. In 2009, the PP demanded its derogation.

The main argument of EA for promoting the new linguistic model was that the three-option-model did not guarantee the knowledge of both Castilian and Euskera at the end of compulsory education:

*'It is clear and indisputable that the system of models does not bring in bilingualism, it is therefore essential to promote a reform to guarantee the command of Euskera and Castilian by the end of ESO'* (Onintza Lasa, Education Commission of the Basque Parliament, EA. [www.euskoalkartasuna.eus](http://www.euskoalkartasuna.eus)).

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<sup>8</sup> Decree of Bilingualism (1979), Linguistic Normalization Law (1983); Decree for the Curricular Development of the Basque (1992); Law for the Basque Public Schools (1993).



The law project was strongly criticized by the labour unions (CCOO) and opposition political parties (PP, PSE-EE), who argued that in practice most of the curricula would be instructed in Euskera in order to achieve the goals of proficiency set by the administration, thus affecting the equilibrium between both languages while discriminating against Castilian.

<b>Table 9. Education in the Basque case. Dimensions of analysis</b>		
<b>(a) Actors</b>		
	<i>For (immersion model in Euskera)</i>	<i>Against (immersion model in Euskera)</i>
Political	EB; EA	PNV; PP; PSE-EE
Unions	Solidaridad de los Trabajadores Vascos (ELA); Comisiones de Obreros <b>Abertzales</b> (LAB); Sindicato de Trabajadores/as de Enseñanza (STEE-EILAS)	CCOO
Civil society		Plataforma por la Libertad de Elección Lingüística
Institutions		Consejo Asesor del Euskera
<b>(b) Arguments</b>		
	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>
Political	High degree of political and social consensus	The new model represents a strategy of imposition of Euskera
Legal	The three-option model does not guarantee the main principles of the law regulating the Basque public school ('Ley de la Escuela Pública Vasca')	
Pedagogical	The model of options does not guarantee proficiency in both languages	
Sociolinguistic		Discriminatory against Castilian Linguistic policy must be coherent with the diversity of sociolinguistic situations in Euskadi
<b>(c) Channels</b>		
Political	Parliamentary debate	

Source: Own elaboration

#### **5.4 DECREE 79/2010 OR 'DECREE OF PLURILINGUALISM' IN GALICIA (2010-2015)**

In general, the Galician society shows high competencies in Galician, although the percentage of people who uses this as first language or as language of normal use is lower, especially among young people and middle-upper highly educated social strata. Recent official statistical data show that 23% of people below 14 years of age cannot express themselves in Galician. Still, while Galician is better integrated in the private sphere than in the institutional space, Castilian is normally used in the public space and in formal situations, such as in the educational sphere, professional contexts and in the public administration (Hermida 2007). With the Linguistic Normalization Law of 1983 and the constitution of the Direction of Linguistic Policy, Galician was introduced into the institutional image of the autonomous community. Being its low social prestige the main problem, the promotion of Galician in the administration and education spheres, and the implementation of a regional television channel in Galician, promoted its status as formal language (Singuan 1992). However, since 2009 the percentage of students who receive all classes in Galician has decreased and now stands at 2.15%,



whereas the percentage whose classes are mainly in Galician is of 43.7%. On the contrary, the percentage of students who are taught mostly in Spanish increased 18.3% points and thus reached 51.08% (IGE 2014).

Between 2005 and 2009, the coalition government of the *Xunta* – which brought together the Partido dos Socialistas de Galicia-PSOE (PSdeG-PSOE) and the Bloque Nacionalista Galego (BNG) – introduced a new decree without the support of the main party in the opposition (PP). The decree established that at least 50% of the curricula should be in Galician. In 2009, the new administration under the PP, changed the linguistic policy model to promote a trilingual model with 1/3 of the curricular areas taught in English and to balance the number of hours of instruction in Castilian and Galician (Decree 79/2010).<sup>9</sup> In 2012, the Superior Court of Justice of Galicia annulled two main changes introduced by the Decree: the possibility of asking families the language to be used in specific subjects (art. 5.2) and of allowing pupils to use Galician or Castilian indifferently (art. 12.3). The Superior Court of Justice of Galicia argued that language programming was responsibility of the administration and, therefore, it should not be left to the families' decision.

In February 2015, a massive demonstration (20.000-25.000 people) claiming changes in the linguistic policy of the *Xunta* took place. The main arguments against the Decree contended that Galician was a key element of social cohesion and that the Decree was a political strategy to force the deterioration of Galician:

*'It showed unity around language as a common and social cohesion element, essential to our existence as peoples'* (Marcos Maceira, portavoz Queremos Galego, [www.queremosgalego.org](http://www.queremosgalego.org)).

*'The different judgements rendered by the TSXG [Tribunal Superior de Xustiza de Galicia] prove right those who questioned the decree and declare as illegal the instruments passed by the Xunta [regional government] to carry out a policy of eradication of Galician'* (Ana Pontón, BNG. [Bng.gal/blog](http://Bng.gal/blog)).

Additionally, the *Real Academia Galega* argued that:

*'Decree 79/2010 of the Xunta de Galicia, which is said to develop the Law of Linguistic Normalization, is in fact in open contradiction to this law, by omitting the concept of normalization and announcing a legal change in its preamble... The most serious aspect is that it perpetuates the position of weakness of Galician, thus deepening prejudices against it by strictly excluding its use in subjects of scientific content'* (RAG, Faro de Vigo, 28/04/ I 2015).

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<sup>9</sup> Maths, Physics and Chemistry must be taught in Castilian.



<b>Table 10. Education in the Galician case. Dimensions of analysis</b>		
<b>(a) Actors</b>		
	<i>For (trilingual model)</i>	<i>Against (trilingual model)</i>
Political	Partido Popular de Galicia (PPdeG)	PSG; BNG
Unions		FETE-UGT
Civil society	Galicia Bilingüe	Queremos Galego; A Mesa pola Normalización Lingüística; CIG-Ensino
Official institutions		Real Academia Galega
<b>(b) Arguments</b>		
	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>
Political	EU recommendations on multilingualism	The preferential language must be fixed by the administration since it is a collective right
Cultural		Galician is a key element of the Galician culture and a medium of social cohesion
Pedagogical	The promotion of Galician must be an active and wilful process It promotes the equality of both co-official languages To receive education in the mother tongue is fundamental for educational attainment	
Sociolinguistic	The decree addresses concerns expressed by families	The number of people who speaks Galician has decreased Discriminatory effect against Galician
Legal		Against dispositions on linguistic rights expressed in the European, national and sub-national legal frameworks
<b>(c) Channels</b>		
Legal	Superior Court of Justice of Galicia	
Political	Parliamentary debate	
Civil	Public demonstrations	

Source: Own elaboration





## 6 CASE STUDY II: LANGUAGE USES IN PUBLIC SPACE SIGNALIZATION (CATALONIA AND THE BASQUE COUNTRY) AND IN AUDIO-VISUAL MEDIA (THE BALEARIC ISLANDS AND GALICIA) (2005-2105)

Whereas major conflicts revolving around the loss and gain of linguistic terrain of Castilian and co-official languages have been mainly identified in the educational arena, we now turn to the description and characterization of different cases - in terms of social, legal and political implications. Still, these had high visibility in press media. These minor cases concern claims related to language uses in public audio-visual media and public space (stores, traffic and street signalization). On the one hand, we address cases in Catalonia and the Basque Country, which relate to claims and conflicts on language uses in commercial, traffic and street signs. The actors involved in these conflicts demanded the implementation of a bilingual model since claims were addressed against situations or practices involving the presence of only one language. On the other hand, we describe cases concerning the Balearic Islands and Galicia that have to do with measures against the promotion of television (TV) channels and programming in local and regional audio-visual media that use the co-official language as vehicular language. In these cases, claims are made against the reduction of the linguistic terrain of co-official languages, Catalan and Galician respectively, either as a result of the limitation of the number of TV channels in the co-official language (Balearic case) or through the introduction of hours of programming in another language distinct from the co-official language (Galician case).

### **6.2 LANGUAGE USES IN PUBLIC SPACE SIGNALIZATION: THE CATALAN AND THE BASQUE CASES**

- *The Catalan case: Catalan and Castilian in commercial and traffic signs*

Since the mid-1980s, the Catalan administration has promoted the use of Catalan in commercial and economic activities through a number of campaigns.<sup>10</sup> Law 1/1998 of Language Policy (chapter IV) regulates the use of the official languages in Catalonia – namely Catalan and Castilian – in commercial and economic activities. In particular, it fixes language uses in practices regarding consumer attention, commercial and informative signs, labelling of products with designation of origin in Catalonia, and the advertising of companies with a concession agreement with the Catalan administration. The claims and conflicts presented below relate to the use of Catalan and Castilian in commercial signs.

Both the Law of Language Policy of 1998 and the Consumer Statute of 1993 provide that commercial signs in the public space must be at least in Catalan. This simple rule of minimum implies that commercial signs must be either just in Catalan or in Catalan and Castilian (and/or other languages). During the last decades, the Office of Language Guarantees has sanctioned a number of stores in Catalonia for having their commercial signs only in Castilian. As a result, political and civil actors have claimed for legal changes.<sup>11</sup> Main arguments were related to the idea that the ‘imposition’ of Catalan by the administration implies a violation of the linguistic rights of consumers. Interestingly, the Catalan Consumer Agency provided the same argument when that commercial signs exclusively written in Castilian involve a violation of linguistic rights of consumers and clients (*El Confidencial*, 02/04/ 2010).

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<sup>10</sup> ‘Es nota prou que som a Catalunya?’ (1986); ‘El català sobre rodes’ (1990); ‘El català et serveix’ (1992); ‘En català, tu hi guanyes’ (2003) (for further details see Gencat.cat, last accessed 15 June 2015).

<sup>11</sup> See, for instance, the campaign promoted by ‘Coordinadora per una Catalunya en Llibertat’.



The parties affected by administrative sanctions argued that the regulation is in conflict with Art. 3 of the Spanish Constitution, and also that the Law of Language Policy of 1998 has a prohibitive and coercive character against Castilian. Nevertheless, court resolutions resulting from administrative appeals state that according to Art. 3.2 of the Spanish Constitution the regulation of languages used in Spain, and different from Castilian, remains a competence of regional governments – autonomous communities. Therefore, in these cases, regional (subnational) legislation prevails. Additionally, they argued that the rule could not be interpreted as a prohibition of Castilian, but rather as a rule of minimum since it does not prevent the use of Castilian or any other language. Whereas the cases concerning commercial signs written only in Castilian involve a conflict that goes from the administration to citizens (application of sanctions), the cases we describe hereafter concerning traffic signs involve claims against signals written only in Catalan. Thus, they entail a conflict that goes from citizens to the administration (formal complaints to the *de Greuges*, that is to say, the Catalan Ombudsman).

In 2015, 'Convivència Cívica Catalana'<sup>12</sup> launched a campaign to promote the bilingual signalization of traffic signs in Catalan and Castilian on the basis that most traffic signs in Catalonia are written only in Catalan and this implies a violation of the legislation that regulates language in traffic signalization ('Ley de Seguridad Vial' and 'Reglamento de Circulación'). It also argued that monolingual traffic signalization was against the linguistic rights of the Castilian-speaking population and represented a threat to traffic security:

*'The exclusion of the Spanish language from road signs and signals not only contravenes legal norms and undermines linguistic rights of half of the citizens of Catalonia and of other regions of Spain that visit us, but it also constitutes an obstacle to the correct understanding of road messages for drivers that do not speak Catalan'* (El Singular, 03/04/2015).

It was claimed that in a bilingual territory, traffic signs should be likewise bilingual, since monolingualism in Catalan implies the exclusion of Castilian, thus violating not only the linguistic rights of Castilian-speaking Catalan citizens but also linguistic rights of citizens from other regions in Spain. The campaign also encouraged citizens to appeal against traffic sanctions related to non-bilingual traffic signs based on Art. 56 of '**Llei sobre Tràfic, Circulació de Vehicles a Motor i Seguretat Vial**', which establishes that traffic signs must be expressed at least in the official language of the Spanish state, and on Art. 138 of the '**Reglament General de Circulació**', which provides that:

*'The written information included or accompanying signage panels on public roads, and the inscriptions, will be in Castilian and, also in the official language of the autonomous community recognized in the corresponding autonomy statute, when the signal is situated within the territorial area of this community'*.

Complaints of affected parties were directed at the Catalan Ombudsman ('*Síndic de Greuges*'). Moreover, the Popular Party of Catalonia (PPC) supported the incorporation of Castilian in traffic signs, arguing that signalization in the public space should mirror the sociolinguistic situation of bilingualism in Catalonia. Thus, they demanded that:

*'What is usual in the street in relation to the indistinct use of Catalan or Castilian should now be transferred to a basic element, that of city signaling... The idea that Catalan can be easily*

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<sup>12</sup> Convivència Cívica Catalana (CCC) is a civil organization focused on the defence of bilingualism and promoter of the campaign 'Por una señalización bilingüe en Cataluña' (Promoting a bilingual signalling in Catalonia).



*understood by a Castilian-speaking person is no longer a justification... There are words in both languages that have nothing in common' (Crónica Global, 18/07/2014).*

<b>Table 11. Catalan and Castilian in commercial and traffic signs. Dimensions of analysis</b>		
<b>(a) Actors</b>		
	<i>For (signalization in Castilian /against rule of minimum in Catalan )</i>	<i>Against (signalization in Castilian / for rule of minimum in Catalan)</i>
Political	PPC; C's	CiU; ERC; PSC; ICV; EUiA
Unions		UGT; CCOO
Civil society	Impuls ciutadà; Associació per la Tolerància; Coordinadora per una Catalunya en Llibertat; Convivència Cívica Catalana	Catalunya Acció; Plataforma per la Llengua
<b>(b) Arguments</b>		
	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>
Sociolinguistic	Discriminatory effects on Castilian-speaking citizens The sociolinguistic reality in Catalonia is of bilingualism	
Social		Catalan is a tool for social cohesion and integration
Legal	Violation of linguistic rights of Castilian-speaking consumers and drivers Against the Spanish Constitution and language legislation in traffic space	Violation of linguistic rights Language policy of 1989 provides a rule of minimum in Catalan in commercial signs This rule does not prevent the use of Castilian
<b>(c) Channels</b>		
Legal	Legal proceedings	
Political	Parliamentary debates	
Civil	Public protests and demonstrations	
Administrative	Ombudsman, sanctions	

*Source: Own elaboration*

- *The Basque case. Basque and Castilian in traffic and street signs*

During the last decade, a number of claims for a bilingual model in the signalization of the public space have been put forward in the Basque Country. Main Basque cities, such as San Sebastián and Bilbao, have introduced Euskera in many street signs, until then written only in Castilian. While this issue triggered some conflicts in the political arena involving political parties supporting street signs only in Basque (Bildu, PSE-EE, PNV), on the one hand, and in both Basque and Castilian (PPV; Unión Progreso y Democracia/UPyD), on the other, it did not arise visible claims stemming from civil society actors.

Claims for a bilingual model in traffic signalization have also constituted a significant source of conflict between political parties supporting the promotion of Basque in the public space and parties supporting the co-representation of both official languages. According to the legislative framework, which regulates language uses in the public space – e.g. 'Ley de Normalización del Uso del Euskera', Art. 56 of the 'Ley de Tráfico' and Art. 138 of the 'Reglamento General de Circulación' – the content of traffic signalization in public roads must be both in Castilian and in the official language of the corresponding autonomous community.

In 2007, the Basque Ombudsman ('Ararteko') agreed with the claim made by a citizen against the fact that all traffic signs in the municipality of Oñate (Guipuzkoa) were written in Basque. The main



argument supporting the decision of the Ombudsman referred to existing legislation, i.e. that traffic signs must be bilingual. The city council counter-argued saying that given that most signs included also pictograms and 85% of the population in Oñate used Euskera in every-day situations, then the inclusion of Castilian was not justified. The Ombudsman stated pictograms were insufficient and that Castilian should be introduced in the signalization, as in the case of information on dates and type of vehicles in parking areas.

In 2014, the Delegate of the Spanish Government in the Basque Country interposed an administrative appeal against the ‘Diputación de Guipuzcoa’ (regional level) against traffic signs with the statement: ‘Euskal Erria. Basque Country’. The main argument was that according to Art. 10 of the ‘Ley de Normalización Del Uso del Euskera’, indications and signs in the public space should be both in Basque and Castilian (Noticias de Gipuzkoa, 27/11/2014). According to the ‘Diputación de Guipuzcoa’ - regional administration ruled by Bildu, an independentist and left wing Basque party – the road space is competence of the regional government and, therefore, decisions on the language used in road signalization only concerns the Diputación. The Delegate of the National Government argued that the political position of Bildu of not introducing Castilian in these signs had a discriminatory effect on Castilian:

*‘The intention is not to stop using Euskera, neither to make Castilian invisible, much less violating the law’ (Carlos Urquijo, Delegate of the Spanish Government in the Basque Country; El País, 19/12/2007).*

<b>Table 12. Basque and Castilian in traffic signs. Dimensions of analysis</b>		
<b>(a) Actors</b>		
	<i>Against (only Euskera in signalization)</i>	<i>For (only Euskera in signalization)</i>
Political	PPV	Bildu; PNV
<b>(b) Arguments</b>		
	<i>Against</i>	<i>For</i>
Political		Public space is a local and regional competence
Socio-linguistic	Linguistic rights of non Euskera-speaking citizens	Euskera is a language of customary use in many cities in the Basque country
Legal	Legal framework supports a bilingual model	
<b>(c) Channels</b>		
Legal	Legal proceedings (appeal)	
Political	Parliamentary debates	
Administrative	Ombudsman	

Source: Own elaboration

## **6.2 LANGUAGE USES IN PUBLIC AUDIO-VISUAL MEDIA: THE BALEARIC AND GALICIAN CASES**

- *The Balearic case: RTV Mallorca and the reception of channels of the Catalan TV (3/24 and 3/33)*

The following cases relate to claims promoted against political decisions affecting the presence of the Catalan language in the Balearic audio-visual public space. In particular, we look into the cases concerning RTV Mallorca and the reception of channels of the Catalan TV. Claims stem mainly from civil society actors and involve arguments related to the social, cultural and linguistic functions of public media as vehicles of freedom of expression and information.



Between 2010 and 2015, when the PP held the '*Govern*' and in a context of economic crisis, the management of local and regional audio-visual media in the Balearic Islands experienced a number of cutbacks, strongly criticized by opposition parties and CSOs (see actors in Table 13). Two highly contested cases are worth examining: the closure of RTV Mallorca in 2011, which included local radio and television with programming exclusively in Catalan, and the cut of reception of two channels of the Catalan TV (channels 3/24 and Super 3/33) in 2015. Political and civil society actors depicted both cases as a political strategy to constrain the linguistic terrain of Catalan in the public sphere, although the Balearic government did not refer to the cultural and linguistic dimensions of the cases when defending the measures that affected RTVM and channels 3/24 and Super 3/33. While in the case of RTVM, the *Govern* resorted to economic arguments, the cut of reception of 3/24 and Super 3/33 was presented as a technical issue. We describe in the first place the case of the closing of RTV Mallorca, and then we present the case related to channels 3/24 and Super 3/33 of the Catalan TV.

In terms of RTV Mallorca, the regional government closed it down after 5 years of operation in 2011. The administration justified its decision based on economic arguments: the lack of financial and economic sustainability of the entity and the lack of resources by the local administration (Maria Salom, Consell de Mallorca, *Diari Ara*, 11/12/2011). In 2014, the Superior Court of Justice of the Balearic Islands dismissed the appeal made by unions and workers based on the same economic arguments raised by the *Govern Balear* when accounting for the closure of the entity in 2011 (*El País*, 27 October 2014).

From the perspective of civil society, already in 2011, and as a reaction to the decision of the Bauzá administration, various organisations in Mallorca constituted an alliance ('Plataforma RTV Mallorca') in order to organize civil protests and demonstrations against the closure of RTV Mallorca. Among the different arguments put forward, linguistic and cultural questions played an important role in the contesting position of the alliance. The decision of closing RTVM was depicted as an attack against freedom of expression and information and the creative sector, as well as against the recovery of the historic memory of Mallorca and against the Catalan language ('Plataforma RTVM', *Diari Ara*, 11 December 2011). Furthermore, Plataforma RTV Mallorca pointed out that RTV Mallorca played a fundamental role in the Balearic society since it was a vehicle of linguistic normalization and of integration of migrant groups. Furthermore, it operated as a means of reflection of the cultural and social reality of the people of Mallorca, thus generating social cohesion.

Another case with a strong visibility in media is the one related to the cut of the retransmission of channels 3/34 and Super 3/33 of the Catalan TV in 2015. This case was not an isolated episode. In fact, during the last three decades, numerous conflicts have emerged regarding the reception and retransmission of programmes and channels of the Catalan TV. They have been subject to continuous political and social struggles for the presence of Catalan in the Balearic audio-visual sphere.

Since 1985, the reception of TV channels of the Catalan Corporation of Audiovisual Media ('Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals'/CCMA) has been a major source of conflict. In 1989, after the repeater that retransmitted the signal of the Catalan TV in the Balearic Islands suffered a violent attack, a campaign under the motto 'Stop barbarism, we are decent people' was launched. In 2004, the administration of Jaume Matas (PP) started introducing restrictions in the retransmission of sport events, mainly concerning football matches. In 2007, 'Obra Cultural Balear' organized a protest action 'We want to watch TV3. Football festival in Catalan'. Two years after, a new cut of TV3 programming took place.

In 2015, the retransmission of channels 3/24 and Super 3/33 was ended because of the reorganization of the broadcasting space. In April, 'Obra Cultural Balear' (OBC) promoted a protest



under the motto: ‘For a free choice of language, we want to watch 3/24 and Super 3/33’. The decision was mainly depicted as an attack against freedom of expression and linguistic rights:

*‘I am very concerned about having a government that creates obstacles to the use, knowledge and prestige of our own language. This should be denounced, it cannot be tolerated. A government that should ensure all this, acts against this perfectly explicit mandate. Why? I do not accept the argument that it is not technically feasible. Because there is a technical solution and if they do not apply it I understand that it is because they do not want these channels to be available. They are breaking the normalization law and the Statute’ (Jaume Mateu, president of OCB. Vilaweb).*

OBC also argued that the elimination of these two channels affected half of the TV offer in Catalan, whereas audio-visual contents in Castilian remained unaffected by the reorganization of the broadcasting space (Diari Ara Balears, April 2015). After the municipal elections on 24 May, a coalition between PSIB-PSOE, Podem i Més per Mallorca (MÉS) would agree to recover the TDT of channels Super 3/33 and 3/24.

<b>Table 13. Audio-visual media in the Balearic Islands. Dimensions of analysis</b>		
<b>(a) Actors</b>		
	<i>For (limitation of channels in Catalan)</i>	<i>For (limitation of channels in Catalan)</i>
Political	PPB	ERC; Partit Socialista de Mallorca (PSM); Esquerra Unida (EU); Iniciativa Verds (IV); PSIB-PSOE, Podem; MÉS
Unions		CCOO; Sindicat de Treballadores i Treballadors-Intersindical de les Illes Balears (STEI-i)
Civil society		Obra Cultural Balear; Assamblea Sobiranista de Mallorca; Joves de Mallorca per la Llengua; FAPA Mallorca; Entesa per Mallorca; Memòria de Mallorca
<b>(b) Arguments</b>		
	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>
Economic	Insufficiency of resources	
Technical	Redefinition of the broadcasting space	
Political		It is a political duty to promote the Catalan language in public media
Socio-linguistic		Limitation of the use, knowledge and prestige of the Catalan language
Social and cultural		Cultural and informative function of public television Vehicle for social cohesion and integration of immigration
Legal		Against freedom of expression and linguistic rights Against Law of Linguistic Normalization and the Statute of Autonomy of the Balearic Islands
<b>(c) Channels</b>		
Political	Parliamentary debate	
Civil	Public protest actions; demonstrations	

Source: Own elaboration



- *The Galician case: The introduction of English programming in TVG*

In 2011, the Socialist Party of Galicia proposed broadcasting movies in their original version in English on TV Galicia. The main goal was to support the improvement of English skills of Galician population. The proposal found not only the opposition of corporative groups such as the association of professionals of dubbing (Apradoga), but also of nationalist left-wing parties such as BNG. Arguments against the introduction of programming in English was that it might represent a limitation of the social and cultural function of TV Galicia, whose main objective, according to the Statute of Galicia and the Law of Language Normalization, is the promotion and protection of the language (La Opinión A Coruña, 6/10/2011).

The 'Compañía de Radio Televisión Galicia' (CRTVG) defended the emission of programming in English with Galician subtitles arguing that it would not only improve English skills but it would also promote the use of Galician by children and young audiences. The BNG expressed its opposition to the proposal arguing that children's TV programmes in English would undermine their Galician oral capabilities since it would cut down the hours of children's programming in Galician aimed at an early-age audience without reading competencies in Galician (La voz de Galicia, 30/12/2009). The BNG also argued that the promotion of a trilingual model Galician-Castilian-English by the *Xunta* was in fact intended as a political strategy to restrict the linguistic terrain of Galician in the public sphere.

<b>Table 14. Programming in English in TV Galicia. Dimensions of analysis</b>		
<b>(a) Actors</b>		
	<i>For (programming in English)</i>	<i>Against (programming in English)</i>
Political	PPG	BNG
Professional corporations		Apradoga
<b>(b) Arguments</b>		
	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>
Political		Limitation of the normalization role of public TV
Pedagogical	Promotion of language skills in English	
Cultural		Cultural and informative function of public television Vehicle for social cohesion and integration
<b>(c) Channels</b>		
Political	Parliamentary debates	

Source: Own elaboration

## 7 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS ACROSS ISSUES AND TERRITORIES

As some authors already suggested (see for example, Argelaguet 1998), language policy in Spain has traditionally been a highly politicized and unstable terrain, subject to continuous pressures from dominant political actors and CSOs. The eight cases we have examined confirm this idea.

During the last decade, the linguistic question has been a major source of political and social dispute in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, the Basque Country and Galicia, involving, though, different degrees of political, legal and social conflict. The cases we have examined illustrate that conflicts related to language policy comprise multiple types of actors, channels, arguments as well as political and administrative levels. In this sense, language planning in the Spanish periphery should be understood





as the result of bottom-up and top-down 'deliberative efforts' (Cooper 1989), transversally articulated by different actors, playing collectively and, in a much lesser extent, individually, within specific socio-linguistic and political contexts.

Our analytical framework builds on two preliminary premises. The first one is that differences among language policy models can be characterized as differences in the management of the relationship between the co-existing linguistic communities in the private sphere and their representation in the public or institutional domain (see section 1). The second one is that conflicts related to changes in language policy models are mainly articulated according to competing interpretations of both the legal framework that regulates language and linguistic rights and the socio-linguistic contexts (see section 3). In this sense, the conflicts we have described (see sections 4 and 5) have been examined by exploring how political, social and legal actors discuss the distance or proximity of the institutional and legal status of Castilian and the co-official language as vehicular languages in the terrain of education, audio-visual media and public space signalization. Their claims relate mainly to the legal and socio-linguistic dimensions.

Through our analysis, we identify elements of similarity regarding the main dimensions considered in the description of the cases: actors, claims and channels. Still, some interesting differences emerge in terms of the dominant claims for and against changes in the linguistic models, the type of actors involved and the specific channels of such claims (see comparative synthesis in Table 16).

When looking across the cases, there is a divide between major and minor conflicts. Cases related to language policy practices in the field of education involve much more complexity, being the degree of legal proceedings and social mobilization more intense compared to the cases revolving around language uses in audio-visual media and public space signalization. In this sense, education can be depicted as a major area of conflict and a particularly sensitive terrain in the Spanish periphery, where competing positions in favour or against the promotion of Castilian and the co-official language as languages of instruction are articulated by a wide range of actors, arguments and channels.

Even if all cases portray different strategies for the redistribution of the weight of Castilian and the co-official languages in the public sphere, we identify a general pattern that reproduces the characteristic cleavage of the Spanish case between monolingual and plurilingual positions. In this sense and considering the main advocates of changes in linguistic policies and the specific type of model being promoted, the cases display rather relevant symmetries, which in turn refer to the dominant tension between Hispano-centric positions articulated at the national level and the defence of linguistic minorities in the periphery. The intersection between these two dimensions - the promoters of the changes, on the one hand, and the direction of the change, on the other - offers fertile ground for assessing political contestation and competition over the loss or gain of institutional terrain at the sub-national level of both Castilian and the co-official languages.

Regarding the type of policy model addressed by the claimants, all cases involve political and social pressures to promote or discourage the linguistic fragmentation of the public sphere in the institutional domains addressed in the paper, namely education, audio-visual media and public space signalization (see Table 15).

In the area of education, the promotion of the diversification of the number of languages of instruction is articulated as a process that goes either from a bilingual to a trilingual model (Balearic and Galician cases) or from an immersion to a bilingual model (Catalan case). In this respect, the Basque case illustrates the promotion of changes from a bilingual to an immersion model. While the change of model in the Galician, Balearic and Catalan cases seeks the diversification of the number and proportion of languages of instruction, in the Basque case, the key goal is to strengthen the role of their own language. Additionally, in Galicia and the Balearic Islands the change goes from a





bilingual model based on a rule of 50% in Catalan/Galician to a trilingual model promoting equal proportion of Catalan/Galician, Castilian and English. In Catalonia, the transformation is from an immersion model in Catalan to a bilingual model Catalan-Castilian, whereas the linguistic policy reform in the Basque Country aims to implement a soft version of an immersion model (60% in Euskera), thus replacing the previous three-option-model.

Regarding the cases related to public audio-visual media, we identify claims against the loss of the institutional terrain of the co-official language. In the Balearic and Galician cases, claims aimed at the defence of public media as a tool to promote linguistic immersion and of expression of the national identity and culture. In the Balearic case, claims contested the loss of the presence of Catalan in local and regional audio-visual media, whereas in Galicia, claims are articulated against the introduction of another language distinct from Galician in regular TV programming.

In the third place, we have examined claims related to the uses of language in the signalization of commercial, traffic and street signs. Again, in these cases main political and social actors claimed for the diversification of the number of languages used in the public space, articulating strategies to promote a Basque-Castilian bilingual model in the Basque case, and a Catalan-Castilian bilingual model in the Catalan case. While in the Catalan case claims were expressed against the rule of minimum in Catalan in commercial signs, as stated in the 1998 Law of Language Policy, in the Basque country, claimers asked for bilingual traffic signs, as stated by the Spanish General Traffic Rules and Traffic Law.

**Table 15. Claims for the redistribution of the weight of Castilian and the co-official language in the public sphere**

	<i>Field</i>	<i>Linguistic model in force before the conflict</i>	<i>Promoters</i>	<i>New model to be implemented</i>	<i>Promoters</i>
<i>Catalonia</i>	Education	Immersion in Catalan	CiU; ERC; PSC; ICV; UGT; Òmnium Cultural; Plataforma per la Llengua; AMPA Catalunya	Bilingual Catalan-Castilian	PPC, C's
	Public space	Immersion in Catalan	CiU, ERC, PSC, ICV	Bilingual Catalan-Castilian	PPC; C's; CCC; Associació per la tolerància
<i>The Balearic Islands</i>	Education	Bilingual Catalan-Castilian (minimum of 50% in Catalan)	OCB; FETE-UGT; MES; FAPA; PSIB	Trilingual Catalan-Castilian-English (1/3)	PPB
	Audio-visual media	TV offer in Catalan	OCB; Entesa; PSIB; EU; Podem; MÉS	Reduction of TV offer in Catalan	PPB
<i>The Basque Country</i>	Education	Free choice model: (A) Immersion in Castilian (B) Bilingual (D) Immersion in Basque	PNV; PSE; PP; Plataforma Libertad de elección lingüística	Immersion in Basque (60%)	EA; EB; ELA; LAB
	Public space	Immersion in Basque	Bildu; PNV	Bilingual Basque-Castilian	PP



<i>Galicia</i>	Education	Bilingual Galician-Castilian (50%)	BNG; PSG; FETE-UGT; Queremos Galego	Trilingual Catalan-Castilian-English	PPG; Galicia Bilingüe
	Audio-visual media	Immersion in Galician	BNG	Introduction of programming in English	PPG; PSG

*Source: Own elaboration*

Based on a more in-depth comparison of the ‘who’ (actors), ‘why’ (arguments) and ‘how’ (channels) questions, we observe some common general features across the selected regions (Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, the Basque Country and Galician) and the public sphere dimensions (education, audio-visual media and public space) included in the analysis.

As already mentioned, contesting positions in the political and social arena are mainly articulated along the divide between positions defending the institutional terrain of Castilian through policy strategies of diversification of the number of languages, on the one hand, and positions defending the institutional terrain of the co-official language ensuring a minimum level in the public sphere, on the other. Diverse political and social actors represent both positions. Some cases involve the active participation of political parties promoting a change of model based on their position in the government (e.g. the Balearic and Galician cases on education), while other cases involve pressures from the opposition (e.g. Catalan cases). Unions and CSOs mainly, professional corporations and cultural associations (e.g. Òmnium Cultural; Obra Cultural Balear; Galicia Bilingüe) - and, to a lesser extent, official institutions (e.g. Real Academia Galega) play a relevant role in all cases. This is not the case, however, in conflicts portraying lower degree of political and societal relevance, as in the area of audio-visual media in Galicia, and the Basque episode on the use of language in the public space.

When looking across the channels of articulation of the claims, conflicts are intended to modify language policy practices and the involved actors resort to political mechanisms, legal and administrative proceedings to deploy their collective action strategies. Legal and political proceedings as well as civil protest actions, such as demonstrations and mobilizations, are particularly significant in the cases in the area of education. Cases involving higher degrees of legal, political and social conflicts are those related to the education field, being this especially strong in the Balearic case, where the use of institutional violence is much higher and social mobilization was much more intense, leading to a solid alliance among the different actors of the educational community. Moreover, whereas most of the Catalan, Galician and Balearic cases involve court proceedings, the Basque case is exclusively developed in the political and administrative arenas. Finally, another interesting difference is the degree of social conflict ushered in by the cases, being the level of social mobilization much more intense in the Balearic Islands than in the other regions.

Whereas the type of actors involved and the channels used for the articulation of the claims imply more elements of similarity than of divergence, interesting differences emerge when analysing the type of arguments used across the eight cases. We identify seven different types of arguments:

- (1) Legal: referred to the legal framework of reference at European, national, and sub-national level;
- (2) Social: related to issues of social cohesion, integration, and social inclusion;
- (3) Pedagogical: in relation to language skills and language proficiency;
- (4) Economic: referred to questions of competitiveness and employment;



- (5) Socio-linguistic: referred to discriminatory effects of a certain language model;
- (6) Cultural and identity-related arguments: referred to the identity function of language;
- (7) Political: referred to the degree of political consensus and democratic legitimacy of a particular language policy.

Legal, political, social and sociolinguistic arguments are dominant across all cases. Pedagogical-related arguments are especially significant in the cases on education. Interestingly, economic-based arguments are only present in the Balearic cases. While the cultural and identity questions are important in most of the cases, it does not play a particular role in the Basque cases.

In relation to the arguments based on the legal framework, references to EU institutions and policies are present in the Balearic and Galician cases on education. The implementation of a trilingual model in Galicia and the Balearic Islands is defended based on the EU guidelines and recommendations on multilingualism. In 2002, the European Council recommended that at least two foreign languages should be learnt from a very early age. 'Mother tongue plus two foreign languages' was formulated as a goal to promote social cohesion, employability and economic competitiveness in a knowledge-based society, as well as to create mutual understanding and shared sense of community. However, the EU guidelines do not establish what should be done in those territories in which 'Mother tongue' is not homogeneous, being this the case in all the episodes analysed here. In fact, all contending parts involved are in favour of multilingualism, but they differ about the best way to achieve such goal. The main question underlying these cases is how to protect citizens' mother tongue and at the same time promote other languages. To this end, social cohesion criteria as well as different pedagogic arguments are often introduced to sustain these different perspectives.

Similar claims are absent in the Catalan and Basque cases, where demands for bilingualism rely on the principle of non-discrimination on grounds of language and the official status of Castilian. Arguments in favour of the immersion model in Catalonia and the Basque Country, and the bilingual model in Galicia and the Balearic Islands are expressed in terms of compensating the discriminatory effect of the hegemonic position of Castilian in the media and other public spaces. It is argued that a loss of institutional terrain of the co-official language will lead to its marginalization and to the reinforcement of Castilian. A basic assumption by those defending this policy is that knowledge of the co-official language by all parts of the society will affect positively social cohesion and the integration of ethnic and migrant minorities in the public space.

A key dimension shared by all these conflicts is whether linguistic rights should be articulated as individual or collective rights. Liberal positions defended by the PP and some CSOs in favour of a bilingual model (Galicia Bilingüe; Estudiantes Lliures de les Illes Balears; CCC) contend that language should not be imposed by the administration and that citizens should have the right to freely choose the language. Based on the principle of non-discrimination on grounds of language, these positions argue that the linguistic model implemented should guarantee the individual right through a diversified offer. Nevertheless, defenders understand linguistic rights as collective and essential to better articulate society and its identity. In this sense, we find that the rulings of the Superior Court of Justice in Galicia and the Balearic Islands on the appeals against the Decree of Plurilingualism (Galicia) and the Decree of Trilingualism (the Balearic Islands) emphasize that decisions on the vehicular language in public compulsory education is an institutional matter that cannot be left to individual decisions. On the other hand, however, the ruling of the Constitutional Court in 2010 (31/2010 of 28 June) and the new law on education in 2013 (LOMCE) are highly representative of the liberal position on the exercise of linguistic rights promoted by the PP.



<b>Table 16. Comparison of the dimensions of analysis: claims, actors, arguments and channels. Synthesis</b>				
<b>Direction of the claims</b>				
	<i>Catalonia</i>	<i>The Balearic Islands</i>	<i>The Basque Country</i>	<i>Galicia</i>
<i>Education</i>	Immersion in Catalan vs. bilingual Catalan-Castilian	Bilingual Catalan-Castilian vs. trilingual Catalan-Castilian-English	Three-options model vs. immersion model in Basque	Bilingual Galician-Castilian vs. trilingual Galician-Castilian-English
<i>Media and public space</i>	Immersion in Catalan vs. bilingual Catalan-Castilian	Inclusion vs. non-inclusion of Catalan TV	Immersion in Basque vs. bilingual Castilian-Basque	Bilingual Galician-Castilian vs. trilingual Galician-Castilian-English
<b>Actors</b>				
	<i>Catalonia</i>	<i>The Balearic Islands</i>	<i>The Basque Country</i>	<i>Galicia</i>
<i>Education</i>	Political parties, unions, CSOs	Political parties, unions, CSOs	Political parties, unions, civil society, organizations, institutions	Political parties, unions, CSOs, institutions
<i>Media and public space</i>	Political parties, unions, CSOs	Political parties, unions, CSOs	Political parties	Political parties
<b>Arguments</b>				
	<i>Catalonia</i>	<i>The Balearic Islands</i>	<i>The Basque Country</i>	<i>Galicia</i>
<i>Education</i>	Political, socio-linguistic, social, pedagogical, legal, cultural	Political; socio-linguistic, economic, pedagogical, social, cultural	Political, legal, pedagogical, sociolinguistic	Political, cultural, pedagogical, sociolinguistic
<i>Media and public space</i>	Sociolinguistic, social, legal	Economic, technical, political, sociolinguistic, legal, social, cultural	Political, sociolinguistic, legal	Political, pedagogical, cultural
<b>Channels</b>				
	<i>Catalonia</i>	<i>The Balearic Islands</i>	<i>The Basque Country</i>	<i>Galicia</i>
<i>Education</i>	Legal, political, civil	Legal, political, civil	Political	Legal, political, civil, administrative
<i>Media and public space</i>	Legal, political, civil, administrative	Political, civil	Political, administrative	Political

Source: Own elaboration

Finally, interesting elements of divergence emerge regarding the political levels involved in the conflicts. In the field of education, whereas the cases of the Basque Country, Galicia and the Balearic Islands manifest and develop entirely at the sub-national level, as domestic conflicts, the case of Catalonia more strongly manifests as a conflict between the national and sub-national levels. In this sense, the peculiarity of the Catalan case is that it involves the interaction between diverse legal institutions (Constitutional Court and Superior Court of Justice of Catalonia) and legal frameworks (Statute of Autonomy 2006, LOMCE 2013). The cases related to claims in audio-visual media are articulated at sub-national level, whereas those concerning public space signalization are developed at the intersection between the local, regional and national levels since traffic signalization is a matter subjected to both local (regional) and national regulations. Overall, we observe a much-diversified situation, involving in each case different actors, alternative cleavages, and different levels of government being active in each case. Some linguistic conflicts show very sophisticated combinations of claims, whereas others appear to be very simple, just involving a single dimension.



## 8 SPAIN AND THE EU: CONTINUITIES AND DISCONTINUITIES IN LINGUISTIC POLICIES

When bridging the Spanish and the EU cases, different elements of continuity and discontinuity come evident in both. These might be taken into consideration as a framework to assess to what extent the Spanish case (with its prevalent regional-national linkage) can be taken as an example for the study of EU linguistic policies. The Spanish case illustrates how language can work as a very sensitive ground, leading to conflict when it is a terrain of power struggle, as far as many linguistic situations appear to be in a fluid situation. Looking at the frequent conflicts arising in the Spanish case, the idea of promoting a policy for an 'official' common European language '*à la United States*', which would coexist with national languages, hence triggering a bilingual model for a transnational public space, seems inappropriate. This could open a very uncertain configuration if such policy is related to individual citizens' rights.

In the EU case, linguistic diversity is depicted as a defining feature of the European culture, an element of unity (European culture as a culture of cultures). The lack of a common EU official language and EU competences in the domain of culture and language makes the European arena a neutral space regarding linguistic diversity. The emergence of a scenario of conflict between the EU and the national level similar to that of the Spanish case does not seem plausible given that culture and language remain as competences of member states whereas the EU legal framework addresses the question of linguistic diversity as something to be promoted and respected. Whereas in the Spanish case, the conflict arises because of the tensions between different policy preferences between the national and the regional levels, such a scenario is not possible in the EU case as far as the European bloc has no direct competences on culture and language. In this sense, the current EU policy on multilingualism operates as a sort of 'neutral policy'. The question is whether linguistic diversity in Europe can be really promoted through this 'neutral policy' when there is a clear divide between the European sociological context of high linguistic diversity and a transnational public space where some global languages operate as extensive *linguae francae*.

The tension between unity and diversity in terms of the conflict between the need for a monolingual public space and a plurilingual sociological context can be translated in the EU case into the conflict between a hegemonic centre and a subaltern periphery. There are 23 officially recognised languages, more than 60 regional and minority languages, and a large number of languages spoken by migrant minorities. Despite this extraordinary linguistic diversity, the most spoken foreign languages (English, French and German) constitute a parallel linguistic space, much more homogeneous, operative in the European space, in EU institutions and policies: EU working languages of the EU, languages used in the EU programmes, EU institutions, and legislation, among others.

Language is probably one of the most important political and cultural barriers that EU citizens face when they exercise their right of free movement, but also for the creation of a common public space to share policy deliberations and judgements. The right to work, study and reside in another member state is strongly constrained by the European linguistic diversity. Even if linguistic rights of EU movers are not guaranteed in terms of their mother tongue when they move to another country, multilingualism can be considered a side effect of mobility. In this sense, EU programmes on mobility can be viewed as promoting the emergence of a multilingual European space.

Beyond the fact that the EU has no direct competences in language, being the EU cultural policy and linguistic policy framed as a support competence, the question is what type of European linguistic model the EU should promote through its policies on communication, education and culture. In addition, in a second level, what should be the EU recommendations to the member states in the field of linguistic policy?



Different EU cultural policy programmes (i.e. Creative Europe, Erasmus+, Europe for Citizens, just to mention a few) are based on mobility. The promotion of multilingualism at the national level in the domain of culture and education by means of such programs to guarantee linguistic diversity suggests that EU cultural policy should promote language learning of less spoken European languages. The advancement of multilingualism through the promotion of mobility and the emergence of a plurilingual European cultural space requires affirmative action regarding peripheral countries. Additionally, and regarding policy recommendations aimed at preventing possible conflicts at the national level, the EU could consider providing some considerations regarding when immersion and bilingual or multilingual policies are worth pursuing. Though defining clear rules might be too complex and unattainable, recommendations could show which the most conflictive situations and the more pragmatic ones are.

The idea that languages are a central element for collective identity and that therefore, the promotion of an EU common official language is required to enhance European identity can be contested based on the asymmetry between the national and the supranational levels. Understanding the EU as a super nation-state responding to a nation-state logic fails in many aspects. In terms of language and identity, diversity operates in the EU as a constitutive principle of European identity. The promotion of intercultural skills and multilingualism through mobility facilitates the generation of an intercultural citizenship, as a basis of mutual understanding and cultural exchange. In this sense, the promotion of non-hegemonic EU languages would not only promote diversity as an EU value, but it might also operate as a factor of promotion of a European identity.

Finally, the situation in Spain is rather unique since quite strong sub-national language policies live together with a national language that all the population understands. However, and looking ahead, if English was to assume in Europe the role Castilian plays in parts of Spain today, it would be out of discussion that any country or territory could deploy immersion policies, leaving bilingual policies for countries and/or territories holding separate and diverse, and already well-established, linguistic communities.

## 9 CONCLUDING REMARKS

To what extent democratic Spain has managed to deal with this variety of linguistic conflicts is something not easy to assess in any case. The salience and visibility of some conflicts, the electoral calculations behind them and the mobilization potential create a highly unstable environment, where small deviations from the status quo generate major claims and open discussions. The perception, shared by many of the actors involved, is that the current distribution of linguistic uses is not final and that can be modified over time according to the policies implemented.

Furthermore, the Spanish experience talks to the interplay between ethnicity, identity and language only to show that these three dimensions do not always fit together well. Hence, pressures for homogenization rather than contributing to a better engagement across these different elements create tensions. This is because homogenization attempts to override differences, mixtures and existing mismatches across ethnicity, identity and language. Political mechanisms and constructions intended to promote language homogeneity seem to respond to immediate political interests, exacerbating anxieties and conflictive views. In fact, many of the conflicts analysed along the paper stem from attempts to draw benefits for different policy options, at the cost of maximizing conflict. Therefore, those interested in achieving further gains by introducing changes in language and multilingualism policies and regulations only seem to contribute to reigniting the potential for



conflict. Moreover, this can occur through diverse legal and regulatory frameworks or proposals of various kinds for dealing with the 'linguistic issue'.

Preserving multilingualism is certainly a challenge, especially in a context marked by budgetary constraints at both the domestic and the EU level. In all, the EU relies on the principle of multilingualism, being the reason behind its 24 official and working languages. Moreover, different EU-funded programs and projects in the area of language policy currently promote multilingualism as a way to enhance mobility, employability and Europe's competitiveness. Still, and based on the Spanish case, we can conclude that apart from these efforts to prioritize language learning,<sup>13</sup> procedural elements should also be considered. In this respect, an issue worth exploring is which policies could more strongly contain and reduce the potential for rivalries and conflict in linguistic issues. Thus, the EU could offer a useful procedural strategy or model that might help in domestic linguistic concerns. Furthermore, we believe that a more flexible approach to linguistic policies, aimed for facilitating the movement of persons and goods, would be a recommendable principle if its implementation carefully avoids exposition to political conflicts. In all, the underlying idea is that the EU guarantees a negative freedom taken as the absence of limitation of opportunities for the different linguistic policy options that may occur at the national and subnational levels.

Finally, and as a possible target for an enhanced European citizenship, in those cases in which, the potential for linguistic struggles is too large due to its identity attractiveness and political polarization, it would be highly recommendable to articulate mechanisms of stabilization as much as possible to avoid conflicts to escalate further. Additionally, the EU could play a relevant role by guaranteeing a minimum of linguistic rights, independently from and with no links to national identities and territorial frames. In this respect, the English language in its role as lingua franca – a language for communication, irrespective of mother tongues and national identities – could become a basic right to exercise some fundamental communicative functions.

In all, the linguistic policies that we have analysed in Spain trigger conflict when they attempt to modify the status quo as these are framed as zero sum games. On the contrary, those policies aimed at promoting and enlarging the set of options and rights available to citizens and communities tend to be less conflictive. Certainly, rather than transforming or altering existing linguistic models at the national or sub-national levels, the question would be encouraging an effective public debate on citizenship and linguistic rights, based on the acknowledgement of multilingualism and the need to grant symbolic recognition architectures and linguistic rights to all existing languages.

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<sup>13</sup> One of the objectives of the EU's language policy is that every European citizen should master two other languages in addition to their mother tongue.





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