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Language policy and national identity: the case of Catalonia after the transition to democracy

Supervisor
Ch. Prof. Patrizio Rigobon

Assistant supervisor
Ch. Prof. Laura Cerasi

Graduand
Alessia Pedersoli
989730

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To my mother and father

"You are the gull, Jo,
strong and wild,
fond of the storm and the wind,
flying far out to sea,
and happy all alone"
(Alcott 1869, 198)

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Acronyms

BOE: Boletín Oficial del Estado (Official State Gazette)

CADECA: Coordinadora de Afectados en Defensa del Castellano (Coordinator Affected in Defence of Castilian)

CCC: Congrés de Cultura Catalana (Catalan Cultural Congress)

CDC: Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya (Democratic Convergence of Catalonia)

CE: Constitución Española (Spanish Constitution)

CiU: Convergència i Unió (Convergence and Union)

Cs: Ciutadans (Citizens)

CUP: Candidatura d'Unitat Popular (Popular Unity Candidacy)

DGPL: Director General de Política Lingüística (General Directorate for Liguistic Policy)

DOGC: Diario Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya (Official Gazette of the Government of Catalonia)

EU: European Union

EULP: Encuesta de Usos Lingüísticos de la Población (Survey on Linguistic Uses of the Population)

ERC: Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (Republican Left of Catalonia)

IC: Iniciativa per Catalunya (Initiative for Catalonia)

JxCat: Junts per Catalunya (Together for Catalonia)

JxSí: Junts pel Sí (Together for Yes)

L: Ley (Law)

LEC: Ley de Educación Catalana (Catalan Education Law)

LNL: Ley de Normalización Lingüística (Language Normalisation Law)

LO: Ley Orgánica (Organic Law)

LOAPA: Ley Orgánica de Armonización del Proceso Autonómico (Organic Law on the Harmonization of the Autonomy Process)

LOGSE: Ley Orgánica de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo de España (Organic Law on the General Organisation of the Education System)

LPL: Ley de Política Lingüística (Language Policy Law)

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

PGNL: Plan General de Normalización Lingüística (General Plan for Linguistic Normalisation)

PIL: Programas de Inmersión Lingüística (Language Immersion Programs)

PP: Partit Popular (Popular Party)

PSC: Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya (Catalan Socialist Party)

PSOE: Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party)

TSJC: Tribunal Superior de Justicia de Cataluña (High Court of Justice of Catalonia)

UDC: Unió Democràtica de Catalunya (Democratic Union of Catalonia)

Abstract

Questa prova finale verte sulla relazione tra politica linguistica e identità nazionale, con riferimento al caso specifico della Catalogna dopo la transizione spagnola a un sistema politico democratico. Ho articolato la tesi in tre capitoli, ciascuno dei quali presenta una propria introduzione e conclusione. Il primo capitolo ha un carattere teorico e fornisce una panoramica sul campo di studi del nazionalismo; in particolare, presenta la prospettiva socio-costruttivista. Il secondo capitolo fornisce, invece, un approfondimento storico della Catalogna del XX secolo, con particolare riferimento al regime dittatoriale franchista e alle conseguenze socioculturali nella regione spagnola. Il terzo capitolo, infine, si focalizza sulle varie politiche di normalizzazione linguistica elaborate dal governo catalano nei primi anni Ottanta, e successivamente consolidate ed ampliate negli anni Novata e Duemila. Le conclusioni finali fungono da ponte tra i vari capitoli. Ci tengo a precisare che nel secondo e terzo capitolo ho fatto riferimento ad opere di autori sia spagnoli che catalani. Infatti, come si potrà evincere da questa tesi, il conflitto linguistico in Catalogna è una questione prettamente politica che generalmente presenta due versioni: quella spagnola e quella catalana.

Nel primo capitolo mi sono servita principalmente delle opere di Umut Özkirimli per affrontare il dibattito contemporaneo sul nazionalismo. In principio, ho sottolineato la difficoltà nell'individuare una definizione univoca di nazione e nazionalismo, presentando i vari tentativi di inquadrare i due fenomeni all'interno di una dimensione esclusivamente culturale o politica. Dato che in entrambi i casi il risultato è stato riduttivo e poco realistico, gli intellettuali contemporanei hanno virato l'attenzione sulla periodizzazione ed evoluzione della nazione per fornire una teoria del nazionalismo. A tale proposito, ho presentato brevemente le tre principali scuole di pensiero individuate da Özkirimli: primordialismo, etnosimbolismo e modernismo. Mi sono quindi focalizzata sull'approccio socio-costruttivista presentato dall'autore, che rientra nella categoria del modernismo. A grandi linee, questi intellettuali definiscono la nazione come una *costruzione* dell'era moderna, originata da trasformazioni economiche, politiche o culturali della società. Questa corrente di pensiero evidenzia l'interdipendenza tra politica e cultura nel fomentare un sentimento nazionalista: si tratta, di fatto, della culturalizzazione della politica, e della politicizzazione della cultura. Secondo questo

approccio, la coesione sociale è fondamentale per la formazione di una nazione e di una coscienza nazionale. A tale proposito, ho esposto le teorie dei due modernisti Ernest Gellner e Benedict Anderson circa la crucialità del processo di omogeneizzazione culturale nel plasmare un'identità nazionale. Gellner si focalizza sul ruolo chiave dell'educazione di massa per imporre una cultura standardizzata, che fomenta un senso di appartenenza a una comunità politica. Anderson, invece, si concentra sull'importanza della stampa su larga scala delle lingue volgari, rendendole così veicoli di espressione popolari volte a promuovere una coscienza nazionale. Successivamente ho preso in considerazione il lavoro di Daniel Cetrà, che integra gli argomenti delle teorie socio-costruttiviste con riflessioni riguardanti la politica linguistica. Nello specifico, l'autore fa riferimento al dibattito accademico sulla giustizia linguistica, e afferma che le scelte politiche sulla gestione del multilinguismo in una società possano portare conseguenze a livello nazionalistico. Cetrà, infatti, sostiene che la relazione tra lingua e nazione sia costruita e che abbia una potente carica simbolica: in alcuni casi, può incidere sulla definizione di un'identità nazionale. Infine, ho riportato alcune considerazioni circa le minoranze linguistiche e i nazionalismi periferici: la strumentalizzazione della lingua non è una prerogativa delle forze politiche statali, ma un mezzo impiegato anche da attivisti e politici regionali per promuovere un'etnia.

Nel secondo capitolo ho esposto le premesse storiche che hanno portato la Catalogna a adottare una politica linguistica forte, a tratti estrema, con l'avvento della democrazia. Inizialmente ho fornito un breve excursus sul processo di centralizzazione della Spagna, focalizzandomi sul debole tentativo di modernizzazione e nazionalizzazione del paese durante il XIX secolo. In questo frangente, ho fatto riferimento al contesto romantico dell'Ottocento che ha portato alla nascita di movimenti culturali volti al restauro di lingue regionali, sfociati poi in nazionalismi periferici. Successivamente, ho presentato il panorama politico spagnolo di fine XIX secolo e primi anni del XX, per poi concentrarmi definitivamente sul regime dittatoriale di Francisco Franco. Ho introdotto, quindi, la tesi nazionalista sostenuta dal franchismo, che si basa essenzialmente sul culto dell'ispanicità, ovvero: la centralità di Castiglia e del castigliano, e la demonizzazione di tutto ciò che appartiene alla sfera dell'*altro*, del diverso. Il processo di nazionalizzazione si è basato sulla omogeneizzazione linguistica e culturale dell'intero paese, raggiunta attraverso la persecuzione e discriminazione delle minoranze etniche nelle regioni. Dopo aver brevemente descritto la propaganda franchista, mi sono concentrata sul caso specifico

della regione catalana. Ho descritto la graduale conquista franchista della Catalogna e le immediate conseguenze a livello politico e sociale, basandomi principalmente sui lavori di Josep Benet, Francesc Ferrer i Gironès e Xosé M. Núñez Seixas. Ho presentato le varie politiche repressive attuate a discapito della lingua catalana, che hanno inaugurato un periodo di *catalanofobia* nella regione. Il processo di spagnolizzazione della Catalogna è stato radicale, coinvolgendo ogni aspetto della vita pubblica: dalla toponomastica e antroponimia, passando per la pubblica amministrazione e istruzione, fino alla religione e industria culturale. La standardizzazione linguistica ha comportato la marginalizzazione del catalano alla sfera privata e domestica, e l'imposizione del castigliano come unica lingua ufficiale della Catalogna. Infine, ho concluso riportando i vari motivi che hanno permesso alla lingua catalana di sopravvivere, nonostante una repressione durata quasi quarant'anni, mettendo in luce il ruolo chiave di religiosi, intellettuali e politici esiliati.

Nel terzo capitolo ho presentato le varie politiche linguistiche adottate all'interno della cornice democratica, facendo riferimento anche alle implicazioni a livello sociale. Il capitolo si apre con una breve digressione sulla graduale apertura politica nei confronti delle lingue regionali dopo la morte di Franco, che culmina con l'entrata in vigore della Costituzione Spagnola (1978) e il passaggio a un sistema politico di stampo democratico. Inizialmente ho esposto alcune riflessioni sugli articoli 2 e 3 della Costituzione, che stabiliscono l'autonomia politica delle comunità spagnole e lo status di co-ufficialità delle varie lingue regionali. Successivamente ho riportato l'articolo 3 dello Statuto di Autonomia della Catalogna (1979), che oltre a riconoscere l'ufficialità del castigliano e catalano, riserva solo a quest'ultimo l'appellativo di lingua *propria* della regione. Come verrà esposto nel capitolo, questa precisazione terminologica ha in alcuni casi stabilito una gerarchia linguistica. Nonostante fosse stata riconosciuta legalmente la doppia ufficialità linguistica nella regione catalana, la situazione sociolinguistica di fine anni Settanta era ancora ritenuta diglossica. Il governo regionale, pertanto, ha deciso di affrontare la diseguaglianza tra le due lingue elaborando delle politiche inique, basate su una *discriminazione positiva* del castigliano per normalizzare l'uso del catalano nei vari ambiti sociali. I principali strumenti legislativi che ho preso in considerazione sono i seguenti: la legge di normalizzazione linguistica (1983), la legge di politica linguistica (1998) e la riforma dello Statuto d'Autonomia della Catalogna (2006). I settori sociali che rientrano nel raggio d'azione della normativa linguistica sono la pubblica amministrazione, la comunicazione, il mondo socioeconomico e l'educazione. Le

politiche attuate in quest'ultimo campo sono sicuramente le più radicali, tanto da suscitare una serie di perplessità che si sono poi tradotte in dubbi di costituzionalità. Ho dedicato una sezione di questo capitolo alla sfera politica catalana, facendo riferimento ai vari partiti nazionalisti che hanno governato la Catalogna a partire dalle prime elezioni democratiche del 1980. Inizialmente, ho accennato al periodo del cosiddetto *Pujolismo*, durante il quale è stata delineata la maggior parte delle manovre linguistiche. Successivamente, ho descritto il cambiamento del potere politico che ha portato alla graduale radicalizzazione del movimento nazionalista catalano, e all'avvento della questione indipendentista. In generale, ho segnalato la centralità della lingua nel discorso politico del nazionalismo catalano. Infine, ho concluso il capitolo presentando l'attuale situazione sociolinguistica della regione, riflettendo sui risultati delle varie politiche di normalizzazione linguistica. Per farlo, mi sono basata sui dati del "Rapporto sulla Politica Linguistica del 2018" fornito dal Dipartimento della Cultura del governo catalano.

Nelle conclusioni finali mi sono concentrata principalmente sulla relazione tra le politiche linguistiche e il nazionalismo catalano. Ho riportato nuovamente le teorie socio-costruttiviste esposte nel primo capitolo, soffermandomi sul rapporto tra politica e cultura: il ruolo chiave della politica per promuovere una cultura, e la strumentalizzazione di quest'ultima per plasmare un'identità nazionale. Ho poi esposto delle considerazioni sulle conseguenze della standardizzazione della lingua catalana. Inizialmente, ho fatto riferimento al lavoro di Henry Miller e Kate Miller per affermare che la situazione diglossica sofferta dalla regione a fine anni Settanta è stata superata, e il prestigio della lingua catalana recuperato. Come si evince dal terzo capitolo, la lingua regionale gode attualmente di una posizione privilegiata a livello istituzionale. In base ai dati complessivamente positivi circa l'uso del catalano nella regione - riportati alla fine del terzo capitolo e inerenti all'anno 2018 - ho concluso che il processo di normalizzazione linguistica è stato efficace per il raggiungimento del suo obbiettivo primario: la realizzazione di una concreta condizione di co-ufficialità linguistica nella società catalana. A questo punto, è legittimo chiedersi se sia giusto continuare ad applicare delle politiche linguistiche inique, presumendo quindi che la lingua catalana sia ancora in una condizione di inferiorità rispetto a quella castigliana. A tale proposito, ho menzionato alcune riflessioni di José Carlos Herreras riguardanti le politiche adottate nel campo dell'educazione. L'autore ritiene che il modello educativo catalano, prettamente monolingue, sia in contraddizione con il principale scopo della normalizzazione

linguistica dell'istruzione: consentire agli studenti di usare normalmente e correttamente entrambe le lingue ufficiali. Secondo Herreras, il solido intervento politico in questo settore si sta traducendo in un'eccessiva omogeneizzazione linguistica, il cui intento non sembra affatto quello di promuovere il bilinguismo. Al riguardo, ho esposto le riflessioni di Jordi Argelaguet i Argemí sull'incidenza di questa politica educativa nel modellare una coscienza nazionale catalana. L'autore suggerisce che la scelta di un modello educativo unilingue, pur essendo la Catalogna una società bilingue, sia stata dettata non solo dal bisogno meramente linguistico di estendere l'uso della lingua autoctona, ma anche e soprattutto dalla necessità di promuovere un senso di appartenenza alla comunità politica catalana. Ritiene poi che questo modello educativo abbia plasmato gli ideali e valori politici dei giovani conformandoli alla filosofia nazionalista, propria dei partiti promotori della normalizzazione del catalano: secondo Argelaguet, pertanto, le nuove generazioni sarebbero più sensibili a messaggi nazionalisti. Ho terminato riaffermando la tesi socio-costruttivista, secondo cui la pianificazione linguistica sia, in realtà, guidata da fini politici e ideologici, piuttosto che linguistici. Alla luce di ciò, è presumibile che la standardizzazione della lingua regionale in tutti gli ambiti sociali abbia definito un'identità nazionale catalana e, più in generale, che questa politica linguistica sia parte di un progetto più ampio: citando il manifesto del leader nazionalista Jordi Pujol, "Construir Catalunya."[1]

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[1] I.e., "Costruire la Catalogna."

Introduction

This final dissertation concerns the strict relationship between culture and politics in the promotion of a national sentiment, that is to say: "the 'culturalization' of politics and the 'politization' of culture."[1] Specifically, the focus will be on the language policy adopted in Catalonia after the Spanish transition to democracy and its influence on Catalan national identity.

The first chapter deals with contemporary theories of nationalism and focuses on a modernist approach to the issue: Social Constructivism. This section refers mostly to Umut Özkirimli's works to offer a general framework about nationalism studies.[2] Thus, an overview of the power of nationalist discourse - and how it is *constructed* – will be provided, stressing the role of cultural standardisation in defining a national identity. In this regard, the theories of the two modernists Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson about the impact of, respectively, mass education and mass printing of vernaculars on the development of a national consciousness will be introduced.[3] Finally, the centrality of language in nationalism will be emphasised, presenting Daniel Cetrà's reflections on the link between politics of language and nationalist ideology.[4]

The second chapter offers a study on the reasons why Catalonia was forced to adopt strict language policies in the 1980s. Initially, a brief excursus of the Spanish process of centralisation and nationalisation in the XIX century will be provided, referring to Xosé

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[1] U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Introduction,* Basingstoke and London, Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000, p. 163.

[2] Umut Özkirimli (1970) is a political scholar who offers a critical and comparative overview of the contemporary theories of nationalism. Furthermore, in his works he reflects on alternative approaches to the issue, with a particular emphasis on Social Constructivism. Cf. U. Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction,* Basingstoke and London, Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000, p. ix-xii.

[3] Ernest André Gellner (1925-1995) was a British-Czech philosopher, anthropologist and sociologist. He held the position of Professor of Philosophy at the London School of Economics and Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Cambridge. He also founded and headed the Centre for the Study of Nationalism at the Central European University in Prague. Cf. E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, cit., p. vii-viii; Benedict Richard O'Gorman Anderson (1936-2015) was an Irish-American sociologist, political philosopher and Professor of International Studies at the Cornell University. Cf. B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* London and New York, Verso, 1991, pp. xi-xv.

[4] Daniel Cetrà is a Research Fellow at the Centre on Constitutional Change, founded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), part of the UK Research and Innovation (UKRI); his field of study is nationalism and, above all, the relationship between nationalism and language. Cf. D. Cetrà, *Nationalism, Liberalism and Language in Catalonia and Flanders,* Cham, Palgrave MacMillan, 2019, p. v.

M. Núñez Seixas' works.[5] This part will stress the evolution of peripheral nationalisms within the cultural context of Romanticism. However, the chapter is mostly centred on the Francoist period, giving some insights into Francisco Franco's nationalist propaganda. Precisely, the focus will be on the special role of language in his discourse and the political actions taken to standardise the cultural panorama in the whole territory, thus demonising and discriminating alternative ethnicities. In particular, the case of Catalonia and the continuous oppression of its own language perpetrated by Francoist forces will be considered. In this frame, the "cultural genocide"[6] against Catalonia will be at the core of the discourse, thus alluding to Josep Benet and Francesc Ferrer i Gironès' works.[7] Ultimately, some information about the last period of Francoism and the openness towards linguistic minorities, as well as the various actors who helped keeping alive Catalan language will be supplied.

The third chapter copes with Catalan language policies in the wake of the Spanish transition to democracy. After presenting the legal framework that legitimates Catalan government's choices on how to manage bilingualism, the plan of Catalan language recovery will be introduced. Catalan normalisation process will be divided into two steps: the first one (1983-1995) concerns the promotion of Catalan language knowledge and is based on the 1983 Language Normalisation Law; the second one (1995-present day) regards the expansion of its social use and is grounded in the 1998 Language Policy Law, as well as the new communitarian scenario in favour of the protection of minorities. Therefore, the attention will turn to the social fields affected by the normalisation process throughout years, namely: public administration, communication, socio-economic and consumers sector, and education. After showing the main regulations regarding these sectors, some controversies arose between regional and state government will be exposed,

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[5] Xosé M. Núñez Seixas (1966) is a Spanish historian and Professor of Contemporary History at the *Universidade de Santiago de Compostela*; his field of study is nationalism. Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Suspiros de España. El nacionalismo español 1808-2018,* Barcelona, Editorial Planeta, 2018.

[6] J. Benet, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1995.

[7] Josep Benet (1920-2008) was a Catalan historian and politician. He was the first director of the Centre for the Contemporary History of Catalonia and in 1996 was awarded with *the Premi d'Honor de les Lletres Catalanes* (Catalan literary Lifetime Achievement Award) by the *Òmnium Cultural*, for his significant contribution to the cultural life of Catalonia; Frances Ferrer i Gironès (1935-2006) was a Catalan historian, politician and author. He was also an activist, close to the Catalan nationalist ideology and defensor of the Catalan language under Francoism. In 1972 he became the president of the *Òmnium Cultural* delegation in Girona. Cf. B. De Riquer, "Josep Benet, erudición y pasión," *El País,* March 26th, 2008, <https://elpais.com/diario/2008/03/26/necrologicas/1206486001_850215.html>, (accessed May 6th, 2020); P. Prieto, "Unas 700 personas participan en un homenaje a Ferrer Gironès," *El País,* July 25th, 2005, <https://elpais.com/diario/2005/06/25/catalunya/1119661647_850215.html>, (accessed May 9th, 2020).

as well as the subsequent rulings of the Constitutional Court of Spain. Furthermore, a reference to the 2006 law reforming the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia will be made, thus contemplating the changes with respect to the previous version, above all the ones regarding the ethnic language. Lastly, a brief presentation of the political panorama in the regional government since the first elections in 1980 will be provided. In this respect, the central position of Catalan language in the nationalist discourse will be stressed. In conclusion, the Catalan government's data concerning the sociolinguistic situation in the region in 2018 will be shown, as well as the results about the use of Catalan in the various social fields.

The final conclusions support the thesis concerning the relationship between language policy and national identity, thus referring to the social constructivist arguments presented in the first chapter. Firstly, some considerations on the current sociolinguistic situation of Catalonia will be offered, relying on Henry Miller and Kate Miller's work. In this context, the attention will be focused on linguistic hierarchy in the region, derived from the privilege reserved to Catalan as the own language of Catalonia and the language to be normalised.[8] Therefore, reflections about the correctness in keeping unequal treatment of the two official languages, thus presuming Catalan as if it still were in an inferior position *vis-à-vis* Castilian within the Catalan society, will be considered. In this regard, José Carlos Herreras' criticism of the Catalan monolingual model of education and its consequence on bilingualism will be introduced.[9] Finally, Jordi Argelaguet i Argemí's study on the impact of such education policy on the youth, both in terms of linguistic proficiency and, especially, nationalist affiliation will be presented.[10] Thus, social constructivist thesis, according to which language planning does not serve purely linguistic purposes but rather political and ideological ones, will be reiterated. In view of

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[8] Henry Miller has been lecturer of Sociology at the Education Department, Business School and the School of Languages and Social Sciences of the University of Aston (Birmingham, United Kingdom); Kate Miller was a PhD researcher at the University of St. Andrew (United Kingdom) and is now lecturer of Sociology at University of the West of Scotland. Cf. H. Miller, K. Miller, "Language Policy and Identity: the case of Catalonia," *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1996.

[9] José Carlos Herreras is Professor of Spanish Language at the University of Valenciennes (France). He worked on various articles and books related to language policy. Cf. J. C. Herreras, *Lenguas y normalización en España*, Biblioteca Románica Hispánica, Madrid, Editorial Gredos, 2006.

[10] Jordi Argelaguet i Argemí (1965) is a Catalan lecturer at the Faculty of Political Sciences of the *Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona*, who focused his doctoral thesis on Catalan language policy in education and its political impact at the end of the XX century. Cf. E. Heidepriem Olazábal, "An Overview of Catalan Research into Language Policy and Planning," in M. Strubell i Trueta, E. Boix-Fuster, *Democratic Policies for Language Revitalisation: the Case of Catalan,* London, Palgrave MacMillan, 2011, p. 231.

this, it is presumable that the standardisation of the regional language in all social fields has shaped a Catalan national identity, and the Catalan language policy may be part of a wider nationalist project.

Chapter 1

Theoretical paradigms of nationalism: an overview of the social constructionist approach

1.1. Introduction

In 1993 John A. Hall concluded that "no single, universal theory of nationalism is possible. As the historical record is diverse, so too must be our concepts."[1] Indeed, finding a unique definition of nation and a widespread explanation of nationalism has been a concern for most contemporary intellectuals committed in this field. Nationalism may be defined as a relatively modern concept, whose formulation originated between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, the struggle for a general theory of this phenomenon dates to 1918, when it became a case of study among scholars. The academic inquiry reached its maturity in the 1980s, when various attempts to go beyond the classical debate have been made. The ongoing dialectic is mainly due to those issues gathering controversial opinions, namely: definition and periodization of nations and nationalism.[2]

Is nation the result of objective or subjective connotations? Is it a cultural or political product? Does it have primordial or modern foundations? Does it have a given or constructed nature? Some of the prominent efforts that have been made to answer these questions and investigate this subject are introduced in the next section. Afterwards, it is proposed an alternative contribution to the literature of nationalism, mainly grounded in the field of sociology. Ultimately, considerations about the role of language politics are provided, thus alluding to peripheral nationalisms and introducing the Catalan case.

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[1] J. A. Hall, "Nationalisms: classified and explained", *Daedalus,* The MIT Press, Vol. 122, No. 3, 1993, p. 1. John A. Hall (1949) is Professor of Comparative Historical Sociology at the McGill University in Montreal, Canada. He has provided several works concerning nationalism and his contribution to the topic is widely recognized.

[2] Cf. U. Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism*, cit., p. 15, 57; A. D. Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nations. Hierarchy, Covenant and Republic,* Malden, Oxford and Carlton, Blackwell Publishing, 2008, p. 1.

1.2. Defining a nation

It might be useful introducing the discourse of nationalism through the distinction between state and nation, in order to avoid misleading conceptions. Max Weber has provided a mainstream definition of state, concerning territorial sovereignty: state is then a "human community that successfully claims a monopoly over the legitimate use of physical force in a given territory."[3] However, it seems more difficult finding a common conceptualization of nation. One of the doubts raised by scholars is whether considering either objective or subjective factors in defining a nation. Definitions of nation based on objectivity focus on those cultural factors that are supposed to be shared by its members. Thus, language, religion, traditions, territory, common history, etc., become the distinctive markers for the self-identification of a nation.[4] According to Umut Özkirimli, Joseph Stalin provided the most famous description of nation in objective terms, that is considered as

> A historically constructed, stable community of people, formed on the basis of common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture.[5]

However, none of these features taken separately could really guarantee the existence of a nation; instead, a combination of them would be the necessary condition. Actually, most of academics have gradually abandoned this line of reasoning, given the huge list of essential attributes that a nation should possess. The wide variety of these distinctive traits inevitably leads to a complex categorization of what is meant with the term nationhood, thus implying a roster of exceptions. Today the tendency is to opt for a more subjective perspective, stressing the central role of self-awareness and collective will.[6] People's feelings, such as solidarity and loyalty, became the very *raison d'être* of nationhood, as maintained by David Miller:

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[3] M. Weber, "Politics as a Vocation"*,* 1919, quoted by T. McClean, J. Xidias, W. Brett, *An Analysis of Max Weber's Politics as a Vocation,* London, Macat International Ltd, 2017, p. 28.
[4] Cf. A. Heywood, *Political Theory: An Introduction,* Basingstoke and New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p. 98; J. Hutchinson, *Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State,* 1987, quoted by A. D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism,* cit., p. 177.
[5] J. V. Stalin, *Marxism and the National Question,* 1913, quoted by U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement,* Basingstoke and New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, p. 16.
[6] Cf. Z. Bauman, "Soil, Blood and Identity", *The Sociological Review,* SAGE Publications, Vol. 40, No. 4, 1992, pp. 675-701; U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism,* cit., p. 16.

Nationality is essentially a subjective phenomenon, constituted by the shared beliefs of a set of people: a believe that each belongs together with the rest; (…) and that each member recognizes a loyalty to the community, expressed in a willingness to sacrifice personal gain to advance its interest.[7]

Nevertheless, subjective interpretations imply the acceptance of the temporary nature of nations, as feelings are not fixed nor unchangeable; this means that their survival would depend on people's explicit willingness to continue to be part of them. Defining the issue subjectively is not exempt from complications, too. In fact, it may be difficult to distinguish a nation from other forms of social aggregation, such as religion and family.[8] All these groupings share a sense of belonging, which in turn "involves a certain familiarity: it evokes the idea of 'being' and feeling at home."[9] Given the above-mentioned problems related with both interpretations, it is clear that "neither 'will' nor 'culture' by themselves can provide useful definitions; the reason is the same: they both bring in far too rich a catch."[10]

According to Özkirimli, it is necessary to look at the question from another perspective in order to find a feasible conceptualization of the phenomenon. "Is nationalism about culture of politics?" The author has raised this question to help reflect on the incidence of cultural or political factors in forming national identity and, thus, nation.[11] As expectable, those scholars defining nation on the basis of objective features are also convinced that nationalism is a cultural product, since "the state [is perceived] as an accidental, for the essence of a nation is its distinctive civilisation, which is the product of its unique history, culture and geographical profile."[12] Therefore, cultural heritage would be the landmark of nationalism. However, this interpretation has been mainly criticized for its reductionism in minimizing the impact of politics on the development of nations. Conversely, the ones supporting the thesis that nation is the result of a collective will do

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[7] D. Miller, "The Ethical Significance of Nationality", *Ethics,* The University of Chicago Press, Vol. 98, No. 4, 1998, pp. 647-662. David Miller (1946) is a British political theorist and Professor of Political Theory at the University of Oxford.

[8] Cf. U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism*, cit., pp. 18-19; E. Renan, "What is a Nation?", in G. Eley and R. Grigor Suny (eds.), *Becoming National: A Reader*, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 41-55.

[9] M. Guibernau, *Belonging. Solidarity and Division in Modern Societies,* Cambridge, Polity Press, 2013, p. 32.

[10] Cf. A. D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism. A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism,* London, Routledge, 1998, p. 29.

[11] Cf. U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism*, cit., pp. 19-20.

[12] J. Hutchinson, *Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State,* 1987, quoted by A. D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism,* cit., p. 177.

think that nationalism is a political issue, thus stressing an inextricable link between national identity and political community. In fact, they emphasise the pivotal role of modern bureaucracy in shaping what is known today as nation-state, whereas cultural difference is regarded as not crucial. Nevertheless, according to critics the exclusion of the cultural dimension from the equation may lead to underrate the power of nationalism, its scope and its ethnic roots.[13] Again, both positions fail to properly describe the nature of nationhood. Ultimately, it seems more prudent to define nation as both a political and cultural phenomenon, since it involves "the 'culturalization' of politics and the 'politization' of culture."[14]

Many intellectuals have actually bypassed the terminological controversy surrounding this topic by admitting the existence of two types of nationalism, each one associated to either objective and cultural factors, or subjective and political ones. In fact, instead of excluding *a priori* the possibility that nationalisms could be based on some characteristics or others, they divide them into ethnic and civic category. The dichotomy between ethnic and civic nationalism is mainly based on membership criteria. Ethnic nationalism is generally linked to adjectives such as "cultural, collectivist and organic," thus stressing the non-voluntary character of national belonging. The very essence of a nation is represented by its cultural heritage and common roots, since membership "can only be acquired by birth, through blood."[15] On the contrary, civic nationalism is associated with terms like "political, individualistic and voluntary." Membership is assured by a reciprocal commitment between individuals and the community, the former sharing the same patriotic and political creed, and the latter granting equal rights.[16] As revealed by Özkirimli, the civic-ethnic distinction has also normative implications: it is often employed to distinguish, in turn, good and bad forms of nationalism. The "civic-good variety" of nationalism is associated with Western countries, whereas the "ethnic-bad variety" with the rest of the world. However, it is improbable to find pure types of ethnic or civic nationalism. Most of those that are considered as civic nationalisms have actually invoked cultural and historical elements to assure emotional identification with nation

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[13] Cf. A. D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism,* cit., p. 177; A. Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence: Volume 2 of A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism,* 1987, quoted by A. D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism,* cit., p. 73.
[14] U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism*, cit., p. 163.
[15] Ibidem, p. 24.
[16] Cf. M. Guibernau, *Belonging,* cit., p. 32; U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism*, cit., pp. 22-23.

and thus legitimising political power. In turn, many ethnic nationalisms have not preserved their original elements that were not in line with civil and democratic values.[17] In short, also this attempt to work out a compromise about how to properly define nation and explain nationalism seems to be inaccurate. In conclusion, as stated at the beginning of the chapter, it may be reductive lessening nation and nationalism to a unique and exclusive conceptualization, since

> Nationalism is too diverse to allow a single theory to explain it all. Much of the contents and specific orientation of various nationalisms is orientated by historically distinct cultural traditions, the creative actions of leaders, and contingent situations within the international world order.[18]

"When is a Nation?" In 1990 Walker Connor asked academics to answer this essential question, as he believed that investigations into that "would reveal even more about nations and nationalism than the customary examination of 'what is a nation?'" [19] Anthony D. Smith argues that periodization of nation implies both "the issue of antiquity or modernity of the nation in history, and the question of its evolved or socially constructed nature."[20] In this respect, three main schools of thought prevail in the contemporary debate: Primordialism, Ethno-symbolism and Modernism.

1.3. Contemporary debate on Nationalism

Before concentrating on this contemporary debate, it might be interesting reflecting on the relationship between nation and nationalism: which came first, nation or nationalism? In this respect, the above-mentioned schools of thought have advanced different conclusions. Both primordialists and ethno-symbolists maintain the essentialist vision of nation as an objective reality legitimated by the prior existence of ethnic features;

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[17] Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Suspiros de España,* cit., p. 13; U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism,* cit., p. 25.

[18] C. Calhoun, *Nationalism,* 1997, quoted by C. Jaffrelot, "For A Theory of Nationalism", Sciences Po: Centre d'Études et de Recherches Internationals, 2003, p. 3.

[19] Cf. W. Connor, "When is a Nation?", *Ethnic and Racial Times,* Vol. 13, No. 1, 1990, pp. 92-103; A. Ichijo, G. Uzelac, *When is the Nation?: Towards an Understanding of Theories of Nationalism*, London and New York, Routledge, 2005, p.2. Walker F. Connor (1926-2017) was an American Professor of Political Science at Middlebury College and a main contributor to the study of nationalism; especially, his work regarding the ethnic character of nationalism is widely recognized.

[20] Cf. A. D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism,* cit., p. 8. Anthony D. Smith (1939-2016) was a sociologist and Professor of Ethnicity and Nationalism in the European Institute at the London School of Economics. He was an exponent of the ethno-symbolist school of thought and he provided comprehensive theoretical surveys of nationalism. Cf. Ibidem.

nationalism is assumed to emerge in this tribal context, as a natural consequence of nation. It is clear that nation is supposed to precede nationalism. Conversely, modernists stand for a revolutionary approach: some social processes would lead to the development of a national consciousness, which in turn enable the creation of a nation. In view of this, patriotists and nationalists would be the very proactive agents who build a nation, drawing on a previous national identity.[21] Nation then follows nationalism, as the modernist Eric J. Hobsbawm explicitly points out: "nationalism comes before nations. Nations do not make states and nationalisms but the other way round."[22] This premise may help better understand the theoretical patterns exposed afterwards.

Primordialism is the oldest theoretical model employed to define nationhood, whose main assumption is "the past *determines* the present."[23] It supports the position that nations have always existed, thus implying a sort of continuity between premodern ethnicities and modern nations: by assuming that, primordialists try to demonstrate the timeless nature of nations, their historical antiquity.[24] In general, Primordialism considers national attachments as naturally given and prior to all other social interactions. National identity is supposed to be fixed and stronger than any other type of identity.[25] Nevertheless, Primordialism is not a unified category; instead, it displays different facets. Özkirimli gathers together *Naturalist*, *Socio-biologist* and *Culturalist* approach within this model. Naturalist theory of nationalism is perhaps the most extreme version, which emphasises the natural character of nation and fosters a recurrent national rhetoric.[26] In fact, most nationalist leaders embrace this approach and stress the natural separation of people according to their ethnicity, as well as the division of nations on the basis of natural borders. Instead, the sociobiological variety adopts an evolutionist perspective and seeks to include nationalism within the field of socio-biology.[27] According to it, kinship and

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[21] Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Suspiros de España,* cit., pp. 9-11.
[22] E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality.* Cambridge, New York, Melbourne and Madrid, Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 10. Eric John Hobsbawm (1917-2012) was a British historian of nationalism and an Emeritus Professor of Economic and Social History at Birkbeck College, University of London.
[23] U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism,* cit., p. 35.
[24] The term *premodern ethnic culture* refers to all those social groupings, marked by cultural features and common traditions, which existed before the Modern Era (i.e., dates back to Middle Ages or earlier). According to this view, ethnic communities and nations are identical phenomena. Cf. A. Ichijo, G. Uzelac, *op. cit.,* pp. 51-88, and U. Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism,* cit., pp. 64-84.
[25] Cf. A. D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism,* cit., pp. 159-161.
[26] The antiquity of nation, the golden age, the superiority of a particular national culture, national heroes, common traditions, are some of the narratives advanced by the naturalist approach. Cf. U. Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism,* cit., pp. 64-84.
[27] Cf. C. Jaffrelot, *op. cit.,* p. 35; U. Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism,* cit., pp. 64-84.

genetic relatedness are the basis of "these powerful sentiments we call nationalism, tribalism, racism and ethnocentrism."[28] The most moderate and indefinite form of Primordialism is definitely the culturalist approach, according to which nationalism is based on primordial cultural roots. Actually, they put more emphasis on individual feelings and emotions as justification of nation, than on its givenness: hence, nation would consist in "a group of people who *feel* that they are ancestrally related."[29] Eventually, by the second half of the twentieth century primordialist theories were considered obsolete and gradually abandoned.[30]

However, from the late 1980s some primordialist convictions were brought back to the top by ethno-symbolists, who believed "the past *constraints* the present."[31] In fact, these intellectuals base their theory of nationalism mainly on the significance of pre-existing ethnicities and the impact of symbolic and affective dimension. They argue that nation is the result of a long-term process and its origins clearly predate the Modern Ages.[32] Therefore, they claim premodern ethnicity is an essential condition for the existence of modern nationhood. They also stress the power of social psychological factors and symbolic resources to generate loyalty towards nation: thus, will and consciousness, alongside with myths and traditions, are essential in "motivating ideologies and subjective actions."[33] Nevertheless, ethno-symbolists do not share completely the primordialist idea about the fixed character of national identity. Although they do maintain that national identities are usually durable, they also admit that some historical events might change them.[34] However, these alleged alterations do not disrupt the sense of common nationality that ties successive generations together, as long as some people feel it as a "tangible, living reality and retain the sense of intimate belonging."[35] Contrary to Primordialism, Ethno-symbolism is a more unified category.

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[28] A. D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism,* cit., p. 148.
[29] W. Connor, *Ethnonationalism: The Quest For Understanding*, 1994, quoted by U. Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism,* cit., pp. 73-74.
[30] Cf. A. D. Smith, *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism. A Cultural Approach,* London and New York, Routledge, 2009, p. 16.
[31] U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism,* cit., p. 35.
[32] Cf. Id., *Theories of Nationalism*, cit., p. 169; A. D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism,* cit., p. 3; A. D. Smith, *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism,* cit., p 18.
[33] Id., *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism,* cit., pp. 14-16.
[34] Historical events such as wars, revolutions, etc., might alter and shape national identity. Cf. U. Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism*, cit., p. 176.
[35] A. D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism,* cit., p. 161.

Both Primordialism and Ethno-symbolism have been criticized by Modernism, being the mainstream theory of nationalism from the 1960s up until recent times. In contrast to both the previous paradigms, Modernism assumes that "the past *is exploited* by the present."[36] One aspect questioned by the modernist critics is the givenness of national attachments, which implies a fixed and unchangeable nature. Instead, modernists do believe national identities are flexible and variable, meant to be continuously reconstructed by each generation. Another important point that has been challenged is the ancientness of nations. Indeed, modernists stress the novelty of nation, identifying it with the modern political and social structure known as nation-state.[37] Therefore, they consider nation as a product of modernity, with a "discontinuous use of certain labels that have come to be seen as 'ethnic.'"[38] Their theory is mainly grounded in the conviction that social transformations occurred in the late 17th and 18th centuries have been fundamental in creating nations. According to them, what primordialists and ethno-symbolists define as pre-modern ethnicities cannot be considered nations in the modern sense. Thus, ethnic forbears would be irrelevant to the study of nationalism, since the latter is supposed to be a modern necessity. In fact, they argue that cultural ties vary in time, according to social necessities: myths and symbols that has been used in the past may disappear in the present and be replaced with new ones in the future.[39] Therefore, they reiterate the impossibility of talking about nationhood in a pre-modern era, since it is a modern phenomenon and not a result of prior ethnicity:

> Nationalism is not the awakening and assertion of these mythical, supposedly natural and given units. It is, on the contrary, the crystallization of new units, suitable for the conditions now prevailing, though admittedly using as their raw material the cultural, historical and other inheritances from the pre-nationalist world.[40]

As in the case of Primordialism, Modernism is anything but a compact group. In fact, it might be difficult providing a unique and sharp classification of modernists. Nonetheless, they are typically categorized according to the nature of social transformations they refer to in explaining the genesis of nationalism. Some of them belong to the Neo-Marxist

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[36] U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism,* cit., p. 35.
[37] Cf. Id., *Theories of Nationalism,* cit., pp. 73-83.
[38] P. J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe,* 2003, quoted by U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism*, cit., p. 37.
[39] Cf. U. Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism,* cit., pp. 187-188.
[40] E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 1983, quoted by C. Calhoun, "Nationalism and Ethnicity", *Annual Review of Sociology,* 1993, Vol. 19, p. 219.

school, thus indicating economic changes as the main cause of nationalism. They maintain that nationalism is the result of the rapid spread of capitalism by the leading countries (i.e., the Western world). Therefore, nationalism would be a reaction of peripheric strains against this imperialistic attitude. The innovative character of this theory (compared to the classical Marxist one) is the assumption that capitalism has not led to a class struggle, but rather a nationality struggle.[41] An alternative interpretation of nationalism is offered by those modernists who focus on political transformations as the very cause of nationalism. Particularly, these scholars take into account the modern organization of bureaucratic states in explaining their theory. This version of Modernism proposes an instrumentalist approach to the nature of national identity, which is assumed to be a convenient instrument to gain state power: hence, ethnicity and cultural features would be constantly redefined according to the necessities of the political elite.[42] Therefore, they look at nationalism as a form of politics, a tool to achieve political objectives.[43] Finally, there is another class of modernists who centre their theory of nationalism on cultural transformations. Some of them point out cultural homogenization of modern societies as the reason why nationalisms developed and, consequently, nations were created. According to this view, a process of culturalization promoted by national education and communication would foster nationalism.[44] Again, others consider a different cultural process in their explanation of nationalism, attributing a certain importance to the mass printing in vernacular languages.[45] Therefore, the so-called "print-capitalism"[46] is supposed to foment a national consciousness. In general, all the above-

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[41] However, even within this Neo-Marxist school there are diverse opinions; in fact, other scholars argue that the very cause of nationalism is another economic process: internal colonialism. This concept refers to internal inequalities among ethnic minorities and the predominant national culture. The different economic possibilities of regional groups are due to the inequal distribution of resources by the central government. In short, they sustain that the uneven economic development within a state would inevitably lead to strengthen national feelings of the disadvantaged group. Cf. U. Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism,* cit., pp. 86-96; A. D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism,* cit., pp. 2-3.

[42] Cf. U. Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism,* cit., pp. 96-126.

[43] A more extreme conclusion is provided by those modernists who think that nations are a product of social engineering and based on invented traditions. They do emphasise the invention of cultural attachments, through the "creation, dismantling and reconstructing of images of the past" at the hands of the political elite. Eric J. Hobsbawm is certainly one of the most relevant intellectuals sharing this view; he argues that nations "use history as a legitimator of action and cement of group cohesion," in order to assure the devotion of citizens and counter mass democracy. Cf. E. J. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 12-13.

[44] Cf. U. Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism*, cit., pp. 105-142.

[45] For instance, Benedict Anderson indicates nations as imagined political communities, on the basis of the high likelihood that most of their members will never know each other. Thus, nations would be artefacts with imagined sovereignty and imagined boundaries. Cf. B. Anderson, *op. cit.,* pp. 37-47.

[46] I.e., the mass publication of books on a wide scale. Cf. Ibidem.

mentioned categories of Modernism share the following statement given by Ernest Gellner:

> Nations as a natural, God-given way of classifying men, as an inherent though long-delayed political destiny, are a myth; nationalism, which sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates pre-existing cultures: that is a reality, for better or worse, and in general an inescapable one. Those who are its historic agents know not what they do, but that is another matter.[47]

1.4. Nation as a social construct

This section will present an approach to nationalism that has not yet been mentioned: Social Constructivism. Özkirimli offers a deep analysis of this theory, which might be categorized as part of the modernist paradigm as it assumes that nation is a modern and constructed phenomenon. Actually, many intellectuals belonging to the three classical categories of Modernism introduced above may also be classified as social constructivists. This approach emphasises the role of social and political variables in creating nations and shaping cultural ties. Thus, politics and culture are presumed to be inextricably linked, the former being the necessary engine to boost the latter. Social constructivists also stress a psychological factor: people's sense of belonging is the very reason of the endurance of nations. As explained afterwards, this attachment would result from a wider process of socialization.[48] Smith has raised a set of questions that may help introducing the discourse: "What does it mean to say that the nation is a social construct and consists largely of invented traditions? Why do the elites select this particular construct? Why does this type of discourse (of nationalism) resonate with 'the masses'?"[49]

The term social construction appeared for the first time in a 1966 sociological paper and has been recently introduced in the discourse of nationalism.[50] Starting from the point that

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[47] E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism,* cit., p. 48.
[48] In this respect, social constructivists and ethno-symbolists share the same idea on the importance of psychological facets for the longevity of a nation. See p. 7.
[49] A. D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism,* cit., p. 129.
[50] In their masterpiece *The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge,* the two sociologists Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann were the first to introduce the term *social construction* with reference to the sociology of knowledge. Cf. U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism,* cit., p. 162.

social order is a "human product, or, more precisely, an ongoing human production,"[51] social constructivists have reflected on the intersubjectivity of national identity building. They describe nation as a "construct whose meaning is never stable but it shifts with the changing balance of social forces."[52] This would imply a process of imagination and invention, thus culminating in the redefinition of a collective organization according to changing economic, social and political circumstances. Nation is then the consequence of a crisis of the old social order, or a decline of legitimacy of traditional moral systems. According to social constructivists, people's strong belief in the existence of nation is the reason why it truly exists and the fuel that keeps it existing.[53] As all other modernists, they assume that nation is the consequence of nationalism, the latter being the narrative that ignites patriotic feeling. Craig Calhoun defines nationalism as a "'discursive formation', a way of speaking that shapes our consciousness;" in this sense, the rhetoric of nationalism would not be only about politics, but mostly about culture and identity.[54] At this stage it is understandable wondering who lies behind the construction of nations; however, it seems more useful concentrating first on *how* people become national.

Collective identity is what unifies a group and what diversifies it from the *other*. It represents a set of shared values that guarantees solidarity and social cohesion. It would not be amiss to say that it is the main pillar of nations. Social constructivists maintain that the identification with a specific community is the result of a dynamic process that involves "diverse intentions, constructions of meaning, and conflicts."[55] In view of this, the construction of the national image would imply a choice among alternative frames, thus selecting particular interpretations of culture and marginalizing others. The project of cultural homogenization is then achieved by repressing competing voices: identity is de facto a question of power, a political matter.[56] Hence, national identity needs to be

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[51] P. L. Berger, T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge,* London, Penguin Books Ltd., 1966, p. 69.

[52] K. Verdery, "Wither 'Nation' and 'Nationalism'?", *Daedalus,* 1993, quoted by U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism*, cit., p. 170.

[53] Cf. M. Hroch, "From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation: The Nation-Building Process in Europe", in G. Eley, R. G. Suny (eds.), *Becoming National. A Reader*, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 66; U. Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism,* cit., pp. 217-218; Id., *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism,* cit., pp. 165-166.

[54] C. Calhoun, *Nationalism,* Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1997, pp. 2-3. Craig Jackson Calhoun (1952) is an American sociologist and Professor of Social Sciences at the Arizona State University. He was also the director of the London School of Economics between 2012-2016.

[55] U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism*, cit., p. 173.

[56] S. Cardús i Ros, "Les relacions asimètriques entre identitats," in G. Sanginés, À. Velasco (eds.), *Identitats. Convivència o conflicte?,* Catarroja, Editorial Afers, 2006, p. 39. Salvador Cardús i Ros (1954)

flexible and adjustable to changing power conditions and ongoing redefinitions. Salvador Cardús i Ros defines it as an open process:

> La identitat des d'un punt de vista sociològic és una questio d'historia, és una questio de determinants socials, de voluntats polítiques, és un procés obert... Som alguna cosa, som el que siguem, però podem deixar-ho de ser.[57]

Social constructivists assume that nationalization of people is realized through the repetition of the chosen cultural connotations. This technique consists in the continuous reproduction of the national idea: again, specific representations of nation become predominant, while others are silenced. Therefore, repetition of certain elements is aimed at making people perceive nation as part of the "'nature of things' (…), derived from the 'laws of nature.'"[58] However, whereas collective awareness of belonging to a nation is supposed to be durable, the items on which it is based on may vary.[59] It is important to stress again that the practice of framing national identity is perpetual, being the latter a "'production', which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, and not outside, representation."[60] As explained afterwards, power structures contribute in developing a national identity, starting this process of construction and deconstruction:

> La identitat d'una comunitat es construeix sobre allò que anomenarem 'la violència simbòlica.' Aquella violència que es pot exercir sense que l'individu la noti directament, de manera que l'accepta de manera voluntària, sense sentir-ne coacció tot i que n'hi hagi. Tot i que, precisament perquè és invisible, sigui la que penetra més endins.[61]

Assuming that the national idea is instilled by reproducing some concepts, it might be useful differentiating nationalist discourse from other identity claims. Özkirimli suggests

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is a Catalan sociologist and journalist. In 2008 he entered in the Department of Philosophy and Social Science of *the Institut d'Estudis Catalans.*

[57] I.e., "From a sociological point of view identity is a matter of history, a matter of social determinants, of political wills; it is an open process... We are something, we are what we are, but we can stop being it." Ibidem, p. 38.

[58] P. L. Berger, T. Luckmann, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

[59] Cf. M. Guibernau, *Belonging,* cit., p. 39.

[60] S. Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora", in J. Rutherford (ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture and Difference,* 1991, quoted by U. Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism,* cit., p. 196.

[61] I.e., "The identity of a community is built on what we will call 'symbolic violence.' That violence that can be exercised without the individual noticing it directly, so that he accepts it voluntarily, without feeling coerced in spite of it. Although, precisely because it is invisible, it is what penetrates more deeply." S. Cardús i Ros, *op. cit.,* p. 48.

approaching nationalism by investigating its recurrent narratives, that is: territoriality, history, symbolism and daily habits.[62]

The spatial aspect of nationalism refers to the boundaries within which the national project emerges. Territory is a crucial component of national identity and enables to easily distinguish the *inner* from the *outer*. National territorialisation of space helps construct the image of natural homeland and the sense of its perennial existence. According to social constructivists, the inculcation of the concept "one nation, one territory" in people's minds is achieved by employing a wide variety of tools. Therefore, cartographic representation and reproduction of historical sites in flags and stamps reinforce a territorial consciousness, whereas construction of roads and denomination of places foster the national territorialisation project. In this regard, Özkirimli affirms that natural identification of people with the territory of modern nations has been a huge success of nationalism.[63]

The temporal theme of nationalism is no less important for promoting the national project. Social Constructivism turns attention to historians, who have a pivotal role in shaping national history: they are assumed to select and reframe specific elements from the past that convey a sense of unity. Thus, they create a national historical heritage through the idealization of a common past. From this perspective, the "official history" is precisely intended to instil patriotic feelings.[64] As it might be conceivable, this assumption implies that "nations do not have a single history: there are competing narratives to be told."[65] The election of the past that must be narrated and remembered has a dependent relation with political power, since "national histories are continually being re-written, and the re-writing reflects current balance of hegemony."[66] Collective memory is created by connecting present and past, thus intensifying the perception of historical continuity and strengthening the sense of belonging to an eternal "extended family."[67] As maintained by Montserrat Guibernau, the idea of national superiority with a glorious past is always a

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[62] Cf. U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism,* cit., p. 179.
[63] Ibidem*,* cit., pp. 180-183.
[64] J. Fontana, *La construcció de la identitat. Reflexions sobre el passat i sobre el present,* Barcelona, Editorial Base, 2005, pp. 17-18.
[65] Cf. U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism,* p. 184.
[66] Ibidem.
[67] Cf. D. Miller, *On Nationality,* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995, p.23; M. Guibernau, *Belonging,* cit., p. 126.

common rhetoric evoked by nationalists.[68] The heroic image of nation is often induced by emphasising past victories, venerating patriots or organizing rituals to commemorate national heroes.[69]

Social Constructivism points out also a symbolic dimension of the nationalist discourse. Symbols are elements assumed to be shared by the components of a community, thus leading to social cohesion.[70] They are essential for shaping a collective identity, acting as identifiers and marking cultural boundaries between the group and the other. Hence, similarity is a national purpose that is achieved in a symbolic dimension:

> The nation, by constructing and disseminating a particular image of itself accompanied by a set of symbols with which people can identify, seeks to overcome internal difference. It is by transforming the reality of difference into the appearance or illusion of similarity that people are able to construct a shared sense of community.[71]

The most typical symbols fuelling patriotic emotions are surely flags, anthems and rituals, but also metaphors and icons. Moreover, patriotism is enhanced by some national traditions or styles, such as: cuisine, architecture or sport. As in the previous cases, symbols are accurately selected to meet current social and political conditions. The effectiveness of symbols is represented by their malleability: they enable to readapt their meaning to new contexts, thus maintaining their vitality in time and engaging with different groups. This is particularly visible when people with opposite opinions invoke the same national symbols but inferring different meanings. Therefore, symbolism is a necessary aspect of nationalism: people identifies with certain symbols that intensify the sense of community.[72]

A less conceivable dimension of the nationalist discourse is surely the everyday life: people's habits and routine help produce and reproduce national identity. Social

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[68] Cf. M. Guibernau, *Belonging,* cit., p. 126. Maria Montserrat Guibernau i Berdún (1960) is a Catalan sociologist and Professor of Political Science at Queen Mary College of the University of London; her field of study is nationalism and, especially, Catalan nationalism.
[69] Cf. U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism,* cit., pp. 183-187.
[70] Cf. M. Guibernau, *Nationalisms. The Nation-State and Nationalisms in the Twentieth Century,* Cambridge, Polity Press, 1996, p. 127.
[71] M. Guibernau, *Belonging,* cit., p. 39.
[72] Cf. Id., *Nationalisms*, cit., pp. 126-130.

constructivists argue that nationalism is cultivated in daily life by some common behaviours, which inevitably lead to the creation of national stereotypes:

> There are, of course, national stereotypes that are formed around these spaces and activities – Italians are 'good lovers', French are 'excellent cooks' and English have a skill in gardening… Such cultural codes not only reconstruct these sites as theatres for specified forms of behaviour but also train bodies to adopt dispositions and actions 'in keeping' with these venues.[73]

Common everyday practices become part of a popular culture and are emphasised by their representation in films, tv series, books, and other cultural forms. Again, nationalism is implied in some typical symbols belonging to the everyday dimension, among others: familiar objects, touristic souvenirs, costumes, coins and stamps.[74] Thus, it seems evident that nationalism is also a popular matter, resulting from daily routine:

> We are 'national,' when we vote, watch the six o'clock news, follow the national sport, observe (while barely noticing) the repeated iconographies of landscape and history in TV commercials, imbibe the visual archive of reference and citation in the movies, and define the nation day by day in our politics.[75]

After assuming that nationalism is a discourse conveying different themes, whose meanings are continuously reproduced and reworked, it is necessary reflecting on the producer of these contents. Therefore, *who* decides the cultural elements to be attached to the nationalist discourse and those to be discarded? Going back to Smith's questions at the beginning of the section, it seems he takes for granted that the political elite decides on the destiny of nations.[76] Obviously, he is not wrong: nations are shaped from above by politics. However, the social constructivist approach spotlights another actor that, consciously or unconsciously, helps determine nations: people.[77] As pointed out when talking about the everyday dimension of nationalism, nation is also a popular matter resulting from social interactions of daily life. Thus, private life acquires a certain importance for the production of ethnicity: it is assumed to be an "intimate (small) family

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[73] T. Enderson, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday life,* 2002, quoted by U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism,* p. 192.
[74] Cf. U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism,* pp. 190-194.
[75] G. Eley, R. G. Suny (eds.), *op. cit.,* cit., p. 29.
[76] See the second question at p. 10: "Why do the elites select this particular construct?"
[77] Cf. U. Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism,* cit., p. 217.

circle," a social space where nationalism is cultivated.[78] Guibernau describes national identity as the result of a process involving "a continuous flow between individuals and symbols, so that individuals do not merely have to accept already established symbols, but engage in their constant re-creation and reinvention."[79] It is interesting to notice the psychological character of nationalism: the belief in common ancestry induces people to feel part of a group. Thus, the perception of closeness and intimacy makes members be aware of forming a community. Ultimately, this feeling of belonging engenders solidarity, loyalty and social cohesion among fellow-nationals.[80] Nevertheless, as assumed by Smith, the elitist power has a good dose of responsibility in creating nations. Whereas individuals are usually passive actors, state institutions are the very authors of nationalism: due to their monopoly on current instruments of creation and preservation of identity values, power structures are essential in forming national people.[81] The two state-controlled devices by which nationalism has been mostly disseminated are undoubtably education and communication. At this point, two modernists already mentioned in the previous section have provided a huge literature on the role of these two tools in fomenting nationalism: Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson. How did education and literacy affect the emergence of nationalisms in the nineteenth century? What was the impact of print-capitalism and common vehicular languages on national identity?

In his works, Gellner mostly focuses on the role of education in imposing a *high culture*,[82] considered as an essential condition for the development of nation states. He maintains that cultural homogenisation is necessary to enhance nationalism and ultimately create (and legitimate the creation of) a nation. Hobsbawm also confirmed that the progress of education measures that of nationalism, since the former has become the most conscious champion of the latter.[83] The principle "one state, one culture" would be instilled by mass education, a political vehicle to unite individuals and turn them into *the people*.[84] From

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[78] Cf. É. Balibar, "The Nation Form: History and Ideology", in G. Eley, R. G. Suny (eds.), *op. cit.,* pp. 137-148.

[79] M. Guibernau, *Belonging,* cit., p. 40.

[80] Ibidem, p. 125-126.

[81] Cf. S. Cardús i Ros, *op. cit.,* p. 48; É. Balibar, *op. cit.,* p. 137.

[82] High culture is the term used by the author with reference to the elected culture; it is high in the sense that it must be literate and training-sustained, and not a merely locally-tied and illiterate tradition. Cf. E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism,* cit., p. 38.

[83] Cf. E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: Europe 1789-1848,* 1962, quoted in B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* cit., p. 71.

[84] Cf. E. Gellner, *Culture, Identity and Politics*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987, p. 9

this perspective, politics should exploit culture and aliment a sense of kinship among citizens, as the author asserts in the following statement:

> The imperative of exo-socialization is the main clue to why state and culture must now be linked, whereas in the past their connection was thin, fortuitous, varied, loose, and often minimal. Now it is unavoidable. That is what nationalism is about, and why we live in an age of nationalism.[85]

According to him, the reorganization of modern societies is based on the centrality of nationalism, which legitimates "anonymous, internally fluid and fairly undifferentiated, large-scale, and culturally homogeneous communities"[86] as the only depositories of political power. Étienne Balibar argues that there is a historical correlation between national formation and universalization of schooling system, whose function would be to underpin the process of socialization and produce national consciousness. Thus, mass education and widespread literacy are supposed to be the new connotations of modern nation:

> In such an environment, a man's culture, the idiom within which he was trained and within which he is effectively employable, is his most precious possession, his real entrance-card to full citizenship and human dignity, to social participation.[87]

Gellner maintains that modern schooling system is aimed at unifying countries that has long been divided by religion, culture and language. In fact, in the 19th century panorama education was precisely meant to satisfy modern necessities: school became a socializing agent, responsible to teach a new patriotism.[88] Therefore, literacy de facto promotes a sense of community: learning to read and write would imply the repetition and the inculcation of a national culture. In this respect, Gellner reiterates the access to culture has become the most precious asset of men.[89]

However, schooling system is not the only medium to foster a standard culture: likewise, printed languages play a pivotal role. In his analysis, Benedict Anderson focalises on print-capitalism and its impact on national feeling, arguing that print-languages are the basis of the new national conscience. He introduces his argument considering first the

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[85] Cf. E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism,* cit., p. 38.
[86] Id., *Culture, Identity and Politics*, cit., p. 9
[87] Ibidem, p. 16.
[88] Cf. J. Fontana, *op. cit.,* p. 17.
[89] Cf. E. Gellner, *Culture, Identity and Politics*, cit., p. 16.

adoption of vernaculars as administrative languages, which lays the first basis for the development of the modern nation-state with a single national language. Therefore, he stresses the importance of printing these vernaculars, thus becoming common means of expression.[90] The author affirms that the *chosen language* of modern nations experiences a passage from a tribal to a national scope: it becomes the people's preferred medium of communication, engaging with different social classes of a community. He also maintains that the chosen language should convey the idea of standing in a mid-position between Latin and the other spoken vernaculars, avoiding both the noble and the dialectic character. Guibernau notices that yet in the XVI century monarchies were in favour of a unique national language, and in the XVII most vernacular languages assumed their modern form. However, it was only in the nineteenth century that a common vehicular language became a national prerogative in Europe, in order to form a society whose members could communicate among each other.[91] Capitalist society has been the framework for the mass propagation of vernacular languages. Özkirimli clearly explains how capitalism has moved the production of books from Latin to vernacular languages. After the saturation of the Latin-reader market, capitalists have turned their interest towards the publication of cheap novels in vernacular languages, in order to reach a wider public.[92] Simultaneously, the mass consumption of newspapers (defined by Anderson as "books sold on a colossal scale"[93]) stimulated a print-capitalism, thus "creating mechanically reproduced print-languages capable of dissemination through the market."[94] It is perceivable that this phenomenon creates languages of power, which come to be dominant at the expenses of other ethnic tongues. Therefore, national language is supposed to be the device to nationalize the mass, that is to say: "the means of imagining - and thereby creating - the nation."[95]

In conclusion, Social Constructivism indicates both education and communication as political tools aimed at standardizing population through the reproduction and revision of a selected culture. In this sense, Guibernau emphasises the power of culture in

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[90] Cf. U. Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism,* cit., pp. 148-150.
[91] Cf. M. Guibernau, *Nationalisms*, cit., pp. 104-106.
[92] Cf. U. Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism,* cit., p. 150.
[93] B. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
[94] D. Cetrà, *op. cit.,* p. 36.
[95] C. Calhoun, "Nationalism and Ethnicity", *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 19, 1993, p. 226; Cf. M. Guibernau, *Nationalisms,* cit., p. 106-110.

determining nationalism by underlying the complicity among national people which results from socialization:

> culture designs the most intimate parts of humans, mediating the way in which they relate to themselves, others and the exterior world. A common culture presumes some kind of complicity that only individuals socialized within that culture can understand. Individuals do not enter a foreign culture merely by learning the language of that culture. They have the necessary tools, but it takes a long time before they are able to capture the meaning implicit in words, expressions and rituals. This 'complicity' contributes to the creation of a common consciousness and the development of links of solidarity among group members.[96]

At this point, it is reasonable coping with some criticisms moved against the social constructionist approach. A first main critique deals with the presumption that nation is a social fabrication. In fact, some may ask why people are willing to sacrifice their lives for what is presumed to be an invention. As asserted by Smith:

> It is hard to believe that most people would willingly lay down their lives for an artefact or be duped by propaganda and ritual over a long period, unless that ritual and propaganda expressed and amplified pre-existing popular sentiments which saw the ethnic nation as the family and locality writ large.[97]

Özkirimli has sought to provide an acceptable explanation of people's reverence for nation. First of all, the fact that nation is an artificial product would not affect people's strong belief in it. National identity is assumed to consist by a great deal in invented myths, and "when believe in, [they] become 'real' and nations are reified."[98] Therefore, the author suggests that it is much more significant concentrating on the reification process instead of the truth or falsity of nation.[99] The efficacy of such invented national myths would lay in their installation into popular culture, as argued by Fred Halliday:

> Despite the facts that such myths can be revealed as false, once generated and expressed they can acquire a considerable life of their own. Myths of racist hatred, for example, may begin as lies invented by idle xenophobes, but once conveyed into

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[96] M. Guibernau, *Nationalisms,* cit., p. 123.
[97] A. D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism,* cit., p. 130.
[98] Cf. U. Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism,* cit., pp. 222-223.
[99] Reification is the process of concretization or objectivization of abstract concepts. Cf. P. L. Berger, T. Luckmann, *op. cit.,* pp. 88-89.

the political realm and diffused in intense inter-ethnic contexts, they acquire a force and a reality they previously lacked.[100]

Furthermore, Özkirimli points out that arguments supporting that people would not sacrifice their lives for an invention imply that each single citizen is aware about the building process of nation. He suggests rather that people are barely conscious to belong to an *imagined community*, since they constantly face with "the 'reality' of the nation;" moreover, he maintains that even if some of them realize it, this would not change too much the course of events.[101] In fact, Guibernau explains that people's loyalty toward the nation is due to a reciprocal commitment: the former provides citizens with valuable conditions, such as civil and political rights; in turn, citizens are loyal toward the nation and, in extreme cases, willing to lay down their lives in the name of it.[102]

As predictable, another central critique concerns the modern formation of nation. Again, why should people believe in nation if this latter is not rooted in the past? According to Özkirimli, the fact that nation and nationalism are modern phenomena does not mean excluding the past from the equation: national symbols are constantly readapted, but most of them have their origin in the past.[103] Calhoun and Guibernau agree on this point, arguing that nationalism is a distinctively modern discourse implying a process of creation of new symbols, as well as re-invention of old ones.[104] Therefore, Özkirimli defines nation as "an outgrowth of the age of nationalism"[105] and, in turn, nationalism as a product of social changes:

> If history had been different, Serbs and Croats needn't have thought of themselves
> as Serbs and Croats; they could have believed that they were all Serbs or all Croats
> or all Yugoslavs. Many different kinds of identities were (historically) a possibility,
> but failed, for various reasons, to be compelling.[106]

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[100] F. Halliday, *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation: Religion and Politics in the Middle East,* New York, I.B. Tauris, 1995, p. 7. Simon Frederick Peter Halliday (1946-2010) was an Irish academic and Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics.
[101] Cf. U. Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism,* cit., pp. 222-223.
[102] Cf. M. Guibernau, *Belonging,* cit., p. 32.
[103] See p. 13 for further information on the temporal dimension of the nationalist discourse.
[104] Cf. C. Calhoun, "Nationalism and Ethnicity*",* cit., p. 212; M. Guibernau, *Belonging,* cit., p. 41.
[105] U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism*, cit., pp. 166-167.
[106] M. Moore, *The Ethics of Nationalism,* 2001, quoted by U. Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism*, cit., p. 167.

At this stage, it seems prudent to answer Smith's last question concerning the involvement of the masses in the nationalist discourse. From a social constructivist point of view, nationalism engages with the masses because it aliments a sense of inclusion, that is the very *raison d'être* of nation.[107] The great power of nationalism is to gather together people with different cultural background and social origin, thus hiding diversity and accentuating common traits to maintain national cohesion.[108] Indeed, this sense of social integration within a broader national community leads people to include nationality in the perception of individual self:

> Belonging fosters an emotional attachment; it prompts the expansion of the individual's personality to embrace the attributes of the group, to be loyal and obedient to it. In return, the group offers a 'home', a familiar space – physical, virtual or imagined – where individuals share common interests, values and principles, or a project. Belonging provides them with access to an environment within which they matter.[109]

1.5. Conclusions

In the previous section it has been illustrated the centrality of national language in social constructivist arguments, especially in those proposed by Anderson. In this respect, Andrew Heywood in his *Political Theory* affirms that language is an active force which burns imagination and mixes feelings: "words do not merely reflect the realities around us, they also help to shape what we see and structure our attitude towards it. In effect, language helps to create the world itself."[110] Language helps distinguish an ethnic group from others, thus facilitating cultural coherence and communication within the group.[111] Étienne Balibar describes linguistic community as "a community in the present, which produces the feeling that it has always existed."[112] Accordingly, Lluís Garcia i Sevilla maintains that human societies are de facto linguistic societies:

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[107] See the third question at p. 10: "Why does this type of discourse (of nationalism) resonate with 'the masses'?"

[108] Cf. M. Guibernau, *Nationalisms,* cit., p. 128.

[109] Id., *Belonging,* cit., p. 28; Cf. C. Calhoun, *Nationalism,* cit., p. 4.

[110] A. Heywood, *Political Theory: An Introduction,* New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2004, p. 2. Andrew Heywood (1952) is a British author specialized in political science.

[111] Cf. S. Barbour, "Nationalism, Language, Europe", in S. Barbour, C. Carmichael (eds.), *Language and Nationalism in Europe,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 9.

[112] É. Balibar, *op. cit.,* p. 142. Étienne Balibar (1942) is a French philosopher and Anniversary Chair Professor at the Centre for Research in Modern European Philosophy at Kingston University.

La llengua no sols és un tipus de comportament social, sinó es és també, de fet, la major part del comportament social dels humans, tant que podríem dir que les societats humanes són societats lingüístiques. (...) Per tant, darrere una llengua un hom troba una societat.[113]

It might be interesting exploring the relation between nationalism and linguistic minorities, which have not been mentioned so far. In his work, Daniel Cetrà considers the normative implications of language regulation, adding to Social Constructivism some reflections about language politics. The starting point is that nationalism transforms "a 'folk culture' into a high national culture (a written vernacular)," thus disadvantaging competing ethnicities.[114] The widespread cultural assimilation would be a unifying process to seek political integration, and eventually create the modern nation-state. The author stresses the social constructionist thesis about the necessity of political instruments to spread a national culture and make nationalism effective, thus ensuring the emergence of a nation. However, he advances that whereas the chosen language defines the nation-state and is propagated through state-controlled means, there is a likelihood that unchosen languages become the basic material around which contending nationalisms might emerge.[115] Cetrà draws his argument referring to the normative debate among linguistic justice theorists, concerning the "just political management of the presence of different language groups within a political community."[116]

The discussion deals with which type of people's interest must be prioritized when adopting a language policy. Some of them do maintain that language is mainly a means of communication rather identity; hence, they are in favour of the adoption of a single common language (i.e., *lingua franca*). These intellectuals point out three "non-identity interests" in language, namely: efficiency, democracy and equality of opportunities. According to the efficiency argument, one shared language helps reducing communication costs, thus avoiding trade barriers. The democratic reasoning stresses the

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[113] I.e., "Not only is language a type of social behaviour, but it also is, in fact, most of the social behaviours of humans, so that we could say human societies are linguistic societies. (…) Therefore, behind a language, you find a society." L. Garcia i Sevilla, "Biologia, nació i estat," in G. Sanginés, À. Velasco (eds.), *op. cit.,* p. 56. Lluís Garcia i Sevilla (1944) is a Doctor of Medicine, a Professor at the *Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona* and member of the Department of Biological Sciences (Medical Psychology) at the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans.*

[114] Ibidem, p. 39.

[115] Ibidem, pp. 39-40.

[116] Linguistic justice debate belongs to the field of contemporary political theory and deals with the fair political engagement with language. Cf. H. De Schutter, D. Robichaud (eds.), *Linguistic Justice. Van Paris and His Critics,* London and New York, Routledge, 2016, p. 2.

importance of speaking the same language in a deliberative democracy, in order to grant each citizen the right to understand and be represented by laws written in that language. Equality of opportunity interest considers the introduction of bilingualism, especially in the schooling system, counterproductive; according to this point, only monolingual education would actually grant linguistic minority groups the same opportunities of people speaking the hegemonic language.[117] Conversely, other scholars emphasise the identity trait of language, which would come before its vehicular quality: "una llengua, qualsevol llengua humana, és molt més que un simple instrument, molt imperfecte, per la comunicació."[118] Therefore, they promote a policy accommodating people's "identity interests," by recognizing all language groups and granting equal political rights. These intellectuals individuate two identity interests in language: autonomy and dignity. According to the first argument, languages and cultures should be options available to individuals, who may choose which one to adopt. The second one lays on the belief that promoting the use of minority languages and affirming their status means respecting those linguistic communities' dignity. This last value of language is often mediated by nationalism, that is why Cetrà believes that the field of nationalism studies may complement the one of linguistic justice. The author seeks to cut off the linguistic argument and moves a step further by considering nationhood as a third identity interest of people, assuming that "the link between language and nation is constructed but, like other social constructions, it has the potential of carrying a powerful force and creating a symbolic interest in language."[119] He argues that linguistic attachments are more about nationality than language itself: thus, the strong symbolic dimension that language entails may derive from a national identity interest.[120]

At this stage, Cetrà turns attention to the role of political elite and linguistic activists in creating a link between language and nation. Therefore, he identifies two different processes that has led to the politicization of languages. On the one hand, linguistic homogenization has served the purpose of nation-building, thus legitimating political integration. As previously stated, this process has entailed the transformation of some

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[117] Cf. H. De Schutter, D. Robichaud (eds.), *Linguistic Justice. Van Parijs and His Critics,* London and New York, Routledge, 2016, pp. 2-5.
[118] I.e., "A language, any human language, is much more than a simple, very imperfect instrument for communication." L. Garcia i Sevilla, *op. cit.,* p. 55.
[119] D. Cetrà, *op. cit.,* p. 43.
[120] Ibidem, pp. 40-46.

languages into state languages, marginalizing other minorities.[121] The outcome is usually a situation of *diglossia*, that is a bilingual context in which a language prevails and the other one is limited in scope. Calhoun points out that nationalists in power seek to "make the nation fit the state" by contrasting linguistic varieties: "thus most citizens of France did not speak French until the late nineteenth century, and only after the imposition of often-resented educational uniformity."[122] Similarly, Josep Fontana argues that standardization of language is the result of a political will imposed from above, maintaining that the current form of many official languages of European states did not exist before the XIX Century.[123] Stephen Barbour stresses the huge impact that the romantic ideal of interdependence between language and nation has had on the modern world. He affirms that standard languages are products of modern nations which, in turn, are the result of the effective functioning of states.[124] Also, Guibernau confirms this point:

> The state favours nationalism as a means to increase the links existing among citizens. If the state is successful and, apart from the mere political connection, manages to develop a combination of several kinds of relations – economic, territorial, religious, linguistic, cultural – the state creates the nation.[125]

On the other hand, some *peripheral* cultural and political activists have been mobilizing to support minority languages. This trend has been registered both in the nineteenth century, as a consequence of romantic nationalism,[126] and in the second half of the twentieth century, when processes of decolonization and decentralization brought to territorial claims. Juan Pablo Fusi defines it as *"no nacionalismo,"* a historical and social fact as relevant as state nationalism. *"No nacionalismo"* is an alternative political identity and culture that coexists with state nationalism in those societies where the latter has been particularly decisive. According to Fusi, these opposing voices were, or still are, as

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[121] The author gives the example of Castilian in Spain and French in Belgium, which turned into state languages at the expenses of Catalan (but also Basque, Galician and other minorities) and Flemish. D. Cetrà, *op. cit.,* p. 50.
[122] Cf. C. Calhoun, "Nationalism and Ethnicity", cit., pp. 226-227.
[123] Cf. J. Fontana, *op. cit.,* p. 13. Josep Fontana i Lázaro (1931-2018) was a Catalan historian and Professor of Economics and Contemporary History at *the Universitat de Barcelona* and *Universitat de Valencia.*
[124] Cf. S. Barbour, *op. cit.,* pp. 13-14. Stephen Barbour is a lecturer of German Language at the University of East Anglia (Norwich). He provided many papers concerning language and nationalism.
[125] M. Guibernau, *Nationalisms*, cit., p. 111.
[126] The term romantic nationalism refers to the idea developed during the Romanticism about the inextricable link between language and nation, thus implying that each linguistic community may possibly create a nation its own,

determining for the development of identity sentiments as state nationalism was, or still is. By referring also to the Catalan case, the author affirms that:

> Siempre existieron sentimientos de identidad y pertenencia no nacionalistas, tan fuertes como en nacionalismo, y a veces más congruentes con la verdad histórica que este último.[127]

Therefore, the whole manifestations, sentiments, ideas, movements and political parties opposing to the national ones and developed in the same communities, composed what Fusi called *"no nacionalismo,"* that is nothing but a peripheral nationalism.[128] Indeed, Calhoun declares that nationalism has become the prevalent discourse for modern claims to self-determination and political autonomy.[129] In conclusion, Cetrà reiterates that the relationship between nation and language is neither given nor fixed, but politically constructed and alterable. Therefore, combining linguistic justice and nationalism theories may help reflecting on the normative consequences of the political construction of contemporary national languages.[130]

At this stage, it might seem prudent introducing the specific case of Catalonia. However, before considering the contemporary Catalan nationalism, some premises on the historical conditions that has led that region to adopt a specific language policy are necessary. Cathie Carmichael proposes the following Jeremy MacClancy's quotation to ponder over the creation of national language and its relationship with nation:

> There is no creation more strictly and permanently national, present and lived, popular and collective, than the national language. Since the time of Machiavelli it is an extremely well-known political counsel, and one which works infallibly, that to kill a nation there is nothing more deadly than to kill its national language.[131]

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[127] J. P. Fusi, *Identidades proscritas. El no nacionalismo en las sociedades nacionalistaes*, Barcelona, Editorial Seix Barral, 2006, p.10. Juan Pablo Fusi (1945) is a Basque historian and a Professor of Contemporary History at the *Universidad Complutense de Madrid*; his field of study includes also nationalism.

[128] Ibidem, pp. 9-10.

[129] Cf. C. Calhoun, "Nationalism and Ethnicity", cit., p. 213.

[130] Cf. D. Cetrà, *op. cit.,* pp. 50-53.

[131] J. MacClancy, "Biological Basques, Sociologically Speaking," in M. Chapman (ed.), *Social and Biological Aspects of Ethnicity,* 1993, quoted by C. Carmichael, "Conclusions: Language and National Identity in Europe," in S. Barbour, C. Carmichael (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 284. Jeremy MacClancy (1953) is a Professor of Anthropology at the Oxford Brookes University, whereas Cathie Carmichael (1964) is a Professor of Contemporary European History at the Middlesex University.

Ultimately, Carmichael suggests comparing the above quotation to what Francoism tried to do in Catalonia. As explained in the next chapter, in spite of the attempts to "kill a nation," the *Generalísimo* Franco would have little historical success.[132]

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[132] Cf. C. Carmichael, "Conclusions: Language and National Identity in Europe," in S. Barbour, C. Carmichael (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 284.

Chapter 2

Historical background: cultural repression under the Francoist dictatorship

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter some background knowledge on the linguistic and cultural repression affecting Catalonia during Francoism is provided. This may be particularly useful in order to understand the political and social context at the end of the 1970s, that has allowed Catalonia to gain greater autonomy. The starting point is a brief excursus on the effects of the feeble process of Spanish centralisation in the 19th century, with some reflections on peripheral areas. Then, some reflections concerning the 20th century are presented: how did Spain turn into the new century? Which was the political *panorama* in the first decades of the century? And how did it change dramatically afterwards?

After providing these first premises, the focus turns onto the totalitarian regime of Francisco Franco and his tough policy of nationalisation. In this respect, some considerations about the creation of the national image, and the measures adopted to propagate it, are provided. Particularly, it is exposed the role covered by means of communication and education in the indoctrination of the masses, with reference to the censorship practice. After alluding to the mechanism to construct an enemy, the emphasis turns to the language normalization policy implemented in Catalonia. Above all, evidence on the cultural genocide against Catalonia are presented, referring mostly to Josep Benet and Francesc Ferrer i Gironès' works. Finally, some contemplations on the survival of minority languages are advanced, considering the cruciality of some actors in keeping them alive.

2.2. Spanish centralisation and the challenge of linguistic minorities

The political unification of Spain in the sixteenth century was a very faint concept: while the kingdom was more concentrated on its imperial projects, regional diversities and a wide range of vernacular languages still persisted throughout the peninsula. It was not until the eighteenth century that a centralizing policy was implemented, as Spain turned its attention to internal designs.[1] In the first decades of this century, King Philip V approved a set of decrees (*Decretos de Nueva Planta*) to reorganize the territorial assets of the Crown of Aragon: these dispositions replaced regional *fueros* with Castile rule, thus implementing a more completed legal unification process.[2] The imposition of Castilian via law and administration was a first path toward the construction of a national language, thus repressing non-Castilian speaking communities. Yet in the eighteenth century, massive *Hispanicization* became a necessity to be placed on the political agenda. Both education and the catholic church played a central role in fostering the Castilian language and identity. At the end of the century, Castilian became the administrative and cultural language in the whole territory. The beginning of the 19th century saw an advancement of mass printing thus permitting a wider spread of the national project.[3]

One of the most important principles inherited from the French Revolution was the secularization of education, pivotal in forming modern European states: expansion of education at the end of the nineteenth century involved a general decrease of illiteracy rate in almost the whole Europe. However, the situation in Spain was rather different. Here, Christian influence over education has been quite constant up until the first half of the twentieth century, when the country experienced a liberal shift.[4] In fact, at the end of the 19th century, 63% of Spanish male people and 81% of female were illiterate; in 1931, the illiteracy index still ranked the 50% of adulthood. Guibernau stresses a relationship between literacy and development of nationalisms in the XIX century. She affirms that in those countries with a high literacy rate and a developed education system, a nationalism

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[1] Cf. C. Mar-Molinero, "The Iberian Peninsula", in S. Barbour, C. Carmichael (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[2] Spanish *fueros* were local self-governments existing from the Middle Ages; the *Nueva Planta* decrees suppressed the *fueros* of Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands. Cf. J-L., Marfany, *Nacionalisme espanyol i catalanitat. Cap a una revisió de la Renaixença*, Barcelona, Edicions 62, 2017, pp. 81-86.

[3] Cf. C. Mar-Molinero, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-89.

[4] The turn to liberalism did not last very long, though. The role of the church in education was restored after the fall of the Second Republic and remained stable during the Francoist dictatorship (1939-1975).

inspired on central state was more likely to emerge: the imposition of national language in schools implied the rise of a homogeneous nation state. She noticed instead that in the least developed countries with a high illiteracy grade and an incomplete schooling system, this type of national attachment was weaker. These areas were affected by a low cultural standardization, leading to the persistence of ethnic diversities and non-standard vernaculars. Spain was among these latter: the central state had not been able to implement proper measures to fully regulate the education system in the whole territory, due to the critical political situation that was facing in the 19th century. Although Castilian was dominant in public life and thus clearly the national language, other languages were still widely spoken in their communities.[5]

In general, the Spanish nationalisation policy was quite soft in the XIX century. The continuous losses of overseas possessions brought Spain into a period of economic crisis, thus reducing its international prestige. The country's inability to join the process of modernization and industrialization experienced by the other European nations was a further cause of political instability, thus generating protests in the peripheries. The conversion of the country into a nation-state, based on an alleged political legitimacy, was not exempted from reactions.[6] The 1868 revolution carried on by progressists, liberals and democrats, brought to the promulgation of a democratic Constitution the following year. Although it provided for universal suffrage and other entitlements and freedoms, linguistic rights were not included in the draft bill. Thus, Castilian remained the preeminent tongue of the country. The 1873 abdication of the King Amadeo I led to the instauration of the First Spanish Republic. By this time, federals held the absolute majority in the parliament and started to work on a new federal Constitution. Nevertheless, just one year later the republican dream came to an end, due to the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy.[7]

The chaotic political landscape of the end of the century failed to completely erase linguistic minorities, allowing the rise of regional nationalisms to counterpose the central state bureaucracy. Also the cultural context characterizing this century played a pivotal role in boosting nationalist sentiments in peripheries, through the emergence of

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[5] Cf. M. Guibernau, *Nacionalismes,* cit., pp. 106-112.
[6] Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Suspiros de España,* cit., p. 19; X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Los nacionalismos en la España contemporánea*, cit., p. 31; C. Mar-Molinero, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-89.
[7] Cf. F. Ferrer i Gironès, *La persecució política de la llengua catalana. Història de les mesures preses contra el seu ús des de la Nova Planta fins avui*, Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1985, pp. 71-73.

intellectual movements aimed at restoring and promoting regional cultures and tongues. Particularly, German writers had been of utmost importance in spreading the creed of *Volksgeist* (i.e., national spirit) and of language as the essence of nation. These cultural *renaissances* involved an improvement in literary outputs, which required a process of codification and elaboration of non-Castilian languages. In the second half of the nineteenth century a cultural movement emerged in Catalonia, with the name of *Renaixeniça*.[8] Initially, the recovery of Catalan was mainly entailed by the production of poetry, cultivation of Catalan history, and advancement in linguistic and philological studies. From the 1880s a greater impetus was registered: Catalan literature was expanded to embrace all genres, and the language was consolidated through publication of daily press and serials. The romantic conviction of nation as linguistically and culturally defined led regions to struggle for political independence. New peripheral nationalisms were facing an increasing will for restoring their territorial communities and distancing from the central state.[9] The awareness of its own culture and the desire to modernize its local industry within a largely agrarian Spain, led Catalonia to an intensification of regional administration.[10]

The social turmoil and the central government crisis characterizing the turn of the century allowed the consolidation of the Catalan nationalist party, which became a mass movement after the 1907 legislative elections.[11] At the beginning of the new century the necessity for the institutionalisation of the language and the standardisation of a Catalan popular culture became preeminent. In this regard, the Catalan political newspaper *El Poble Català,* first published in the early 20th century, helped propagate the so-called *Catalanism.*[12] The First World War period was quite prosperous: the neutral Spain was experiencing a first sign of industrial growth, which led to decentralise social and political structures. By this time, peripheral nationalisms had been converted in social movements with a wide scope, since local authorities were committed to promoting a political

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[8] The cultural movement aimed at recovering Catalan inspired the Catalan nationalist party and its political claim for the separation from the central government. Cf. C. Mar-Molinero, *op. cit*., pp. 90-92; Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Los nacionalismos en la España contemporánea,* cit., pp. 33-34.

[9] Cf. C. Mar-Molinero, *op. cit.,* p. 86-89.

[10] Cf. Ibidem. See the previous chapter for further information.

[11] The political alliance of Catalan regionalists, the *Solidaritat Catalana,* gained the majority of Catalan seats in the 1907 general elections (41 of the 44 Catalan seats in the Spanish parliament). Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Los nacionalismos en la España contemporánea,* cit., p. 52.

[12] Ibidem, p. 54.

campaign for the autonomy of regions.[13] In 1914 a Catalan administrative institution, the *Mancomunitat,* was created and recognised by the Spanish state. Among other tasks, the Catalan *Mancomunitat* boosted the promotion of the local tongue through cultural activities, education system and literature. In fact, the constitution of the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* was meant to provide a standard codification of the local language, that would eventually be the basis of territorial claims.[14]

The situation changed progressively after the 1919 Treaty of Versailles: a new geographical order had emerged, thus leading nation states to focalise more on education policy to normalize culture.[15] The liberalizing attitude of the first two decades was soon replaced by a revival of centralist aspirations, culminating with the imposition of the military regime of Miguel Primo de Rivera between 1923 and 1930. During the dictatorship, regionalisms and linguistic minorities were repressed: the use of non-Castilian languages in official matters was prohibited, as well as the exhibition of non-Spanish flags in public buildings. Local administrative bodies were dismantled and subjects concerning minority cultures and languages were banned from schools.[16] However, after eight years of dictatorship, Spain experimented again a great social and political change: the abdication of the King Alfonso XIII and the proclamation of the Second Republic in 1931. Secularization of the state was one of the most important goals that had been reached by the Republic, thus including a radical rearrangement of education.[17] Other important innovations regarded agricultural reforms and decentralizing policies, the latter aimed at conferring greater autonomy to the regions. In this liberal context, the independent Catalan government, the *Generalitat*, was re-established and the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia was approved by the Spanish parliament.[18] Catalan, along with Castilian, became the official language of Catalonia: it was the language of justice administration and notarial documents. The region was

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[13] Ibidem, pp. 62-63.

[14] Cf. C. Mar-Molinero, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-92.

[15] Cf. M. Guibernau, *Nationalisms,* cit., p. 112.

[16] The Catalan *Mancomunitat* was dismantled in 1925. Similarly, it was prohibited to teach subjects such as Catalan language, culture and history, in Catalan schools. Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Los nacionalismos en la España contemporánea,* cit., pp. 33-34; Cf. Id., *Suspiros de España,* cit., pp.58-59.

[17] The liberal principles of the Second Republic affected also education, which became free, mandatory and emancipated. Also the working world experienced the abandonment of discriminatory policies: the feminine participation in public and political life, as well as the access to traditional male job positions, was a clear example of the reformist impetus of this period of the Spanish history. Cf. G. Di Febo, S. Juliá, "Política de género," in *El Franquismo. Una introducción*, n. p., Editorial Crítica, 2012.

[18] Cf. C. Mar-Molinero, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

allowed to establish and organize schools of all levels and Catalan was the vehicular language, although the study of Castilian was mandatory.[19] Furthermore, in 1933 the Spanish Republic recognized the autonomous status of the Catalan university, the newly founded *Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona*, which was independent from the central government.[20] It is prudent stating that the administrative structure of Catalonia during the Second Republic was the closest to the one resulting from the 1978 Spanish Constitution. Redistribution of power within the republican state did not affect only Catalonia: indeed, a Statute of Autonomy was approved also in Galicia and the Basque Country. Spain came to be defined as an integral state, that is to say: a political nation recognizing the right to territorial autonomy in those regions where the majority of people vote for it.[21] This decentralized political system was meant to promote democratic principles like freedom, equality and social justice, which should have laid the basis for a new national project thus integrating the plurality of identities. However, yet in 1932 social conflicts between the republicans and the right-wing coalitions were emerging and in 1933, when the latter won the elections, a series of violent strikes arose, due to the suspension of some republican reforms.[22] After the triumph of a left-wing party in the 1936 elections, nationalist and conservative forces organized a *coup d'état* which led the country to a three-year Civil War.[23] Nationalist rebels instituted the *Junta Técnica del Estado* in Burgos, a temporary government ruled by the military.[24] Regional autonomies were considered an obstacle to the unity of Spain, that had to be an imperial and Castilian-speaking country: a centralist campaign against minority languages was promoted throughout the wartime. The Civil War marked a definitive break between Spanish nationalism and peripheral ones.[25] Nevertheless, it needs stressing that despite of the critical situation, the Catalan *Generalitat* held the power (even if progressively reduced)

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[19] Cf. J. Benet, *Catalunya sota el règim franquista. Informe sobre la persecució de la llengua i la cultura de Catalunya pel règim del general Franco (1ª part)*, Barcelona, Editorial Blume, 1979, pp. 27-29

[20] Cf. Id., *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1995, pp. 47-48.

[21] Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Los nacionalismos en la España contemporánea,* cit., pp. 100-101.

[22] The right-wing political party, the *Falange Española,* created by José Antonio Primo de Rivera in 1933 was the main fascist group during the Second Republic. Cf. Ibidem.

[23] The *coup d'état* organized between the 17th and 18th July 1936 came to be known as *Alzamiento Nacional.* Cf. Id., *Suspiros de España,* cit., pp. 60-69.

[24] Cf. G. Jackson, *Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 1931-1939*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1972, p. 294.

[25] Cf. J. Benet, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* cit., p. 50; X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Suspiros de España,* cit., p. 65.

until 1938, when most of Catalonia was invaded.[26] In this same year, the Burgos government had been internationally recognized; on 5th April, it approved a decree to abolish the Catalan Statue of Autonomy, with the aim of reallocating the legislative and executive competence to the central state.[27] This period was characterized by the promulgation of a set of legal dispositions to gradually prohibit the use of non-Castilian languages, in the name of the mottos *"una Patria, una lengua, una espada"* and *"si eres español, habla español."*[28] The Spanish Civil War is defined as a "bloody manifestation of Spain's multiple identity crises," which culminated in 1939 with the victory of the centralist faction and the instauration of a dictatorial regime ruled by the general Francisco Franco Bahamonde.[29]

2.3. The cult of Spanishness

In numerous occasions, Franco compared the Civil War to a religious crusade, a holy war against the infidels. The dictator placed religion at the centre of the nationalist discourse, encouraging the idea that nationalists had received "the blessing of God" in liberating the country from heretics.[30] The Spanish leader came to be an idol venerated by the masses and associated to the image of saviour of the country, who brought it back to its glorious destiny. Franco was symbolically representing the national myth, becoming a hero, a *Caudillo.*[31] The institution of the *Caudillo* day on 1st October, as well as the slogan *"una Patria, un estado, un Caudillo,"* helped converting Franco into an icon.[32] The strong propaganda campaign promoting the cult of the dictator's personality was intended to legitimate his authoritarian power.[33] An example is the 1939 victory parade in Madrid:

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[26] Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Los nacionalismos en la España contemporánea,* cit., p. 114.

[27] Cf. C. Güell Ampuero, *The Failure of Catalanist Opposition to Franco (1939-1950),* Madrid, Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2006, p. 49; F. Ferrer i Gironès, *op. cit.,* pp. 177-178.

[28] I.e., "One Fatherland, one language, one sword" and "if you are Spanish, speak Spanish." They were common mottos of the Franco's dictatorship. Cf. F. Ferrer i Gironès, *op. cit.,* p. 178.

[29] C. Mar-Molinero, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[30] Cf. M. Guibernau, *Belonging,* cit., p. 107.

[31] The term is the equivalent of the Italian *Duce* and the German *Führer*; specifically, it refers to the warrior leaders of the Reconquest of Spain from the Moors, a historical period that is also known as the Spanish Golden Age. Cf. M. Guibernau, *Catalan Nationalism. Francoism, Transition and Democracy,* London and New York, Routledge, 2004, pp. 34-49; G. Di Febo, S. Juliá, "Franco, Caudillo providencial," in *op. cit.*

[32] 1st October 1939 is the date when Franco became the head of the Spanish state, and the national motto means "one Fatherland, one state, one leader." Cf. G. Di Febo, S. Juliá, "Liturgias, censura, propaganda," in *op. cit.*

[33] For instance, the famous portrait of Franco riding a white horse and his representation as a medieval crusader were both meant to create a link between him and legendary heroes of the past. Cf. G. Di Febo, S. Juliá, "Franco, Caudillo providencial," in *op. cit.*

not only was it aimed at exalting the Spanishness, but also Franco's identity.[34] Indeed, it was a massive political and religious ceremony at the Church of Santa Barbara: the *Caudillo* was blessed by the Spanish church and, in turn, he offered his sword of victory to the Christ of Lepanto.[35] The emerging totalitarian state was approved also by the Pope Pius XII, whose anti-communist policies were in line with Franco's ideology. From this point on, the church became an indispensable ally of the state in implementing the project of renationalization of the country, fighting together against what was considered the antithesis of the regime, among others: masonry, liberalism, communism and separatism.[36] In this respect, Guibernau emphasises the relationship between the two institutions:

> The pre-eminent role of the Catholic Church was useful both for the 'nationals', who could argue that 'God was on their side', and for the church itself, which acquired great influence over the political and social life of the new regime.[37]

Religion was exploited to gain political legitimization, exalting Catholic values and converting liturgical acts in manifestations of adherence to the regime. The propaganda promoted the collective identification with the Fatherland, whose central constituent was traditional Catholicism. The aim was to create a sort of *patriotic religiousness*, conveying a sense of national belonging: the association of Spanishness with catholic tradition was essential.[38] The so-called "*nacionalcatolicismo*"[39] implied state concessions to the church; in particular, the control on some social and political spaces, like the public morality and social behaviours, but also education, culture and censorship. In return, the church became the main legitimator of the regime.[40] The dictator came to be a prophet, committed to engendering emotions and encouraging people to follow his word with devotion.[41]

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[34] On 19th May 1939 there was a big military parade in Madrid to celebrate the end of the Civil War and the triumph of Franco; the day after, celebrations continued in the church of Santa Barbara to commemorate the alliance between the state and the church. Cf. A. Cazorla Sánchez, "Man of peace, 1939-1947," in *Franco. The biography of the myth*, New York, Routledge, 2014.
[35] Ibidem.
[36] Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Suspiros de España,* cit., p. 69.
[37] M. Guibernau, *Belonging,* cit., p. 107.
[38] Cf. G. Di Febo, S. Juliá, "Configuración del nuevo estado," in *op. cit.;* J. Benet, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* cit., pp. 449-452.
[39] I.e., "National Catholicism."
[40] Cf. J. L. Ibáñez Salas, "El nacionalcatolicismo: Iglesia y Franquismo, unidos desde los primeros días," in *El Franquismo*, Punto de Vista Editores, 2013.
[41] Cf. M. Guibernau, *Nationalisms,* cit., p. 150.

He employed a wide varieties of techniques to renationalize the country and transform it into a "traditional, eternal, catholic and imperial Spain."[42] National symbols, ceremonies and rituals contributed in creating a realm of sacred objects.[43] Commemorations of past glories were promoted by the institution of new celebrations and the erection of monuments. For instance, the anniversary of the 1936 *coup d'état* and the victory of the Civil War, in turn the 18th July and the 1st April, were proclaimed national days. Likewise, the erection of new commemorating monuments and a catholic basilica (*Valle de los Caídos)* for the nationalist victims of the Civil War (the so-called *"Caídos por Dios y por España"*) was a symbolic act to spread patriotism.[44] The purpose was to make the cult for the war dead an expression of national grief and social aggregation.[45] Re-exploring common traditions and boosting popular culture were other stratagems to consolidate nationalism and reach social cohesion. Football became an important means of propaganda, strongly exploited by the regime; indeed, nationalization of sport was precisely meant to unifying the masses.[46] Similarly, folkloristic film genre, the *Españolada,* and Spanish typical music, the *Copla Andaluza,* were broadcasted throughout the territory to shape a widespread culture. Accordingly, the famous *Corrida,*[47] which came to be the pre-eminent Spanish national celebration under Francoism, and the national anthem, the *Marcha Real,* contributed in forging the national identity. The rediscovery of folklore and people's habits, as well as the cultivation of local history, was intended to create a regional, provincial and local Spanishness, thus discouraging any impetus of peripheral nationalisms.[48]

Soon the new configuration of the state assumed the character of an autocracy: *liberal fictions* like multiple parties, electoral law and votes, were dismissed and replaced by a one-party system.[49] Every aspect of the public life was controlled by the state, in order to

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[42] X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Suspiros de España,* cit., p. 69.

[43] Cf. M. Guibernau, *Nationalisms,* cit., p. 148.

[44] *"Caídos por Dios y por España"* means "Fallen for God and Spain," whereas the catholic basilica (*Valle de los Caídos)* is where Franco would eventually be buried.

[45] Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Los nacionalismos en la España contemporánea,* cit., p. 118; G. Di Febo, S. Juliá, "Liturgias, censura, propaganda," in *op. cit.*

[46] The Francoist regime began to idealize the Spanish football team, also known as "*la furia española,*" and take credits for the successes of the Real Madrid during the 1950s. Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Los nacionalismos en la España contemporánea,* cit., p. 118; J. Benet*, Catalunya sota el règim franquista,* cit., pp. 250-252.

[47] The *Corrida de toros* is the traditional Spanish bullfighting.

[48] Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Suspiros de España,* cit., pp. 70-71.

[49] The *Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista (FET y de las JONS)* was the only legal party under Francoism. Cf. G. Di Febo, S. Juliá, "Configuración del nuevo estado," in *op. cit.*

maintain the power: repression, social framing and censorship were hugely employed during Francoism.[50] Yet before the end of the Civil War, censorship had been implemented by the nationalist faction to control information; during Francoism, it became extremely dogmatic, xenophobic and prudish.[51] In 1938 the Burgos government introduced the press and censorship law, which remained relatively unchanged up until the 1960s. This regulation provided for the government intervention on media: from the election of the board of directors of newspapers, to the imposition of penalties in case of violation of the norm. The press became an instrument of propaganda at the hands of nationalists, who made a wide use of a pre-publication censorship.[52] The nationalization of press allowed a mass spreading of both the nationalist doctrine and the image of the Spanish greatness, omitting any news regarding social conflicts or violence against the opponents of the regime.[53] Censorship was enforced by both the state and the church, even if the criteria were not always the same. State censorship was managed by the Ministry of Information and Tourism, usually adopting a prior control on anything in contrast with the official version of the facts; nevertheless, sometimes censors acted also *a posteriori* by withdrawing books from the market or prohibiting new editions.[54] Instead, catholic censorship was applied to volumes already on the market. Precisely, a group of volunteers devoted to the church was in charge of examining all the contents suspected to be immoral and anti-clericalist. The church communicated the list of prohibited books through both the religious magazine *Ecclesia* and the catholic bulletin *Boletín de Información del Secretariado de Información de Publicidad y Espectáculos*.[55] The result was an extremely complicated monitoring process that publishing companies had to face

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[50] Cf. G. Di Febo, S. Juliá, "Liturgias, censura, propaganda," in *op. cit.*

[51] G. Di Febo, S. Juliá, "Liturgias, censura, propaganda," in *op. cit.*

[52] The newspapers *Arriba* and *Pueblo* were directly under the control of the *Falange Española* and aimed at promoting a national morality; the political party owned also publishing companies and cultural magazines, as the case of the journal *Escorial*, which was founded by some ideologists of the party in 1940. Cf. Ibidem.

[53] Cf. M. Peña, "Censuras y censores en el primer franquismo," in E. Lemus, M. Peña (eds.), *Alianzas y propaganda durante el primer franquismo,* Barcelona, Editorial Ariel, 2019.

[54] The Ministry of the Interior (*Ministerio de la Gobernación*) had been the first body in charge of censorship; it was later replaced by the Ministry of Education (*Ministerio de Educación*) and, eventually, the Ministry of Information and Tourism *(Ministerio de Información y Turismo)*. Cf. G. Di Febo, S. Juliá, "Liturgias, censura, propaganda," in *op. cit.*

[55] *Ecclesia* belonged to the Spanish Catholic Council, *Junta Nacional de Acción Católica Española*; whereas *Boletín de Información del Secretariado de Información de Publicidad y Espectáculos* was associated with the religious society known as Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Cf. M. Peña, "Censuras y censores en el primer franquismo," in *op. cit.*

in order to issue a book respecting both catholic morality and state interests.[56] Also foreign literature was affected by a strong censorship and most of French and English books were replaced by Spanish and German ones sharing a nationalist view.[57] Similarly, all foreign expressions (especially in French and English) disappeared and were instead translated in Castilian. The policy against foreign languages remained tough during almost the entire regime: anything had to be written in the national language. The objective was the re-construction of the cultural and ideological panorama. As predictable, military, religious and propagandist acts promoted by the regime were exempt from any restriction.

The development of new communication technologies contributed in defining a popular culture and propagating national meanings.[58] New mass media enabled a wider social impact and came to be the favourite means of propaganda. Daily press, books, radio and all classical communication devices were now put beside film, photography and videos. Franco realized that visual technologies were particularly efficient in reaching the masses and alimenting their sentiments.[59] Similarly to the cases of press and literature, film censorship was a routine practice during the whole dictatorship. Franco put high expectations in film industry, promoting the production and shooting of Spanish movies through economic aids. Those films exalting racial values or moral and political principles of Francoism were awarded for depicting a national interest. Furthermore, Franco implemented a protectionist policy against foreign movies, imposing restrictive norms on imports; accordingly, all foreign films were subjected to the Castilian dubbing. Censorship was a multi-level and long procedure and most of the time implied cuts and edits, thus distorting the narrative of movies.[60] The same restrictions were applied to

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[56] The administrative procedure to validate the publication of a book was long, thus varying from a few weeks to a year. This system was lightened in 1944, when the regime decided to exclude from the monitoring process all books concerning Spanish literature before 1800 and music arrangements before 1900, as well as catholic liturgical texts and technical-scientific ones. All literature referring to republican periods, instead, continued to be subjected to prior censorship. Cf. G. Di Febo, S. Juliá, "Liturgias, censura, propaganda," in *op. cit.*; M. Peña, "Censuras y censores en el primer franquismo," in *op. cit.*

[57] Among others, authors like Balzac, Dumas, Victor Hugo and Stendhal were censored by the regime. As predictable, instead, German works were allowed due to the similar ideological position of Franco and Hitler. Cf. M. Peña, "Censuras y censores en el primer franquismo," in *op. cit.*

[58] Cf. U. Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism,* cit., p. 196; G. Di Febo, S. Juliá, "Liturgias, censura, propaganda," in *op. cit.*

[59] Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Suspiros de España,* cit., p. 70; Id., *Los nacionalismos en la España contemporánea,* cit., pp. 117-118.

[60] Dubbing was definitely the field where the work of censors was more visible. It was not uncommon that actors saying "yes" and nodding in the original version where dubbed as they were denying and saying "no", and vice versa. Cf. M. Peña, "Censuras y censores en el primer franquismo," in *op. cit.*

theatre: censors were in charge of reading, judging and approving or prohibiting plays. Even the musical repertoire of dramas was strongly affected by censorship: any modern genre was removed, and any music with foreign name was prohibited.[61] Another important means of propaganda used by Franco was the state-controlled newsreel, called *Noticiarios y Documentales Cinematográfico (NO-DO)*: it was a short educational documentary produced since 1943 and whose projection was mandatory before the beginning of any movie.[62] The radiophonic panorama was not free from censorship, too. *Radio Nacional de España* was the official channel for general and international news, whereas all the other channels were allowed to broadcast only regional or local news regarding the territorial area in which they operated.[63] Censorship was *a priori* and it affects, above all, advertisement transmitted by radio. The radio host was not allowed to extemporize, but he was obliged to respect an outline previously approved by the government. Radio networks were also obliged to air political slogans, that is short but persuasive sentences conveying national meanings.[64] The broadcasted music was affected by the same restrictions provided for theatre shows: the so-called "black" music, or any other genre with a foreign name, was banned. Instead, the regime encouraged the transmission of the typical Spanish music.[65]

It would not be wrong stating that indoctrination of the masses was a political priority in most XX century dictatorships. Beside the means of communication mentioned above, education was another propaganda tool exploited by totalitarianisms. The Francoist government took distance from the laic education model of the Second Republic, reintroducing a religious and discriminatory order: secularization was replaced by a return to clericalism.[66] School became a social space to promote the new image of Spain, grounded in Christian ethics. Austerity and virility were values to be recovered, whereas gender relations and feminine identity to be redefined. Francoism discarded the republican emancipation of women and reintroduced gender discrimination, investing in men and relegating women to the domestic sphere. The 1945 Elementary Education Act

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[61] *Swing, Jazz, Blues, Fox* and any other "black" music was considered against the public morality. Cf. Ibidem.
[62] *NO-DO* was the Spanish equivalent of the Italian *Film Luce*. Cf. G. Di Febo, S. Juliá, "Liturgias, censura, propaganda," in *op. cit.*
[63] *Radio Nacional* was the state-owned company founded in 1937 by the *Falange Española.* Cf. Ibidem.
[64] Cf. M. Peña, "Censuras y censores en el primer franquismo," in *op. cit.*
[65] For instance, the famous *Copla Andaluza* or the national anthem, *Marcha Real.* See p. 8.
[66] Cf. F. Sevillano Calero, "España en el siglo XX. Sociedad y escuela," in *Propaganda y medios de comunicación en el Franquismo*, Alicante Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante, 1998.

was precisely aimed at tightening gender asymmetry, imposing single-sex schools and teaching young pupils their future role in society.[67] School organization was vertical and hierarchical: the teacher covered the important role of diffusing the word of God and Franco. As predictable, teaching staff was subjected to a dramatic cleansing, due to the cruciality of the function they were called to carry out. National and Christian symbols were always present in schools, as the image of Franco and the crucifix, to confer holiness to the structure and guide pupils. Teaching had to be in compliance with the regime's rhetoric, legitimating a nationalist version of the facts.[68] Participation and freedom of criticism were long gone: debate and reinterpretation of cultural and historical processes as a mere mental exercise was replaced by standardization of thought. The anti-modern character of the regime had serious repercussions on the academic world: the strict censorship erased entire segments of the political and philosophical thought. The regime censured all Spanish intellectuals not in line with the Francoist ideology, but also foreign thinkers close to the communist philosophy: removing their biographies implied the disappearance of historical facts, such as the Second Republic, the Communist Revolution, and all the other anti-nationalist experiences.[69] Furthermore, the exile of many historians, philosophers and authors provoked an intellectual vacuum, thus emphasising the increasing cultural isolation of the Francoist Spain.[70] To sum up, education at all its levels was precisely shaped to legitimate the totalitarian ideology.

2.4.   The process of linguistic homogenisation in Catalonia

"Each time nationalism comes to the fore, there is a great interest in controlling education, publishing and the use of vernaculars, and in emphasising the traits and symbols specific to every particular *Volk*,"[71] declares Guibernau. As a matter of fact, Franco kept creating new monitoring mechanisms, as well as new departments of propaganda and censorship, to control the way of speaking and thinking of the nation. Language style has always

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[67] Precisely, women were educated to become home care workforce and play the role of wives and mothers. The regime promoted this image of women also through national slogans like *"mujeres para Dios, para la Patria y para el hogar"* (i.e., literally: "women for God, Motherland and home"). Cf. G. Di Febo, S. Juliá, "Política de género," in *op. cit.*

[68] Cf. J. Tahull Fort, I. Montero Plaza, *Voces del franquismo. La oscuridad de la razón,* n.p., Caligrama, 2019, pp. 28-30.

[69] Spanish intellectuals like Azaña, Besteiro, Lerroux, Largo Caballero and Alcalá-Zamora, as well as foreign personalities like Lenin, Marx, Stalin and Troski, were erased from the Spanish intellectual thought. Cf. M. Peña, "Censuras y censores en el primer franquismo," in *op. cit.*

[70] G. Di Febo, S. Juliá, "Liturgias, censura, propaganda," in *op. cit.*

[71] M. Guibernau, *Nationalisms*, cit., p. 112.

played an essential role in the Francoist propaganda, shaping the discourse of the nation. The speech was instrumentalized to produce specific national meanings, through which people were forced to interpret and experience the world.[72] The dictator exploited all available tools to construct a discursive framework where diversity was conceived as a public danger. All policies adopted by Franco during most of his mandate were meant to erase heterogeneity: anything challenging the *status quo* was transformed into a national threat and rapidly eliminated. In this regard, the XX century totalitarianisms made wide use of scapegoating, demonizing the *Other* and blame it for all failures of the respective countries. The mechanism of constructing an enemy of the nation was aimed at stressing the edge between the inner and the outer – namely what was allowed and what was not. Due to the Spanish neutrality during the two World Wars, it might be perceivable that this enemy had to be sought within national borders. Linguistic minorities came to cover this function: peripheral nationalisms were the very traitors of the Fatherland, devoted to anti-patriotic languages that needed to be erased in order to preserve national values. Indeed, the former autonomous regions were affected by a tough language regulation to prevent the escalation of separatist impetus. Since the very beginning, Franco's political campaign was primarily meant to promote a total identification of Spain with Castile, as he declared in his 1936 famous discourse:

> Al levantarnos con aquello no defendíais solo un espíritu Castellano nacional, sinó que resolvíais un problema de civilización, demandado por un espíritu castellano, un espíritu español que iba faltando en España.[73]

Castilian, the designated language, was elevated and imposed to forge the masses: due to its intrinsic superiority, it was the only official language of the nation.[74] On the contrary, cultural minorities had to be assimilated within a unique national identity: the Castilian identity.[75] The language question has always been placed on the top of the political agenda of Francoism: linguistic cleansing was a necessary condition to assure national unity. Non-Castilian languages were considered inferior and their usage prohibited in most of

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[72] Cf. Z. Box, "Los atributos de la nación. Género y clase en la España franquista," in E. Lemus, M. Peña (eds.), *op. cit.*

[73] I.e., "In our uprising, you did not just defend a national Castilian spirit, but you solved a problem of civilization, demanded by a Castilian spirit, a Spanish spirit that was lacking in Spain." F. Franco Bahamonde, *Palabras del Caudillo (19 abril 1937 - 31 diciembre 1938),* 1939, quoted by J. Benet, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* cit., p. 91, referring to Franco's speech after assuming the position of Head of State on 4th October 1936.

[74] Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Suspiros de España,* cit., pp. 72-73.

[75] Cf. J. Benet, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* cit., p. 56.

social aspects, creating again a diglossical situation in the regions. The regime constantly ridiculed local tongues, referring to them as dialects, belonging to the uneducated.[76] The monopoly of Castilian in education and communication de facto helped reducing the expansion of non-official languages.[77] Franco made sure that the population interpreted his repressive attitude against linguistic varieties as a further heroic act to remove hostilities. Among all authoritarian mechanisms employed to assure the loyalty of the masses, violence was definitely one of the most effective. The regime forced people to respect diligently its dispositions through a policy of terror. Specifically, a strong repressive language policy was implemented in Catalonia, where Catalan had been the official language until 1938.[78]

Josep Benet affirms that the Catalan question has been a major cause of the Civil War. Indeed, some exponents of the *Falange* declared that the party had been founded to contrast those *"rojo-separatistas,"*[79] the enemies of the Fatherland, who were associated with the republican faction, the *Frente Popular.* During the war, the press in the nationalist zone repeatedly emphasised that the *Alzamiento Nacional* was primarily aimed at fighting Catalan separatism and assuring the unity of Spain. Franco himself informed the foreign press that the Catalan issue was a danger for the integrity of the country and thus the main reason that had pushed nationalists into a military intervention.[80] A further confirmation was provided by the editor of the influential daily newspaper *El Norte de Castilla*, Francisco de Cossío, who compared the Civil War with the *Reconquista* and openly declared that:

> Castilla hizo la nacionalidad y Castilla la está rehaciendo. Nos hallamos en une nueva reconquista, y nuestra Granada, hoy, debe ser Barcelona, en donde hemos de extirpar a todos los traidores y salvar a los buenos españoles que hay allí, prisioneros del separatismo. La Generalidad será nuestra Santafé, y eso llevaremos a Cataluña, nuestra santa fe en la patria única futura.[81]

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[76] Cf. C. Mar-Molinero, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

[77] At the beginning of the dictatorship, education policy was more restrictive toward regional tongues, which had no space in schooling system. This approach lasted until the second half of the 1960s, when the regime progressively loosened the grip and minority languages were gradually reintroduced in schools. Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Suspiros de España,* cit., p. 70-75.

[78] Cf. C. Mar-Molinero, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

[79] I.e., "Red separatists."

[80] Cf. J. Benet, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* cit., pp. 83-94.

[81] I.e., "Castile made the nationality and Castile is remaking it. We are experiencing a new reconquest, and our Granada, today, must be Barcelona, where we must extirpate all the traitors and save the good Spaniards

The cultural and linguistic conquest of Catalonia was conceived as a first necessary step to realize a Spanish imperial policy. Francoists were committed to inciting hatred toward Catalonia, making anti-Catalanism an efficient tool to unify people within the nationalist zone. According to the fascist author Ernesto Giménez Caballero, the *catalanophobia* helped also overcome class struggle turning Catalonia into the common enemy. In doing so, the author argues that class struggle would be transferred into another level, and both the rich and the poor of a given community would start demanding social equality with respect to inhabitants of a different territory:

> El sentimiento de Igualdad social que origina toda lucha de clase sólo se supera llevando esa igualdad en el ataque a otros países que son desiguales a nosotros. Esa expansión de pobres y ricos de un país, contra otras tierras, es lo que constituye la motivación íntima del Imperio.[82]

Indeed, nationalists encouraged the idea that Catalan richness and industry were the result of economic exploitation of the rest of Spain. Popular discontent was such that people even demanded Catalonia to pay war reparations for lacking Spanishness and supporting communism. The anti-Catalan campaign that was promoted throughout the wartime in the Francoist zone was mainly focused on identifying the Catalan language with separatism, as well as associating Catalans with Jews. Nevertheless, anti-Semitism was mostly an opportunist move to gain the support of the Nazis in the Spanish Crusade: Catalanism became then a synonym of Judaism. This image of *"judeo-catalanes"*[83] was further strengthened by a theory maintaining that The Protocols of the Elders of Zion provided for the domination of Spain by regionalisms.[84] Consequently, speaking Catalan in public became forbidden in the nationalist zone. In this context, situations as the one described by the Francoist José Maria Marcet Coll in his memoires were not uncommon:

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who are there, prisoners of separatism. The *Generalitat* will be our Santa Fe, and what we will bring to Catalonia is our holy faith in the only future homeland." F. de Cossío, *Hacia una nueva España. De la revolución de Octubre a la de Julio. 1934 - 1936*, 1937, quoted by J. Benet, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* cit., p. 141.

[82] I.e., "The feeling of social equality that generates all class struggle can only be overcome by carrying that equality to the attack against other countries that are unequal to us. This expansion of the poor and rich of a country, against other lands, is what constitutes the intimate motivation of the Empire." E. Giménez Caballero, Genio de España, 1938, quoted by J. Benet, *Catalunya sota el règim franquista,* cit., p. 105. Ernesto Giménez Caballero was a Spanish author, a phalangist politician and the ambassador of the Spanish Embassy to Paraguay between 1958-1970. Cf. Anon., "Ernesto Giménez Caballero, 1899-1988," *Filosofía en español*, n. d., <http://www.filosofia.org/ave/001/a018.htm>, (Accessed May 6th, 2020).

[83] I.e., "Judaeo-Catalan."

[84] Cf. F. Ferrer i Gironès, *op. cit.,* p. 179; J. Benet, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* cit., pp. 95-140.

He oído decir en algunas ocasiones que, estando hablando dos o más catalanes, han sido interrumpidos por persona ajena a la conversación, con interpelaciones tan groseras como '¡Hablen ustedes en cristiano!'[85]

Here language discrimination had reached a significant level yet before the end of the war. Prohibitions of including the word *Catalonia*, *Catalan*, or anything linked to that region, in business name of companies was a clear example, as reported by the testimony of Antonio Ruiz Vilaplana:

El rancor vers tot allò català es manifesa en detalles verament ridículs. Els hotels i botigues que ostentaven un títol o rètol de 'Catalunya – Barcelona' o alguna cosa semblant han estat trencats o prudentment substituïts.[86]

In general, during the war mass media shaped the public opinion disseminating the need for the Hispanicization of Catalonia.

On 25th March 1938 Franco's troops entered the region and prohibitions regarding the use of Catalan were extended to the cities invaded, thus beginning a cultural persecution. The consequent abolition of the 1932 Statute of Autonomy was the very first legal move toward the Hispanicization of Catalonia: from this moment onwards, Catalan ceased to be the official language of the region. Nonetheless, an interesting as well as paradoxical aspect concerning the anti-Catalan propaganda was its broadcasting in Catalan: by means of expressions like "som espanyols, que és una de les poques coses series que hom pugui ser al món" and "Catalunya no pot trobar els seus veritables puntals i la seva raó d'esser i d'existència si no es en les pregoneses del sentit nacional," nationalists tried to gain the loyalty of Catalan people in former republican zones.[87] This period was characterized by

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[85] I.e., "Sometimes it happened to witness two or more Catalans who were speaking among each other being interrupted by someone outside the conversation, with such rude interpellation as 'speak in Christian!'" J. M. Marcet Coll, *Mi ciudad y yo*, 1963, quoted by J. Benet, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* cit., p. 150. José Maria Marcet Coll was a Catalan politician of the Catalan nationalist party Lliga Regionalista during the Second Republic; however, during the Civil War he sought refuge in the nationalist zone where he affiliated with the phalangist movement. He became the major of the town of Sabadell (Barcelona) between 1942-1960. Cf. Berenguer, A., "Marcet i Coll, Josep Maria," Història de Sabadell S.XIX-XX, s. d., <https://historiadesabadell.com/2015/06/06/josep-maria-marcet-i-coll-1901-1963/>, (accessed May 6th, 2020).

[86] I.e., "The resentment against anything related to Catalonia is manifested in truly ridiculous details. Hotels and shops that displayed an inscription or sign containing the words 'Catalonia - Barcelona', or something similar, have been broken or prudently replaced." A. Ruiz Vilaplana*, Lletra oberta als Catalans,* 1938, quoted by J. Benet, *Catalunya sota el règim franquista*, cit., p. 148. Antonio Ruiz Vilaplana was the Commissioner of Justice in Burgos and a former supporter of the nationalist cause; afterwards, he opposed Franco's dictature and fled the country.

[87] I.e., "We are Spanish, that is one of the few serious things we can be in the world," and "Catalonia cannot find its true setting, as well as its reason to be and exist, if not in the proclamations of the national sense."

a set of legal measures ratified by the nationalist government to abolish and possibly erase the local tongue in the region. The main ingredient of repression was the use of force: people were forced to avoid speaking that "Masonic language" through fine, detention, imprisonment and in some cases even death. The very purpose was the total disappearance of Catalan as a cultural and social means.[88] Language discrimination affected both public and religious life in the occupied territories. Catalan names were banned from the Civil Registry and a purging mechanism was introduced in school teaching and public administration, where people had to be "de probado españolismo, sin sombra de catalanismo" in order to practise those professions.[89] Catalan became forbidden also in the religious life: Catalan priests who refused to comply with language regulations were accused to foment separatist sentiments and hence persecuted.[90] All these repressive measures were further expanded after the seizure of Barcelona on 26th January 1939, when an occupying regime was established.[91]

The day after the seizure of the city, the first page of daily newspapers headlined in large print: "¡Barcelona fue ayer liberada!"[92] The Francoist media justified the campaign against Catalonia as a war of liberation, without alluding to the negative attributes usually associated to Catalans within the nationalist zone, nor to the violent acts perpetrated by the occupants in the region, as asserted by Josep Benet in the following statement:

> Resulta interessant d'observar que en totes les al·locucions pronunciades per les autoritats militars i falangistes en els primers dies d'ocupar Barcelona, no es parli ni una sola vegada de 'Cruzada', ni de la persecució religiosa, ni de marxisme, ni d'anarquisme. (…) En canvi, en totes elles només sobresurt i es repeteix un sol pensament i un sol crit de Victòria: Catalunya torna a ésser d'Espanya.[93]

Cf. J. Benet, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* cit., pp. 172-173.

[88] Cf. F. Ferrer i Gironès, *op. cit.,* p. 177.

[89] I.e., "Of a proven Spanishness, without any affinity with Catalanism." J. Benet, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* cit., p. 212.

[90] Ibidem, pp. 212-225.

[91] This military regime remained in place until 1st August 1939, even if the war officially ended on 1st April of the same year. The temporary government was aimed at implementing a though language policy that should eventually loosen at the end of its mandate; however, when the military regime was replaced by a stable Francoist government, the linguistic normalization process became even more tight. Cf. Ibidem.

[92] I.e., "Barcelona was freed yesterday." When the city was occupied, all local press was taken over by the *Prensa del Movimiento,* which was directly ruled by the nationalist party. Cf. Id., *Catalunya sota el règim franquista,* cit., p. 199.

[93] I.e., "It is interesting to observe that in none of the speeches made by the military authorities and Falangists during the first days of occupation of Barcelona, there is any allusion to 'Crusade', religious persecution, Marxism, or anarchism. (...) Instead, in all of them there is only one single and repeated thought

Franco's dispositions were precisely to avoid giving the impression of conquerors, and instead "ganar el corazón de los hermanos catalanes y no dar un mal paso;"[94] he believed this strategy would have made the Hispanicization process way easier. However, the reality was the other way around: Catalans have never been treated as *"hermanos"* by the military regime. Once Barcelona was invaded, and the whole region about to surrender, all propaganda previously broadcasted in Catalan was banned and immediately replaced by the Castilian version. By 10th February 1939, Catalonia was completely occupied by the nationalist troops and the war in the region ended in the name of "¡Viva España! ¡Viva el general Franco! ¡Viva Cataluña Espanola!"[95]

The path toward a totalitarian state has cost many lives in Spain, compared to other European countries. Antonio Royo Villanova, while explaining why the process of Spanish nationalization was extremely bloody, maintained that:

> Franco ha tenido que luchar con un enemigo que no existía en ninguna de esas Naciones: el separatismo. Ni en Portugal, ni en Alemania ni en Italia había partidos regionalistas (…). Ellos no han padecido una Constitución como la española de 1931, que no sólo se negó a proclamar la unidad nacional (…), sino que ofrece el caso vergonzoso de que ni en un solo de sus artículos aparece escrita la palabra Patria. Ni en Italia, ni en Alemania, ni en Portugal, han conocido los Estatutos regionales. [96]

At this stage, it seems convenient to agree with Benet on the fact that the Catalan question was definitely a main cause of the Civil War. In this regard, the first civil governor of Barcelona under Francoism, Wenceslao González Oliveros, declared that "España se alzó, con tanta o mayor fiereza contra los Estatutos desmembradores, que contra el

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and cry of Victory: Catalonia is part of Spain again." Cf. Id., *Catalunya sota el règim franquista,* cit., p. 197.

[94] I.e., "To win the heart of our Catalan brothers, avoiding wrong moves." J. M. Martínez Bande, *La llegada al mar. Monografías de la Guerra de España,* 1975, quoted by Id., *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* cit., p. 197.

[95] I.e., "Long live Spain! Long live the General Franco! Long live Spanish Catalonia!" Cf. J. Benet, *Catalunya sota el règim franquista,* cit., p. 212.

[96] I.e., "Franco had to fight an enemy that did not exist in any of those nations: separatism. Neither in Portugal, nor in Germany and Italy, were there regionalist parties (…). They have not suffered a Constitution like the 1931 Spanish one, which not only refused to proclaim national unity (...), but also shamefully avoids including the word Fatherland in any single article. Neither in Italy, nor in Germany and Portugal, have they known the regional Statutes." A. Royo Villanova, *Treinta años de política antiespañola*, 1940, quoted by J. Benet, *Catalunya sota el règim franquista,* cit., pp. 218-219. Antonio Royo Villanova was a profesor of administrative law and a supporter of the anti-Catalan campaign during the Civil War.

comunismo."[97] Also, the daily newspaper of Saragossa, *Heraldo de Aragón,* stated that the resolution of the "Catalan problem" was probably the most important among all Franco's victories.[98]

The linguistic standardization process implemented in Catalonia after the war has been extremely restrictive. More specifically, this language policy was affecting all social aspects, by limiting Catalan to private and domestic speaking contexts. All proscriptions previously adopted in the occupied provinces were reaffirmed in the whole region and further exacerbated. Therefore, the prohibition to give Catalan names to babies persisted even after the war. Indeed, not only was registering Catalan first names forbidden, but also all the previous registrations in contrast to this law were invalidated. Furthermore, people were not allowed to show their Catalan first name in public; instead, they were obliged to conform it to the official regulation. The same happened to the inscriptions on graves at the cemetery: they had to be in Castilian, and the ones still in Catalan were quickly substituted by the government. Accordingly, the obituaries published by local newspapers had to be in Castilian and could not contain Catalan first names. Again, the ban to use Catalan in business names, labels, announcements and signs was iterated. Even Catalan nomenclature of restaurants, bars and all hospitality services, was forbidden. Moreover, the adoption of Catalan in private agreements, notarial deeds, invoices, delivery notes, and all business documents was to be avoided. The government allowed firms a certain period of time for adapting to the new regulations; after this timeframe, those who still employed the regional tongue in business names, announcements or the other mentioned cases, were subjected to economic sanctions. Instead, people reporting an alleged violation to public authorities got a reward for their collaboration.[99] Hispanicization of public spaces was justified as a national interest. In fact, according to the Francoist press: "Barcelona había llegado a parecer una ciudad no española. Los avisos de los rótulos en catalán llegaron a extremos grotescos. La farsa de la cooficialidad de idiomas excedía de lo más ridículos."[100] Therefore, bilingual metro station signs were

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[97] I.e., "Spain rose with as much or more fierceness against the dismembering Statutes, than against communism." W. González Oliveros, *Destino,* 1939, quoted by J. Benet, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* cit., p. 339.

[98] Ibidem, p. 88.

[99] Cf. F. Ferrer i Gironès, *op. cit.,* pp. 181-196; J. Benet, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* cit., pp. 435-436.

[100] I.e., "Barcelona had come to look like a non-Spanish city. The Catalan announcements on signs were extremely grotesque. The farce of language co-officiality bordered on the ridiculous." E. de Angulo, *ABC,* 1939, quoted by J. Benet, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* cit., p. 307.

replaced by a monolingual Castilian version, and all Catalan signs indicating the floors of buildings, as well as Catalan plates affixed to their facades, were removed.[101] The toponymy of the cities was not free from Castilization, too: Catalan nomenclature was quickly substituted and, generally, Castilian translation was the rule. This happened to many city names, as the case of *El Port the la Selva* or *Castell d'Aro* which were converted into *Puerto de la Selva* and *Castillo de Aro*. Also places named after Saints were prudently translated in Castilian: for instance, *Sant Boi de Llobregat* became *San Baudilio de Llobregat*.[102] Again, street names referring to Catalan national identity or to the Republic period were drastically changed. Indeed, any designation alluding to left-wing politicians or intellectuals disappeared: for example, *Avinguda de Antoni Gaudí*, *Avinguda de Prat de la Riba* and *Plaça Francesc Macià*, were replaced by *Avenuda del General Primo de Rivera*, *Avenuda del Príncipe de Asturias* and *Plaza Real*.[103] As Catalan cultural heritage had become a Spanish holding, a process of Hispanicization was affecting also the related institutions or public buildings: from this point on, the former *Palau de la Música Catalana* was called *Palacio de de la Música*; the *Biblioteca de Catalunya* was converted into *Biblioteca Central*; the *Libreria Catalònia* came to be known as *Casa del Libro*; and the Catalan chore *L'Eco de Catalunya* turned into *Orfeón Atlántida de Educación y Descanso*.[104]

Any memorial considered against the Francoist ideology was banned, too. All monuments and statues commemorating republican or Catalan nationalist personalities were demolished, as the ones of Francesc Pi i Margall and Enric Prat de la Riba.[105] Catalan national day, previously celebrated on 11th September, was abolished and any sort of celebration on that date prohibited. All cultural manifestations expressed in Catalan were considered an encouragement to separatism: therefore, even the festival for the Catalan poetry day, *Els Jocs Florals de Barcelona*, was forbidden. Also the popular ballad *La

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[101] Ibidem.
[102] Cf. J. Benet, *Catalunya sota el règim franquista,* cit., p. 382.
[103] Antoni Gaudí i Cornet (1852-1926) was a Catalan architect and one of the main exponents of the art movement known as Catalan Modernism. Enric Prat de la Riba i Sarrà (1870-1917) was a Catalan politician belonging to the right-wing party *Lliga Regionalista de Catalunya*; he became president of the Catalan *Mancomunitat* in 1914 and held the power until 1917. Francesc Macià i Llussà (1859-1933) was the first president of the Catalan *Generalitat* between 1931-1933, belonging to the party *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya.* Cf. Id., *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* cit., pp. 418-421.
[104] Ibidem, pp. 306-307.
[105] Francesc Pi i Margall (1824-1901) was a Catalan federalist politician who helped drafting the 1869 Spanish Constitution. In 1873 he became president of the Executive Power of the First Spanish Republic. Cf. J. Benet, *Catalunya sota el règim franquista,* cit., p. 369.

Sardana was denounced as a separatist act and thus banned. As predictable, the Catalan flag became illegal and any exhibition of that was subjected to fine; the same fate was reserved to the Catalan national anthem*, Els Segadors*, and to other traditional songs.[106] The process of nationalization affected also sport, conceived as a main element of popular culture:

> El deporte catalán se apresta a recibir una ducha de Patria. Una ducha que despeje cerebros ofuscados hacia mezquindades de patrias sueltas y perdidas, inexistentes, inexistibles, porque donde está España solo España puede estar.[107]

Before the seizure of Barcelona, Catalan was the official language of public administration, alongside Castilian. Obviously the situation changed when the nationalist troops entered the city. Public officials were forbidden from speaking Catalan while working, as recommended by the billboards affixed in public offices: "Se recuerda la ineludible obligación de hablar en esta dependencia el idioma español; el Jefe de la misma será responsable ante mi Autoridad de su incumplimiento."[108] This condition was extended to office workers of public corporations and associations, as well as all employees of city halls. The total ban of Catalan in the city hall of Barcelona, the *Ayuntamiento de Barcelona*, implied the destruction of all forms drafted in Catalan, as well as the substitution of Catalan office signs with Castilian ones, and the Hispanicization of the official bulletin and the city council meetings. The presence of armed police and civil guard in public administration offices guaranteed the compliance with the disposition. In this regard, Francesc Ferrer i Gironès declares that: "és inimaginable que en una societat moderna es pugui perseguir una llengua fins al punt que la policia estigui encarregada de la vigilància i la denúncia dels funcionaris enxampats parlant en català."[109] Penalties against transgressors usually implied the loss of job position. As stated before, a cleansing process was implemented and only people loyal to Franco were allowed to work for public services. Therefore, all the alleged Catalanist

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[106] Indeed, also popular songs such as *Cant de la Senyera*, *La Balanguera* and *La Santa Espina,* were prohibited. Cf. Id., *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* cit., pp. 415-429.

[107] I.e., "Catalan sport is about to receive a shower of Fatherland. A shower that clears minds obfuscated by meanness of loose and lost, inexistent, 'non-existible,' homelands, because where Spain is only Spain can be." F. Ors, *La Vanguardia Española*, 1939, quoted by Ibidem, p. 299.

[108] I.e., "Remember the unavoidable obligation to speak the Spanish language in this department; the Head of the same will be responsible before my Authority for its non-compliance." This billboard was affixed in all public offices in the province of Girona by the order of the civil governor of this latter, Paulino Coll. Cf. Id., *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* cit., p. 346.

[109] F. Ferrer i Gironès, *op. cit.,* p. 188.

sympathizers were replaced by Falangist supporters. Many citizens classified by the new public officials as not inclined to the Francoist ideals were deported to penal military units for being re-educated; here, speaking in Catalan was obviously prohibited. It is important also to observe that by abolishing the Statute of Autonomy, the Catalan parliament and the Court of Appeal had been suppressed. As predictable, in the new administration of justice the use of Catalan was repudiated.[110] The policy of terror implemented by Franco was precisely the effect of the visceral hatred against Catalonia:

> L'ambient general després de l'ocupació militar era d'autèntic terror: la gent estava esporuguida davant les arbitrarietats de l'Estat totalitari i les parcialitats sectàries de les noves autoritats, que varen crear un ambient policíac en què la delació i la denúncia suraven com a valors patriòtics.[111]

The general ban of the regional tongue from public context was affecting also the means of communication. Indeed, printing any material in Catalan was forbidden and punishable with fine or detention, according to the penal code. The compliance with this disposition was assured by the prior censorship on printings. When the nationalist troops took possession of the press, the consequence was an implicit disappearance of Catalan newspapers and introduction of dailies led by the party - and obviously printed in Castilian. The cleansing mechanism was applied also to books: those written in Catalan or related to separatist sentiments were destroyed, burned or turned into paper pulp. Many private libraries were seized, whereas public ones subjected to purification and adapted to the nationalist creed:

> Las imprentas, librerías, sociedades y particulares poseedores de libros de tendencia marxista, los recogerán y pondrán a disposición del jefe de Seguridad en el plazo de cuatro días a partir de esta fecha. El incumplimiento de esta orden se considerará como resistencia al Glorioso Movimiento Nacional.[112]

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[110] F. Ferrer i Gironès, *op. cit.,* pp. 185-192; J. Benet, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* cit., pp. 288-429.

[111] I.e., "The general atmosphere after the military occupation was of real terror: people were frightened by the arbitrariness of the totalitarian state and the sectarian biases of the new authorities, which created a police environment where betrayal and denunciation floated as patriotic values." F. Ferrer i Gironès, *op. cit.,* p. 188.

[112] I.e., "The typographies, bookstores, companies and private owners of Marxist ideological books, will collect them and make them available to the Head of Security within four days from this date. Failure to comply with this order will be considered as resistance to the Glorious National Movement." This order had been published by the regime during the first weeks of the occupation of Barcelona. J. Benet, *Catalunya sota el règim franquista,* cit., p. 262.

As a consequence of this tight policy, many Catalan intellectuals and authors were forced to exile.

Catalan, as other regional tongues, was banned also from private correspondence, that could be only in Castilian or in other official foreign languages. Again, a strict censorship was applied by the internal mail system to avoid using Catalan. An interesting case concerns international telegrams. In fact, during the Second Republic Catalan had been admitted by the International Telegraph and Telephone Consultative Committee (today: Telecommunication Standardization Sector) and, thus, classified as a 'clear language.' Clear languages were all those officially recognized and used in cable communication, just like Italian, German and Castilian. On the contrary, the category of 'secret languages' included non-official tongues, dialects or texts composed by signs, letters and figures. Precisely, under Francoism Catalan downgraded to this latter category. Although this was not an absolute ban, the consequence was a significant reduction of its usage: in fact, the tariff of these telegrams included a surcharge.[113]

The same destiny was reserved to cultural spaces, such as radio, theatre and cinema. The historical *Ràdio Associació de Catalunya* became *Radio Nacional de Barcelona* and could not broadcast in Catalan. Similarly, any theatrical performance in Catalan was prohibited. For what concerns the cinematographic panorama, both the production and dobbing of movies in Catalan was strongly forbidden. As previously exposed, this was a general policy adopted against all foreign languages:

> La lluita dels governants franquistes, en aquesta primera època totalitària i fascio-
> falangista, en el terreny lingüístic va ser en dos fronts: d'una banda, a fi de superar
> la incapacitat del castellà de competir amb l'anglès o el francès; de l'altra, amb el
> desvergonyit propòsit d'eliminar els idiomes com ara el català, els quals, segons llurs
> arguments polítics, trencaven la unitat de l'Estat.[114]

Repressive measures were adopted also to avoid Catalan as the vehicular language of education, since "a través de las lenguas vernáculas se filtraban los virus del

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[113] F. Ferrer i Gironès, *op. cit.,* p. 191.
[114] I.e., "In this first totalitarian and fascist-Falangist era, the Francoist rulers struggle in the linguistic field was on two fronts: on the one hand, it was aimed at overcoming the inability of Spanish to compete with English or French; on the other, it had the shameless purpose of erasing languages such as Catalan, which, according to their political arguments, jeopardised the unity of the state." Ibidem*, p. 188.

separatismo."[115] Hispanicization occurred in both public and private schools, where bilingualism was strongly forbidden. Only professors devoted to Francoism were admitted in the new *patriotic* education system, although they were subjected to police vigilance to assure the compliance with the language regulation. Teachers were educated through training courses in order to align them with the Francoist spirit; those who kept using Catalan in schools were persecuted by the authorities. As a preventive measure, many professors employed in the region were from Castile and Extremadura, and completely ignored the Catalan language. Benet describes the invasion of Catalonia by non-Catalan teachers as "un dels principals instruments que el règim franquista havia d'utilitzar per aconseguir la colonització lingüística i cultural del poble català."[116] Clearly, all textbooks, notebooks and printed materials in Catalan were removed. Accordingly, the regime produced politically driven books to be used in schools, imposing specific study programs to exalt Francoism and the image of the imperial Spain. A strict censorship was applied also to children's books, which were intended to foment the hatred against those linguistic minorities indicated as "españoles espúreos, que reniegan de España."[117] The regime prevented the *Ajuntamiento de Barcelona* from owning or creating schools. Moreover, the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* was suppressed and replaced by the *Instituto Español de Estudios Mediterráneos*. The former Catalan institute had been the most important scientific corporation of Catalonia, whose main function was the scientific investigation on all the elements of Catalan culture. On the contrary, the new Spanish institute was precisely aimed at the Castilianization of Catalonia. Similarly, the *Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona* founded during the Second Republic was abolished and around 150 lecturers, among the highest personalities of the Catalan academic panorama, were expulsed. In the newly *Universidad de Barcelona*, Catalan was absolutely excluded both as vehicular language and matter of teaching. Furthermore, other academic subjects established during the republican period were banned from university, such as: Catalan philology, Catalan history, Catalan geography, Catalan civil

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[115] I.e., "The viruses of separatism were filtered through the vernacular languages." A. Muñoz Alonso, *BOCE*, 1970, quoted by Ibidem, p. 198.

[116] I.e., "One of the main instruments that the Francoist regime used to achieve the linguistic and cultural colonization of the Catalan people." J. Benet, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* cit., pp. 395.

[117] I.e., "Spurious Spaniards, who deny Spain." M. de Burgos y Mazo, *¿Quién es España?,* 1940, quoted by Ibidem, p. 389.

and public law, history of the Catalan art, etc. This anti-Catalan attitude in the schooling system was maintained for almost the whole dictatorship.[118]

Even though the church was the right arm of the regime, it was not spared by the *hispanizing* fury of Franco. After the seizure of Barcelona, the prohibitions affecting religious life in the first Catalan occupied territories were extended to the whole region and remained mostly undisputed until the 1960s:

> Barcelona vuelve a recobrar el aspecto de una ciudad española. En las iglesias se predica en castellano, idioma ideal para la labor evangelizadora, que tiene la virtud de ser entendido sin excepción por todos los fieles, tanto catalanes como castellanos o hispanoamericanos.[119]

Indeed, Catalan as vehicular language of catechism, teaching, homily, collective prayer and all public acts of the catholic cult became forbidden. Even ecclesiastical Latin was prevented and replaced with Castilian as liturgical language. Furthermore, all religious journals, books and diocesan publications had to be edited in Castilian. The Catalan version of the bible was accused to instigate separatism and thus pilloried. Also religious medals or other general objects with Catalan writings were banned. The oppression against the Catalan Church was even more intense after the war. Indeed, the members of the Catalan Christian Youth Association, the *Federació de Joves Cristians de Catalunya,* were accused to be separatist and persecuted. Eventually, this religious association was substituted by the Spanish *Juventud Española de Acción Católica*. Those priests who, despite the restrictions, kept using Catalan were persecuted, sanctioned and sometimes exiled.[120]

Within this context of cultural and linguistic repression afflicting Spanish minority groups, the Francoist journalist Manuel Aznar declared the end of the Wilsonian principle of self-determination of small nationalities. Indeed, after the 1940 occupation of France by the Nazis he maintained that:

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[118] Cf. F. Ferrer i Gironès, *op. cit.,* pp. 184-193; J. Benet, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya*, cit., pp. 380-407.

[119] I.e., "Barcelona has again the aspect of a Spanish city. In churches homilies are in Spanish, an ideal language for the evangelizing work, which has the virtue of being understood without exception by all the faithful, both Catalans, Spaniards and Spanish-Americans." E. de Angulo, *ABC,* 1939, quoted by J. Benet, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* cit., p. 307.

[120] Nonetheless, at the end of the 1950s the regime loosened the grip and Catalan came to be tolerate in some parishes. Cf. Ibidem, pp. 449-497.

Cuando se dice que una determinada idea o sistema político han muerto, se quiere decir que han quedado abolidos para mucho tiempo. Yo no sé si la famosa teoría de las nacionalidades resucitará dentro de cien años. Lo que afirmo, sin ningún temor a equivocarme, es que, a consecuencia de la victoria alemana, ha dejado de existir, en calidad de doctrina decisiva en el equilibrio europeo. (…) La paz que terminará esta guerra ha de nacer bajo signos absolutamente antiwilsonianos. Wilson nos trajo la preocupación de las pequeñas nacionalidades, y tanto envenenó esta doctrina las almas europeas, que en ella encontraron alientos y pujos hasta ciertos catalanes, ciertos vascos, no poco alsacianos, estonianos, ucranianos y demás fauna separatista. Quien no comprenda la relación real entre los resultados de esta guerra y la abolición de la teoría conocida por el nombre de 'autodeterminación' de las pequeñas nacionalidades no habrá comprendido casi nada de lo que está aconteciendo en Europa.[121]

Undoubtably, he did not know that despite all the attempts to erase Spanish linguistic minorities, these latter would survive. He probably did not even know what would happen in Spain forty years later, when the country turned into a democracy and a Constitution officially recognized the autonomy of those "small nationalities."

2.5. Conclusions

The survival of Spanish linguistic minorities during and after Francoism was the result of various actions and actors. Surely, many Catalan republican leaders who went into exile after the Civil War made some attempts to keep alive the language and reorganize Catalan political structure. In 1939 the Catalan *Generalitat* was established in Paris and on year later its president Lluís Companys founded the National Council of Catalonia. Catalan exiled politicians were convinced about the possibility to restore the Spanish Republic

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[121] I.e., "When a certain idea or political system is said to have died, it means that they have been abolished for a long time. I do not know if the famous theory of nationalities will be restored in a hundred years. What I affirm, without any fear of being wrong, is that, as a result of the German victory, it has ceased to exist, as a decisive doctrine in the European balance. (…) The peace that will end this war must be born under absolutely anti-Wilsonian signs. Wilson brought us the concern of small nationalities, and this doctrine has poisoned European souls so much that they have been followed even by certain Catalans, certain Basques, not few Alsatians, Estonians, Ukrainians and other separatist fauna. Whoever does not understand the real relationship between the results of this war and the abolition of the theory known as the 'self-determination' of small nationalities will have understood almost nothing of what is happening in Europe." M. Aznar, *Solidaridad Nacional,* 1940, quoted by J. Benet, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya,* cit., pp. 441-442. Manuel Aznar Acedo (1916-2001) was a member of the phalangist movement and during the Civil War an officer of the nationalist propaganda; after the war, he became co-director of the department of radio broadcasting for the Ministry of Information and Tourism.

and the Catalan Statute of Autonomy. While living abroad, they debated on the future of Catalonia after the alleged defeat of Franco. However, the 1940 German invasion of France did not allow any political action and in the same year the Gestapo arrested Companys, who was considered the main political personality of the former autonomous Catalonia. The Catalan president was handed over to Spain where he was sentenced to death. After the execution of Companys, the National Council of Catalonia was reorganized and based in London, on the initiative of the leader of the republican left party (*Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya*), Carles Pi i Sunyer. The General Secretary of the party Josep Tarradellas created the *Solidaritat Catalana*, a new movement aimed at bringing together all Catalan political and civil forces and coordinating the anti-Franco struggle.[122] After the 1945 victory of the allies, the Catalan resistance expected an intervention by the allied forces to overthrow Francoism and restore democracy; however, this never really happened. On the contrary, the new political panorama in the international arena led Franco to present his regime as a model to fight communism.[123] Accordingly, the Francoist Spain was recognized by the international community and in 1955 would join the United Nations.[124]

In spite of the above-mentioned attempts, the main responsibility for the endurance of the Catalan identity might be attributed to those people living in inner exile. Indeed, the cultural resistance within Catalan borders was extremely important:

> Catalan identity was preserved thanks to the dynamic and engaged action of a very
> small intellectual elite, but above all thanks to family circles within which Catalan
> was spoken and the most traditional and popular Catalan culture was maintained.[125]

As expected, the violent oppression of the Franco regime led to a tacit agreement between Catalans who, irrespective of their social class, shared a feeling of solidarity. In fact, the regime efforts to suppress diversity engendered the dichotomy between the locals (i.e., Catalans) and the foreigners (i.e., Francoists), these latter identified with the Castilian culture and language. According to Guibernau, from the 1960s a sort of internal resistance took place through four types of action: symbolic, interference, elite and solidarity

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[122] This movement would be pivotal to obtain the autonomy in Catalonia during the transition to democracy. Cf. M. Guibernau, *Catalan Nationalism,* cit., pp. 51-56.
[123] In fact, in the midst of the Cold War Franco's regime was revaluated by the United States and, consequently, by the whole Western block.
[124] Cf. M. Guibernau, *Catalan Nationalism,* cit., pp. 51-56.
[125] Ibidem, p. 52.

actions. Symbolic actions were usually isolated actions to challenge the regime's control of the public life; for instance, by displaying the Catalan flag, painting graffiti or leaving flowers where once stood monuments commemorating Catalan heroes. Interferences were another type of isolated actions, usually performed during a public event and involving a high degree of risk. In fact, disturbing official ceremonies was precisely aimed at challenging the natural order of things and, moreover, attracting the attention of the foreign press on the situation suffered by Catalonia. Guibernau provided the famous example of the concert organized at the *Palau de la Música Catalana* in 1960 to celebrate the centenary of the Catalan poet Joan Maragall. The typical Catalan song *El Cant de la Senyera* was included in the program but then removed, since it had Catalan nationalist connotations; as a consequence, almost two hundred Catalan nationalists boycotted the event by singing that song all alone. Elite actions were perhaps the most useful in keeping alive the local language and culture.[126] Many important Catalan personalities, such as the jurist Raimon d'Abadal, the humanist Jordi Rubió i Balanguer, the architect Josep Puig i Cadafalch and the philologist Ramon Aramon i Serra, were completely banned from the public life due to their proven closeness with Catalanism.[127] However, some of them contributed in cultivating Catalan culture clandestinely; for example, Puig i Cadafalch and Aramon i Serra reorganized the activities of the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* in 1942, in order to publish books and articles in Catalan. Furthermore, the Institute restored its teaching activities of Catalan linguistics and literature.[128] In the 1960s the number of Catalan courses increased considerably, and in 1961 the institution *Òmnium Cultural* was secretly created to offer classes of Catalan language for small groups of people.[129] In general, the clandestine publication of Catalan books, newspapers, scientific articles, but also translations of foreign works, became diffuse during the dictatorial years.[130] Nevertheless, this practice required some strategies to avoid the Francoist persecution:

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[126] M. Guibernau, *Catalan Nationalism,* cit., pp. 55-56.

[127] Beyond their professional careers, these personalities were linked to Catalan nationalism. In fact, Raimon d'Abadal was one of the main directors of the Catalan nationalist party *Lliga Catalana*; Josep Puig i Cadafalch was an historical director of that political party, too, and also a former president of the Catalan *Mancommunitat* and *Institut d'Estudis Catalans*; Jordi Rubió i Balanguer was a former president of the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* and a former executive director of the *Biblioteca de Catalunya*; Ramon Aramon i Serra was a professor of the *Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona*. Cf. J. Benet, L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya, cit., pp. 503-504.

[128] The *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* could resume its teaching activities also thanks to the support of the *Federació de Joves Cristians de Catalunya*. Cf. M. Guibernau, *Catalan Nationalism,* cit., p. 56.

[129] The *Òmnium Cultural* was officially recognized in 1967. Cf. Ibidem.

[130] Curiously, the Catalan version of Shakespeare's works is the only one in the world published clandestinely. Cf. J. Benet, L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya, cit., pp. 503-504.

for instance, changing the date and place of publication, or reducing the number of pages in order to limit censorship to the local delegation.[131] Obviously, many Catalan books and articles were published abroad, by Catalans living exiled in Europe or Latin America. Also clandestine cultural organizations helped in this purpose: the historical group *Amics de la Poesia* and *Miramar,* as well as the *Estudis Universitaris Catalans,* were restored in secrecy and their activities rearranged.[132] The same happened to the festival of the *Nit de Santa Llúcia*, an important literary competition. The defence of Catalan language and culture by intellectuals under the Francoist dictatorship was of utmost importance:

> Castilian continued to be 'the language of the Empire', the language of authority and power, which had to be used in public. Catalan, restricted to domestic life and almost clandestine circles, was the language of freedom and resistance.[133]

Surely, the two most important institutions where elite actions were performed were church and university. The clerical sector had been playing a decisive role in the promotion of Catalan culture and language for centuries, and the resistance of some priests against language persecution under Francoism was admirable. In this regard, the cardinal and bishop of Tarragona Francesc Vidal i Barraquer defended the use of Catalan in church while living in exile. Indeed, he denounced several times to the ecclesiastical world the barbarity perpetrated by the Franco regime against the Catalan culture.[134] In general, many Catalan religious exponents took distance from the extremely conservative view imposed by Franco: mostly because Catalan church has always been progressive due to the influence of the French Catholicism, and partly because of the unquestionable rejection of the local language by the regime. Therefore, Catalan church played a pivotal role in preserving the local language by using it in homilies, religious education and communication. Furthermore, the cultural activities organized by the Abbey of Montserrat were particularly relevant. In fact, many Catalan religious books had been published by the Abbey and in 1971 its own publishing house, the *Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat*, was officially created. Moreover, from the 1950s the Scout movement became popular between Catalan nationalists and enjoyed the protection of

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[131] In fact, according to the law a book with less than thirty-two pages was censored only by the local delegation, without sending it to Madrid. Examples of clandestine books are those of *Edicions de la Sirena* and *Edicions de la Negra Nit.* Cf. Ibidem, p. 57.
[132] Cf. J. Benet, L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya, cit., p. 510.
[133] M. Guibernau, *Catalan Nationalism,* cit., p. 57.
[134] Cf. J. Benet, L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya, cit., p. 495.

the church. This movement emphasised Catalan patriotism and promoted trips in the countryside, often used as an excuse for political meetings among the opposition front.[135]

University was another social space where a strong anti-Franco opposition took place. In 1946 a university movement opposing the fascist regime, the *Federació Nacional d'Estudiants de Catalunya*, was created. Among its tasks, the reorganization of the Catalan university was a priority. This student association promoted the *Catalanization* and democratization of university, thus claiming an autonomous status. In the 1960s the opposition became stronger, due to both the perceivable decline of the regime and the 1968 student uprisings in other countries. In fact, by this period the student movement of the opposition gained popular support in the campaign for reintroducing Catalan language in university. In 1965 a huge student manifestation was held in the monastery of the *Caputxins de Sarrià* to demand freedom of expression, research and association, as well as defend linguistic pluralism. This protest, known as the *Caputxinada*, led to the overthrow of the Francoist students' union *Sindicato de Estudiantes Universitario*, which was replaced by the *Sindicat Democràtic d'Estudiants de la Universitat de Barcelona*, a new liberal union.[136]

The last type of actions individuated by Guibernau are solidarity actions, which became more common in the last years of the regime. The main aim of these practices was to attain mass mobilization and demonstrate the strength of the opposition. The example the author provided is the "Galinsoga affair," a mass protest against the Chief Editor of the newspaper *La Vanguardia*, Luis Martínez de Galinsoga. In fact, in 1959 the journalist had declared that "todos los catalanes son una mierda,"[137] after assisting to a religious Mass held in Catalan. A group of Catalans decided to start a campaign against Galinsoga, asking people to stop reading *La Vanguardia* and tearing up copies of the newspaper in public spaces. At the end, this protest mobilized a broad section of the population and Galinsoga was finally dismissed. Another curious example was the development of the movement *Nova Cançó*, emerged in the 1960s and meant to the propagation of Catalan protest songs. Although these Catalan singers were banned from mass media and their concerts prohibited, their songs became extremely popular among all social classes of

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[135] This movement opposed the Francoist *Organización de Juventudes Españolas*. Cf. M. Guibernau, *Catalan Nationalism,* cit., p. 59.
[136] Cf. M. Guibernau, Catalan Nationalism, cit., pp. 60-62.
[137] I.e., "All Catalans are shit." Cf. Ibidem, p. 63.

Catalan territories. Therefore, citizen movements were no less relevant in this battle for cultural survival.[138]

The final period of the regime, known as *tardofranquismo,* was characterized by a pseudo-liberal context that enabled a timid reintroduction of regional tongues in social life. In fact, in the 1960s the regime loosened the grip on linguistic minorities. For instance, in 1964 Catalan denominations were allowed in the Industrial Property Registry; similarly, in 1968 merchant marine ships could have Catalan names.[139] However, the most relevant direction was taken in 1966 with the Freedom of Expression Law, through which the strict censorship was replaced by a self-censorship.[140] Nevertheless, this law did not completely liberalize non-Castilian languages, which were limited to folkloristic news whereas the serious ones were still reported in Castilian. Moreover, the number of pages written in Catalan could not surpass the 20% of a whole magazine.[141] Also restrictions on the publication of books in Catalan were loosened throughout the 1970s, enabling to publish a broader number of books per year.[142] Similarly to what happened to newspapers, radio stations had to limit Catalan language to folkloristic programmes, whereas television could broadcast in Catalan only two hours per week.[143] After many campaigns in favour of the reintroduction of Catalan at schools, in 1970 the Commission of Education and Science of the parliament approved some articles of the General Law on Education that specifically provided for the admission of native languages as a matter of teaching in early childhood and basic education.[144] However, this language regulation would never be realized, due to the various political debates on this topic.[145] Among the opponents to a liberal attitude, Adolfo Muñoz Alonso stated that:

> El lenguaje es algo más profundo y muchos están llegando al marxismo a través de
> la incomprensión de lo que el lenguaje significa como expresión del trabajo. Por

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[138] Ibidem, pp. 62-65.
[139] Cf. F. Ferrer i Gironès, *op. cit.,* p. 195.
[140] Cf. C. Mar-Molinero, *op. cit*., p. 98.
[141] Cf. F. Ferrer i Gironès, *op. cit.,* p. 195.
[142] From 1970 to 1972 it was allowed to publish 450 Catalan books per year; this number increased to 513 in 1973, and again to 611 in 1975. Cf. M. Guibernau, Catalan Nationalism, cit., p. 65.
[143] Ibidem.
[144] Cf. J. De las Heras, "Enseñanza de la lengua en comunidades dialectales: aspectos sociolingüísticos y didácticos," in M. García, R. Giner, P. Ribera, C. Rodríguez (eds.), *Ensenyament de llengües i plurilingüisme*, Valencia, Universitat de València, 1999, p. 339; F. Ferrer i Gironès, *op. cit.,* p. 198.
[145] Despite the 1970 formal recognition of vernaculars in education, Catalan language would be introduced in schools as an optional and experimental subject in 1975, and only from the 1983 it would become a vehicular means of teaching. Cf. S. May, *Language and Minority Rights: Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Politics of Language,* New York and London, Routledge, 2012, p. 263.

tanto, mucho cuidado con creer que la lengua, es sólo vehículo a través del cual los hombres se comunican, porque también a través de ella se filtra el alma, y, a veces, los virus para el alma.[146]

Nevertheless, throughout the 1970s discussions on the question of vernacular languages became particularly frequent. This decade was characterized by a series of popular unrests claiming for the re-introduction of native languages in all social sectors. In a 1971 plenary session, the National Council of the Movement recognized the need to change the state behaviour towards minority languages. In this regard, it emphasised that a continuous and violent persecution against anything that was linked to regional languages was counterproductive:

Hay que desechar la idea, por estéril, de que la unidad se puede imponer por la solo enérgica autoridad. Hay que buscar nuevos y más eficaces caminos. Hay que llegar a conocer, descubrir cómo y por qué, se forma la mentalidad del separatista y conocido este origen atacar sagaz, inteligentemente con firme energía sus causas.[147]

This openness towards linguistic minorities would consolidate after the death of Franco in 1975, and eventually culminate with the 1978 Spanish Constitution and the new regional Statutes of Autonomy.

In conclusion, the violent repression of Catalan committed by Francoism to ensure the national unity of Spain might be explained by drawing attention to what Daniel Cetrà indicates as the inextricable link between nation and language, the latter conveying a national identity interest.[148] Guibernau shares a similar opinion on this point, maintaining that:

The immediate identification and categorization of people according to the subtlest differences in how they speak a particular language – as members of a social class, a specific region or even a people – is an example of the close connection established

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[146] I.e., "Language is something deeper and many are coming to Marxism through the misunderstanding of what language means as an expression of work. Therefore, be very careful to believe that language is only a vehicle through which men communicate, because it also filters souls and, sometimes, viruses for the soul." A. Muñoz Alonso, *BOCE*, 1970 quoted by F. Ferrer i Gironès, *op. cit.*, p. 198. Adolfo Muñoz Alonso was a phalangist politician and the director of *El Español,* a phalangist weekly publication.

[147] I.e., "The vain idea that unity can be imposed by firm authority alone, must be discarded. We must find new and more effective ways. We must get to know, discover, how and why the separatist mentality is formed; and once known this origin, we must attack its causes shrewdly, intelligently and with firm energy." Cf. "Sesiones Plenarias del Consejo Nacional celebradas los días 17, 18, 19 y 23 de febrero de 1971," *Consejo Nacional del Movimiento*, 1971, quoted by F. Ferrer i Gironès, *op. cit.,* p. 199.

[148] See pp. 21-26 of the first chapter.

between identity and language, and the complex mechanisms employed when we endeavour to identify the 'other'. In Catalonia, language is the distinguishing and most important element of Catalan identity; hence the obsession of the Franco regime, and many others before it, to reduce the Catalan language to a philological curiosity without any social use.[149]

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[149] M. Guibernau, Catalan Nationalism, cit., p. 64.

Chapter 3

Linguistic normalisation: Catalonia's language policy within the democratic system

3.1. Introduction

This final chapter shows the language planning implemented in Catalonia from the 1980s up until present day. At the beginning, some reflections on the historical context the country was facing at the end of the 1970s are provided, stressing the path towards democracy. In this frame, the 1978 Spanish Constitution and 1979 Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia are presented, thus comparing the respective articles concerning the status of regional languages. These legal instruments would legitimate the adoption of a specific language policy by the *Generalitat*, aimed at recovering the prestige of Catalan. Therefore, the attention turns to the politics of language: how has Catalonia managed to revitalise its native tongue after almost forty years of repression? Which strategies have been implemented? Have they been effective? And what are the social implications deriving from this political line?

The program for the restoration of Catalan language outlined by the political forces is exposed by showing the main phases of the language normalisation process. Initially, the 1983 Language Normalisation Law is presented, thus considering the social fields that are supposed to be regulated and normalised. Afterwards, the focus turns to the 1998 Language Policy Law and the extension of the normalisation process to further scopes. Here, an overview of the sociolinguistic situation after the enter into force of the new Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia in 2006 is provided. Finally, some considerations on the consequences of that language policy are offered, thus emphasising the development and radicalisation of nationalist ideologies. In conclusion, results of the almost forty-year language normalisation process are shown, as well as data concerning the current sociolinguistic situation of Catalonia.

3.2. Legal framework and political legitimacy

As disclosed in the previous chapter, the 1970s have been a decade towards liberalization and, eventually, democracy. This period is known as *Transición[1]* and is characterized by a series of reforms aimed at adjusting the Spanish political system to the requirements of a new international scenario: Western democracy. In this context, the image of conservative, homogeneous and centralist Spain was gradually abandoned. Whereas the church was losing power and competence, a new secular society was about to emerge.[2] For what concerns linguistic minorities, yet in 1975 a Decree on Education to incorporate native languages into schooling curricula was approved; however, it only provided these tongues with the status of optional subjects in early childhood and basic education. In fact, Catalan would become officially mandatory in 1978 and admitted as the vehicular language of teaching in 1983.[3] Likewise, also restrictions concerning registration of Catalan first names at the Civil Registry were abandoned. A further decree regulating the use of regional languages was ratified in 1975, thus authorising their reintroduction in all spoken and written means of communication and cultural activities. This act recognized vernaculars as *national* languages, to the extent that they were part of the cultural heritage of the Spanish nation. Nonetheless, at that time these tongues were still not considered as official languages, since Castilian kept being the only one enjoying this primacy. The claim for co-officiality became the main pillar of nationalist revindications in the peripheries.[4] In this regard, the 1975 Catalan Cultural Congress (CCC) was a huge collective mobilisation committed to revitalising Catalan language and folklore. This Congress lasted until 1977 and had a pivotal role in spreading the awareness about the necessity of linguistic normalisation. In this same year the Catalan government was re-established.[5]

The change of political direction was a decision taken from above yet before the death of Franco, and this is the reason why, despite the end of dictatorship, the state apparatus has

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[1] I.e., the Spanish Transition.

[2] Cf. M. Guibernau, *Catalan nationalism,* cit., pp. 70-72.

[3] Catalan would become a mandatory subject at school after the 1978 Decrees on Bilingualism, and the vehicular language of education after the 1983 Language Normalisation Law. Cf. S. May, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

[4] Cf. F. Ferrer i Gironès, *op. cit.,* pp. 203-205; X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Suspiros de España*, cit., pp. 74-77.

[5] Cf. G. Nerín, "Conmemoración de los 40 años del Congrés de Cultura Catalana," *El Nacional*, March 29th, 2017, <https://www.elnacional.cat/es/cultura/40-anos-congres-cultura-catalana_147888_102.html>, (Accessed May 18th, 2020). It might be interesting to notice that the Catalan government was re-established on year before the promulgation of the Spanish Constitution, which is dated December 6th, 1978.

remained at stake.[6] When Francisco Franco died in 1975, King Juan Carlos I assumed the position of Head of State and played a key role in the transition to democracy.[7] In 1976 a law to reform the political system was passed, becoming the instrument legitimizing the turn to a Constitutional Monarchy. After the approval of the parliament, this Political Reform Act was subjected to constitutional referendum and, given the positive results, entered into force in 1977. On June of the same year there would be the first universal and free elections of the parliament, this latter in charge of drafting a democratic Constitution.[8] On 29th December 1978, the Spanish Constitution entered into force, marking the end of the Spanish Transition and the beginning of a democratic political system. It laid the grounds for a new territorial organisation of Spain, now divided into seventeen autonomous communities. Actually, most of them already had a pre-autonomous structure between 1977 and 1978.[9] The Spanish *state of autonomies* was a balancing solution, negotiated and accepted by the principal peripheral nationalist parties as a first step towards the consolidation of self-government. In this respect, Catalan nationalist parties played an active role in elaborating the draft bill and recommending people to participate at the 1978 constitutional referendum.[10] Precisely, a huge campaign in favour of the Constitution was organised by Jordi Pujol, the leader of Catalan nationalism.[11] Accordingly, Catalonia viewed a mass participation at the polls, thus registering 67,7% of Catalan population with 90,4% of positive votes. Therefore, the result in Catalonia was of utmost importance for the Spain's shift to democracy, being one of the five regions with most votes in favour of the *Magna Carta*.[12]

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[6] Cf. M. Guibernau, *Catalan nationalism,* cit., pp. 70-72.

[7] King Juan Carlos I was the successor of Francisco Franco, designated by the dictator himself.

[8] Cf. W. L. Bernecker, "Monarchy and Democracy: The Political Role of King Juan Carlos in the Spanish Transicion," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 33, No. 1, 1998, pp. 77-78.

[9] Cf. M. Guibernau, Catalan Nationalism, cit., p. 74; X. M. Núñez Seixas, Los nacionalismos en la España contemporánea, cit., p. 143.

[10] Nonetheless, a sort of federal interpretation of the Constitution, or a future aspiration to federalism, were still at stake in various sectors of Catalan socialist and communist parties. Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Los nacionalismos en la España contemporánea*, cit., pp. 145-146.

[11] Jordi Pujol i Soley (1930) has been the president of the *Generalitat*, as well as the leader of the political party *Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya* (CDC), from 1980 up until 2003. He was among the anti-Francoist activists who manifested against the regime during the celebration of the centenary of the Catalan poet Joan Maragall, at the Palau de la Música Catalana in 1960; in that same year, he got arrested for his protests and he was released two years later. Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Suspiros de España*, cit., pp. 102-110.

[12] Andalusia, the Canary Islands, Cantabria, Catalonia and Murcia were the five regions registered the most positive votes during the 1978 constitutional referendum. Cf. R. Pérez, "Cataluña abrazó masivamente la Constitución de 1978," *ABC*, November 7th, 2017, <https://www.abc.es/espana/la-transicion-espanola/abci-cataluna-abrazo-masivamente-constitucion-1978-201711070259_noticia.html>, (Accessed May 18th, 2020).

The turn to democracy was characterized by a more neutral attitude of the political elite, accepting ethnocultural diversities and enhancing the new image of *"España plural, pero común."*[13] In this frame, Spain had to deal with a *pluralist dilemma*, that is "the problem of reconciling the diverse political claims of constituent groups and individuals in a pluralist society with the claims of the nation-state as a whole."[14] As evident in article 2, the Constitution was precisely the result of a compromise between the defence of social cohesion and unity, and the recognition of linguistic rights and political autonomy:[15]

> La Constitución se fundamenta en la indisoluble unidad de la Nación española, patria común e indivisible de todos los españoles, y reconoce y garantiza el derecho a la autonomía de las *nacionalidades* y regiones que la integran y la solidaridad entre todas ellas.[16]

This article is perhaps the most controversial one, testifying the evident ideological tension between Francoist reformists, in favour of the unity of Spain, and anti-Francoist groups, standing for the affirmation of minority nationalities. First of all, the term *"nacionalidades"* employed by the Constitution might be ambiguous and open to different interpretations. Indeed, many conservators had argued it was a misleading concept, since easily interchangeable with the one of *"naciones."*[17] Nevertheless, according to Xosé M. Núñez Seixas the distinction between "la Nación española" and "las nacionalidades que la integran" would consist in what Friedrich Meinecke defined as *Staatsnation* and *Kulturnation*: therefore, Spanish nation is supposed to be the unique *political nation*, the only sovereign institution; this, in turn, is composed by other nationalities regarded as *cultural nations*, the multiple identities of Spain.[18] In view of this, many intellectuals - mostly close to the left-wing philosophy - have described Spain as a *"nación de naciones."*[19] Francesc de Carreras Serra agrees with Núñez Seixas, maintaining that in this article the term nationality has a cultural rather than juridical

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[13] I.e., "Plural Spain, but a common one." X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Suspiros de España*, cit., p. 104.

[14] B. Bullivant, *The Pluralist Dilemma in Education: Six Case Studies*, 1981, quoted by S. May, *op. cit.,* p. 96.

[15] Cf. S. May, *Language and Minority Rights*, cit., p. 259.

[16] I.e., "The Constitution is based on the indissoluble unity of the Spanish nation, the common and indivisible country of all Spaniards; it recognises and guarantees the right to autonomy of the nationalities and regions of which it is composed, and the solidarity amongst them all." Cortes Generales, "Constitución Española," *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, December 29th, 1978, No. 311, pp. 29313-29424, Art. 2.

[17] Cf. F. De Carreras Serra, *Nación y nacionalidad en la Constitución Española,* Barcelona, Fundación centro de estudios Andaluces, 2005, pp. 14-15.

[18] I.e., "State nation" and "Cultural nation." Friedrich Meinecke (1862-1954) was a German historian, best known for his studies on the national state. Cf. Ibidem, pp. 136-138.

[19] Ibidem.

sense.[20] He also adds that this acceptation of nationality as historical-cultural nation - that is, as natural community of people unified by a common territory, origin, customs and language - was commonly used at the beginning of the XIX century.[21] This version is confirmed also by the words of the Founding Father Miguel Herrero y Rodríguez de Miñon, revealing that the second article grants the right to self-determination to a single personality, the Spanish nation as a whole, and the right to self-identification to multiple personalities, the other nationalities composing Spain.[22] Indeed, while drafting the Constitution he had declared that:

> Desde hace tiempo, yo personalmente defiendo la necesidad de introducir el término "nacionalidad," expresivo de la personalidad y organización de ciertos pueblos que son más que regiones naturales. Y por el contexto en que se formula dentro de la Constitución, no atenta contra la unidad y solidaridad de España. Aún te diré más: creo que es característica diferencial de España ser "nación de naciones."[23]

As disclosed by this statement, nationalities and regions are assumed to be different. In fact, the Founding Fathers had considered the diverse territorial realities of Spain, providing each one with a proper level of decentralisation. The alleged nationalities were supposed to have a more defined national and cultural identity than those territories indicated as regions.[24] The Constitution is characterised by a lack of terminological clarity about what exactly nationalities and regions are: in spite of recognising the right to autonomy, it does not mention the communities belonging to the former and the latter category.[25] Anyway, it establishes two differentiated ways to obtain autonomy,

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[20] Francesc de Carreras Serra (1943) is a Catalan jurist and Professor of Constitutional Law at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. He was a member of the Consultative Committee of the *Generalitat* between 1981 and 1998. From the second half of the 1990s, he started questioning the Catalan language policy, as dangerous for bilingualism in Catalonia. Cf. Anon., "Francesc de Carreras Serra," *Universitat Auntònoma de Barcelona*, n. d., <http://dretsfonamentals.uab.cat/index.php/francesc-de-carreras-serra/>, (Accessed June 25th, 2020).

[21] Cf. F. de Carreras Serra, *op.cit.*, pp. 8-10.

[22] Miguel Herrero y Rodríguez de Miñon (1940) is a Spanish jurist and politician. He was a Founding Father and, therefore, he helped drafting the Spanish Constitution. Cf. F. De Carreras Serra, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-15.

[23] M. Herrero y Rodríguez de Miñon, *ABC*, 1978, quoted by F. de Carreras Serra, *op.cit.*, p. 15.

[24] While drafting the Constitution, there had been objections against the adoption of such terminology by some Founding Fathers; indeed, they argued the controversial concept of nationality would downgrade some territories and privilege others. Cf. Ibidem, pp. 8-10.

[25] Concerning the alleged terminological imprecisions, Claire Mar-Molinero argues that the rapidity with which the turn from a forty-year dictatorship to democracy took place should not be ignored while evaluating the outcomes of social and legal transformations that have since occurred. Cf. C. Mar-Molinero, *op. cit.,* p. 98. Clair Mar-Molinero is Head of Spanish, Portuguese, and Latin American Studies at the University of Southampton. Her studies and works focus on Spanish sociolinguistics, language policy and nationalism. Cf. S. Barbour, C. Carmichael, *op. cit.*, p. x.

presumably associated to one or the other class. Therefore, article 151 illustrates a *quick way* to accede to autonomy, reserved to those "historical nationalities." Indeed, the first communities to become autonomous were precisely the ones that before Francoism had already been autonomous: the Basque Country, Catalonia and Galicia.[26] On the contrary, article 143 outlines the modalities to organise an autonomous government in a *slow way*, applied to the remaining communities.[27] An attempt to overcome the distinction between nationalities and regions was made in 1982, with the promulgation of the *Ley Orgánica de Armonización del Proceso Autonómico* (LOAPA).[28] In fact, this norm was precisely aimed at harmonising the competences of autonomous communities and seeking institutional conformity. The principles behind that were, indeed, equality and uniformity among regions. Furthermore, it established the prevalent character of central state law in case of conflict of jurisdiction with regional law. However, this would have de facto downgraded historical nationalities to the same level of other regions, thus minimizing their powers. As predictable, regional governments of those historical nationalities appealed against this legislation, questioning its constitutionality. Accordingly, the Constitutional Court declared the conformity principle provided by that law incompatible with the autonomous process and, consequently, fourteen of its thirty-eight articles were abolished. Hence, it was abandoned in 1983 and replaced by a new *Ley de Proceso Autonómico* lacking the harmonising scope.[29]

It is interesting now turning attention to the first two clauses of article 3 of the Spanish Constitution, concerning the status of Castilian and other Spanish languages:

> 1. El castellano es la lengua española oficial del Estado. Todos los españoles tienen el deber de conocerla y el derecho a usarla.

> 2. Las demás lenguas españolas serán también oficiales en las respectivas Comunidades Autónomas de acuerdo con sus Estatutos.[30]

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[26] Afterwards, other territories would be recognised as nationalities, namely: Andalusia, Aragon, Balearic Island, Canary Island, and the Valencian Community.

[27] Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Los nacionalismos en la España contemporánea*, cit., p. 144.

[28] I.e., "Organic Law on the Harmonisation of the Autonomy Process."

[29] I.e., "Law on the Autonomy Process." Cf. N. G. Jesse, K. P. Williams, *Identity and Institutions: Conflict Reduction in Divided Societies*, New York, State University of New York Press, 2005, pp. 41-42.

[30] I.e., "1. Castilian is the official Spanish language of the State. All Spaniards have the duty to know it and the right to use it. 2. The other Spanish languages shall also be official in the respective Autonomous Communities in accordance with their Statutes." Cortes Generales, CE, cit., Arts. 3.1; 3.2.

Therefore, the first paragraph legitimises the officiality of Castilian throughout Spain and establishes the *duty* and right to know it. Moreover, the second clause lays the ground for the officiality of other Spanish languages in their respective territories. Evidently, the co-officiality admitted by the third article of the Constitution is limited in scope by both territorial ("en las respectivas Comunidades Autónomas") and jurisdiction ("de acuerdo con sus Estatutos") criteria.[31] For what concerns the specific case of Catalonia, it is useful to consider its Statute of Autonomy to proper understand the condition of dual officiality enjoyed by both Catalan and Castilian within the region.[32]

The Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia entered into force on 18th December 1979, after a popular referendum in which 89% of votes were in favour, de facto re-establishing the political autonomy of the region. Ester Franquesa and Lluís Jou[33] provide some reflections concerning the language issue by examining the following three clauses of article 3:

1. La lengua *propia* de Cataluña es el catalán.

2. El idioma catalán es el oficial de Cataluña, así como también lo es el castellano, oficial en todo el Estado español.

3. La Generalidad garantizará el uso normal y oficial de los dos idiomas, adoptará las medidas necesarias para asegurar su conocimiento y creará las condiciones que permitan alcanzar su plena igualdad en lo que se refiere a los derechos y deberes de los ciudadanos de Cataluña.[34]

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[31] Cf. E. Franquesa i Bonet, L. Jou i Mirabent (eds.), *Doble oficialitat i llengua pròpia: dues llengües i un territori. Textos de Josep M. Puig Salellas*, Fundació Noguera, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2009, pp. 48-49; 56-57.
[32] Cf. M. Pons, "Catalunya vota el Estatuto de 1979," *El Nacional,* October 25th, 2016, <https://www.elnacional.cat/es/efemerides/catalunya-autonomia-1979-referendum_117198_102.html>, (Accessed May 16th, 2020).
[33] Ester Franquesa i Bonet (1961) was the director of the *Centre de Terminologia TERMCAT* and of the Department of Language of the *Institut Ramón Llull;* Lluís Jou i Mirabent (1955) was the General Director of Language Policy of the *Generalitat* between 1996 and 2003. Cf. E. Franquesa i Bonet, L. Jou i Mirabent (eds.), *op. cit.*
[34] I.e., "1. Catalan is Catalonia's own language. 2. The Catalan language is official in Catalonia, as also is Spanish, which is official throughout the Spanish State. 3. The Government of Catalonia will ensure the normal and official use of both languages, will take the measures necessary in order to ensure knowledge of them, and will create the conditions making it possible for them to achieve full equality in terms of the rights and duties of citizens of Catalonia." Jefatura del Estado, "Ley Orgánica 4/1979, de 18 de diciembre, de Estatuto de Autonomía de Cataluña," *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, December 22th, 1979, No. 306, pp. 29363-29370, Arts. 3.1; 3.2; 3.3.

First of all, the authors concentrate on the multiple nature of Catalan as the own and official language of region, whereas Castilian is granted only the official status. According to them, the concept *own language* presumes an intimate relationship between that language and the relative territory: "la llengua que es qualifica de pròpia és precisament la característica, històricament i sociològicament, del territori al qual es refereix aquell concepte."[35] This relation is supposed to be natural rather than imposed, in a sense that inhabitants of the territory recognise that language as an integral part of their identity. Nonetheless, this article guarantees officiality to both languages without any discrimination or limitation in scope.[36] On the one hand, it ensures the Catalan government to take necessary measures to reach linguistic equality; on the other hand, it does not provide for *any obligation* concerning the knowledge of one language or other, but it rather commits to creating a condition in which people could freely choose which one to adopt.[37]

According to Franquesa and Jou, the dual officiality of Castilian and Catalan is based on five principles: territoriality, equality, property, free will, and availability. Firstly, the principle of *territoriality* regards the range of action of co-officiality, delimiting its scope within the borders of Catalonia. Clearly, this limit is applied only to Catalan language, since the officiality of Castilian is extended to the whole state. However, Catalan is official also in other Catalan-speaking communities, as provided by their Statute of Autonomy.[38] Indeed, the authors argue that:

> Respecto a la relación entre lengua y territorio debemos añadir que, si es cierto que rara vez las fronteras lingüísticas coinciden con las fronteras geográficas, es aún menos frecuente que coincidan con las fronteras administrativas.[39]

The second principle individuated by the authors concerns *linguistic equality*. As previously revealed, article 3 of the Statute of Autonomy is grounded in non-

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[35] I.e., "The language qualifying as proper is precisely the characteristic one, historically and sociologically, of the territory this concept refers to." E. Franquesa i Bonet, L. Jou i Mirabent (eds.), *op. cit.,* p. 104.
[36] Conversely to what happened to Catalan during Francoism, both languages can be freely used in both public and private sphere, without any restrictions.
[37] Cf. E. Franquesa i Bonet, L. Jou i Mirabent (eds.), *op. cit.,* pp. 52-57.
[38] Therefore, Catalan is the official language of Catalonia, the Valencian Community, the Balearic Islands and Andorra. Although it is not an official language, there are other territories where Catalan is spoken: the eastern part of Aragon, parts of Murcia, and the city of Alghero. They all together compose the Catalan Countries. Cf. C. Ferrero, N. Lasso-Von Lang, *Variedades lingüísticas y lenguas en contacto en el mundo de habla hispana,* n. p., AuthorHouse, 2005, p. 149.
[39] J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.,* pp. 79-80.

discrimination and equal opportunity among languages. This principle guarantees citizens their subjective rights to learn and use both official languages, either in public or private situations, being both of them legally valid. Indeed, each tongue is official on its own, without the necessity of translations or double texts *a priori*. Although Catalan is referred as the region's *own language*, this does not discriminate the other. In fact, this conceptualisation has no effect on the citizens' free choice of language; rather, it affects territorial institutions which, naturally, would select as first language the one with a stricter connection with territory. This is linked to the principle of *linguistic property*, justifying the predominance of the native language in local administration as result of its deep relation with autochthonous people. Obviously, this does not prevent Catalan institutions from using Castilian.[40] In fact, the next principle is *free will*: citizens are granted the right to freely choose which language to adopt while dealing with administration. As argued by Franquesa and Jou:

> El centre de gravetat de tot el sistema de doble oficialitat és el ciutadà, de forma que, quan sorgeix la situació de conflicte entre el ciutadà i el funcionari, que òbviament només pot sorgir en els territoris amb doble oficialitat, l'únic element determinant és precisament el ciutadà: ell escull la llengua amb què s'ha de presentar davant l'Administració, i aquesta, els funcionaris, en definitiva, no li poden imposar en absolut l'ús de la llengua no escollida.[41]

Linguistic availability is the last principle presented by the authors. Indeed, public authorities must assure citizens the conditions to exercise their right of free choice of language. They must be available to accommodate any language choice of citizens, in both administrative procedures and direct assistance. Therefore, all officials would be required to master both languages in order to respect the criterion of linguistic availability.[42]

In accordance with the third paragraph of article 3 of the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia, Catalan government has implemented a specific language planning to

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[40] Castilian, beyond being official in the whole state, is also the own language of those communities without dual officiality.

[41] I.e., "The centre of gravity of the whole system of dual officiality is citizen, to the extent that when a situation of conflict between citizen and official arises, which obviously can only arise in territories with dual officiality, the only determining element is precisely the citizen: he chooses the language with which he will appear before the Administration, and thus the officials, ultimately, cannot absolutely impose the use of the non-chosen language." E. Franquesa i Bonet, L. Jou i Mirabent (eds.), *op. cit.,* pp. 122-123.

[42] Cf. E. Franquesa i Bonet, L. Jou i Mirabent (eds.), *op. cit.,* pp. 117-127.

normalise the use of Catalan and assure linguistic equality. Normalising projects have begun in various regions since the 1980s, within the legal framework of the Spanish Constitution. In this regard, it is important stressing also the role of the Council of Europe in encouraging protection of linguistic minorities. In short, the process of linguistic normalisation consists in adopting a set of measures to promote a specific language that has been discriminated or is in a disadvantageous condition, thus being in need of special protection. Accordingly, after a forty-year persecution, Catalan was about to be revitalised.[43]

3.3.   Catalan language recovery program: towards revitalisation

At this stage it is prudent stating that language and linguistic diversity have been, and still are, a political issue in Spain. After the transition to democracy, the autonomous communities' political choices on managing languages have been in the spotlight. Concerning Catalonia, in 1980 there were the first regional elections of the regional parliament and the nationalist coalition *Convergència i Unió* (CiU), led by Jordi Pujol, won.[44] Immediately, he started a political path towards normalisation of Catalan. In this same year, a Directorate General for Linguistic Policy (DGPL) was created to design a new linguistic legislation. While assuring equal treatment to both official languages, Catalan government implemented a revitalisation plan to promote its *own* native language. The starting point of this political direction was the cultural and, above all, linguistic asymmetry resulting from a three-century supremacy of Castilian. In fact, while Castilian had almost always enjoyed the monopoly on education and institutional field, other vernaculars experienced a set of limitations to private and domestic sphere.[45] As a consequence, Castilian was still predominant in the 1980s. Therefore, it was necessary establishing a linguistic regime aimed at ensuring the pacific and gradual achievement of a cultural basis where a free language choice was possible. This process of linguistic

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[43] Cf. J. Vernet, E. Pons, "The Legal System of the Catalan Language," in M. Strubell i Trueta, E. Boix-Fuster (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[44] CiU was formed by two Christian democrat parties: *Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya* (CDC) and *Unió Democràtica de Catalunya* (UDC). Cf. J. B. Culla, *El tsunami. Com i per què el sistema de partits català ha esdevingut irreconeixible,* Barcelona, Pòrtic, 2017, pp. 9-24.

[45] As declared in the preamble of the Linguistic Normalisation Act (1983), Catalan lost its officiality two and a half centuries ago through the adoption of the *Nueva Planta* decrees; this trend was further exacerbated during the XX century by the Francoist repression of Catalan language and culture. Cf. Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de la Presidencia, "Ley 7/1983, de 18 de abril, de normalización lingüística en Catalunya," *Diario Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya*, April 22th, 1983, No. 322, pp. 892-894.

harmonisation should be based on two main considerations: on the one hand, a consistent number of Catalan citizens could correctly speak only Castilian; on the other, the previous legislative system had brought Catalan tongue to a condition of inferiority. Hence, linguistic normalisation was precisely meant to filling the gap between the two official languages of Catalonia, thus involving a sort of *positive discrimination* against Castilian to re-establish the social use of Catalan.[46]

According to Emili Boix-Fuster et al., the normalisation process of Catalan may be divided in two main stages: the first one (1981-1995) focuses on the diffusion of Catalan knowledge, whereas the second (1995-present day) regards the extension of its social usage.[47] Between 1981 and 1982 a first campaign to promote linguistic normalisation was organized, better known as "la Norma" campaign. It was intended to spread awareness about the need to reach a sociolinguistic normality in Catalonia, that is the condition when "all the inhabitants of Catalonia would understand and use Catalan, irrespective of their mother tongue."[48] It is interesting to stress the non-confrontational aspect of this promotional movement: Catalan government opted for a more neutral attitude towards Castilian speakers without demonising the *other* language, probably because they did not want to imitate the Francoist discrimination. Indeed, in the name of the slogan "Catalan belongs to everyone, to those who were born here and to those who come from elsewhere," the *Generalitat* tried to convey a unifying message and include Castilian-speaking community within the scope of the campaign.[49] The use of mass media was essential for the promotion of normalising laws: press cartoons, radio and television ads were all involved in this propaganda. The authors individuate three targets to which advertising messages were addressed: Catalans, Castilians and both groups. While short films or cartoon addressed to Catalans were more critical against traditional norms, the ones directed to Castilians were more neutral and simply encouraged the acceptance and

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[46] Cf. E. Franquesa i Bonet, L. Jou i Mirabent (eds.), *op. cit.,* pp. 62-63.

[47] Cf. E. Boix-Fuster, J. Melià, B. Montoya, "Policies Promoting the Use of Catalan in Oral Communications and to Improve Attitudes towards the Language," in M. Strubell i Trueta, E. Boix-Fuster (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 155. Emili Boix-Fuster is Professor of Sociolinguistics at the *Universitat de Barcelona*; Joan Melià was Director General for Language Policy of the government of the Balearic Islands from 1999 to 2003, and now is Professor of Sociolinguistics and Catalan Language at the *Universitat de les Illes Balears*; Brauli Montoya is Professor of Catalan Philology at the *Universitat d'Alicant*. Cf. M. Strubell i Trueta, E. Boix-Fuster (eds.), *op. cit.,* pp. xi-xii.

[48] Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura, *Llibre Blanc de la Direcció General de Política Lingüística 1982*, 1983, quoted by E. Boix-Fuster, J. Melià, B. Montoya, *op. cit.,* p. 156. The term "la Norma" was a play on words between a Catalan girl's name (Norma) and the word "norm" ("norma"). Cf. E. Boix-Fuster, J. Melià, B. Montoya, *op. cit.,* p. 156.

[49] Ibidem.

demand of a bilingual norm. Instead, the general massages aimed at both linguistic categories emphasised the necessity to correctly speak both languages.[50] However, it is believed the attempt to avoid any controversy between the two main Catalonia's linguistic groups has prevented this campaign to register the expected result in disseminating the bilingual norm:

> It is the first time that anyone has attempted to revive a language that has been oppressed for a long time and to give it its rightful place in the community, not only without excluding the oppressor language but even establishing a co-official nature with it. Many people – in and outside of Catalonia – doubted that such goals would be achievable.[51]

Accordingly, E. Boix-Fuster et all. argue the conceptualisation of bilingual norm as "both Catalan and Spanish, [meaning] both 'normalisation' and 'normality'" failed to reach some social sectors and properly inform about the sociolinguistic problem.[52] Nonetheless, in 1983 the Catalan government passed unanimously the *Ley de Normalización Lingüística* (LNL), thus intervening in three main social aspects: public and justice administration, communication and education.[53] Specifically, the purpose was to concretely realise the condition of dual officiality recognised by both the Constitution and Statute of Autonomy, that had so far remained a formal scenario:

> Esta Ley se propone superar la actual desigualdad lingüística impulsando la normalización del uso de la lengua catalana en todo el territorio de Catalunya. En este sentido la presente Ley garantiza el uso oficial de ambas lenguas para asegurar a todos los ciudadanos la participación en la vida pública, señala como objetivo de la enseñanza el conocimiento de ambas lenguas, las equilibra en los medios de comunicación social, erradica cualquier discriminación por motivos lingüísticos y especifica las vías de impulso institucional en la normalización lingüística en Catalunya.[54]

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[50] Ibidem, pp. 156-158.

[51] Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura, *La campanya per la normalització lingüística de Catalunya, 1982*, 1983, quoted by E. Boix-Fuster, J. Melià, B. Montoya, *op. cit.,* p. 158.

[52] Ibidem, p. 159.

[53] The Language Normalisation Law entered into force on 15th June 1983. Cf. E. Franquesa i Bonet, L. Jou i Mirabent (eds.), *op. cit.,* pp. 62-63.

[54] I.e., "This Law aims to overcome the current linguistic inequality by promoting the normalization of the use of the Catalan language throughout the territory of Catalonia. In this sense, this Law guarantees the official use of both languages to ensure participation by all citizens in public life. It stresses the objective of teaching both languages, balancing their use in the media, eradicating any discrimination for linguistic

Assuming that the 1983 Language Normalisation Law is a normalisation rule in a *broad sense*, Franquesa and Jou individuate three further classes of provisions concerning the revitalisation of Catalan: implementing rules, normalisation rules in a *strict sense*, and procedural and organisational rules. Undoubtedly, some of them may be found also within the LNL. The first type of laws serves the purpose to overcome the typical generality characterising basic laws, thus specifying their range of action.[55] In this context, they show the concrete situations the normalising process address to. For instance, the first clause of article 2 of LNL may be categorised within this frame:

> 1. El catalán es la lengua propia de Catalunya. Todos los ciudadanos tienen el derecho de conocerlo y de expresarse en él, de palabra y por escrito, en las relaciones y actos públicos, oficiales y no oficiales. Este derecho supone, particularmente, poder: dirigirse en catalán, de palabra y por escrito, a la administración, a los organismos públicos y a las empresas públicas y privadas; expresarse en catalán en cualquier reunión; desarrollar en catalán las actividades profesionales, laborales, políticas y sindicales, y recibir la enseñanza en catalán.[56]

These rules are meant to win the uncertainties embedded in the transition from a traditional to a dual officiality system. As expected, the above-mentioned article does not add anything more to what was already intended with the notion of dual officiality by basic laws, but it rather implies a sort of departure from that general concept by introducing some specificity. Instead, normalisation rules in a strict sense refer to those dispositions introducing new situations to facilitate the general application of the principle of co-officiality. They are essential tools to normalise a language: in fact, a huge part of legislation related to teaching Catalan in schools and fomenting its usage in mass media belong to this class of norms. The third category of laws concerns the organisation of public administration and legal procedures, thus granting citizens to exercise their right to freely choose the language to adopt in official situations.[57]

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reasons, and defining the institutional path of linguistic normalisation in Catalonia." Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de la Presidencia, L. 7/1983, cit.

[55] The Spanish Constitution and the Catalan Statute of Autonomy are basic laws.

[56] I.e., "1. Catalan is Catalonia's own language. All citizens have the right to know it and express themselves in it, verbally and in writing, in public, official and unofficial relations and acts. This right supposes, in particular, to be able to: address in Catalan, verbally and in writing, to the administration, to public bodies and to public and private companies; express themselves in Catalan at any meeting; carry out professional, working, political and union activities in Catalan, and be educated in Catalan." Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de la Presidencia, L. 7/1983, cit., Art. 2.1.

[57] Cf. E. Franquesa i Bonet, L. Jou i Mirabent (eds.), *op. cit.,* pp. 129-132.

As previously revealed, public and justice administration, communication and education are the main pillars of the 1983 Language Normalisation Law. Regulations of the institutional field are precisely aimed at restoring the official use of the regional tongue. Indeed, article 5 clearly recognises Catalan as the first language of Catalan government:

> 1. El catalán, como lengua propia de Catalunya, lo es también de la Generalitat y de la administración territorial catalana, de la administración local y de las demás corporaciones publica dependientes de la Generalitat.[58]

Despite this preference for the territorial tongue, the LNL obliges public administration to use both Catalan and Castilian and reiterates that citizens have the right and freedom to express themselves in the language of their choice while dealing with it, without being subjected to any discrimination. The same disposition is applied to justice administration, where citizens have the right to use one official language or the other without the necessity of any translation. Both Catalan and Castilian version of public documents and notary deeds are valid within Catalonia; outside the territory, and where Catalan is not an official language, official documents shall be redacted in Castilian. In view of this, the *Generalitat* guarantees the teaching of Catalan to all officials and employees of public administration and local institutions through the *Escola d'Administració Pública,* where a full command of both official tongues is required to obtain the final certificate of studies. Similarly, public companies are recommended to do whatever necessary to respect citizens' right of language choice, thus making sure that employees in contact with the public would master both languages. The *Generalitat* is also committed to promoting the normalisation of Catalan in commercial, advertising, associative, cultural, sport and other activities. Accordingly, local institutions may grant reduction or exemption from tax obligations to any activity related to the normalisation of Catalan. Moreover, where necessary, the Catalan government may collaborate with local institutions to create or subsidise centres for promoting the knowledge, use and dissemination of the regional tongue. Concerning the normalisation of toponymy and public signage, it is established that Catalan would be the only official version in Catalonia, except for the Aran Valley. The Catalan government must also draw a plan to make people aware of the results of this law; in this respect, it must elaborate a sociolinguistic map of Catalonia, which would

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[58] I.e., "1. Catalan, as Catalonia's own language, is also that of *Generalitat* and Catalan territorial administration, local administration and other public institutions dependent on *Generalitat.*" Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de la Presidencia, L. 7/1983, cit., Art. 5.1.

be periodically reviewed, in order to adapt and balance the scope of language policy to reality and, at the same time, evaluate the impact of such planning on the progressive knowledge of Catalan.[59] As previously preannounced, further legislation have derived from the broader framework of the 1983 Language Normalisation Law. For instance, few months after the promulgation of the LNL, the *Generalitat* passed a decree to regulate the labelling of products commercialised in Catalonia. Article 1 of such decree declares that the mandatory information contained in labels of products distributed within the region should be displayed in Catalan or Castilian, or both languages. This article was appealed by the Spanish government before the Constitutional Court for lack of jurisdiction, since it was assumed that the right to inform consumers and users was a state matter, and therefore those products specifications were to be only in Castilian. However, the Constitutional Court considered such appeal unfounded since there were no basic laws giving that competence to the central state and, hence, internal trade and consumer defence fell within the regional jurisdiction:[60]

> Gràcies a aquesta sentència del 1989, ara sabem (…), que la Generalitat de Catalunya
> té no una competència exclusiva en la llengua, sinó que té un mandat, i que per
> l'Estatut i la Constitució té un compromís de garantir la plena igualtat de les dues
> llengües oficials.[61]

Similarly, in 1984 the Catalan government passed a decree regulating the use of Catalan in public documents. It establishes that public deeds should be redacted in the official language chosen by the grantor; they may be drafted both in Castilian and Catalan in case of more grantors not choosing the same language. In case of doubtful interpretation, the Catalan version would prevail if there is a majority of grantors residing in Catalonia; *vice versa*, the Castilian version would predominate in case most grantors live outside Catalonia, as well as whether the number of those living in and outside the region is the same but the latter have declared not to know Catalan. This last part, provided by article

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[59] Cf. Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de la Presidencia, L. 7/1983, cit., Arts. 4-13; 24-27.
[60] Cf. Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de Comercio y Turismo, "Decreto 389/1983, de 15 de septiembre, sobre etiquetaje de los productos que se comercializan en Cataluña," *DOGC*, September 30th, 1983, No. 368, pp. 2505-2506; Tribunal Constitucional de España, "Sentencia 69/1988, de 19 de abril," *BOE*, May 5th, 1988, No. 108, pp. 1-5; E. Franquesa i Bonet, L. Jou i Mirabent (eds.), *op. cit.,* pp. 334-335.
[61] I.e., "Thanks to this 1989 ruling, we now know (...) that the *Generalitat* of Catalonia does not have exclusive competence in the language, but it has a mandate, and that according to the Statute and the Constitution it has a commitment to guarantee the full equality of the two official languages." F. Ferrer i Gironès, *Llengua i país. Col·lecció Història i Pensament, núm. 4.,* Barcelona, Generalitat de Catalunya: Departament de la Vicepresidència, 2007, p. 57.

3 of the 1984 decree, has been appealed before the Constitutional Court by the Spanish government for an alleged conflict of jurisdiction. However, in 1989 the Court delivered a ruling legitimising this article, since it has not invalided the exclusive state power concerning the organisation of public instruments.[62] Again, in 1985 the parliament of Catalonia passed a law on public function, thus introducing the requirement of the Catalan language knowledge for public officials at the *Generalitat*. As provided by article 34, both Catalan speaking and writing skills should be proved during the selection process. Nonetheless, in 1991 the Spanish government questioned the constitutionality of such article, claiming that it was discriminatory against Castilian-speaking people. The final ruling of the Constitutional Court was that making the knowledge of Catalan a job requirement for civil servants was legal, considering the broader context of language normalisation. Furthermore, this requirement was not viewed as irrational nor penalising for Castilian-speaking people interested in public function.[63]

For what concerns justice administration, the 1983 Language Normalisation Law establishes that all citizens may appeal before tribunals and courts to obtain judicial protection of their linguistic rights in case of discrimination; in this regard, the Executive Council of the *Generalitat* is legitimated to take any political, administrative and judicial action to ensure the linguistic rights of the discriminated person.[64] Again, this last part, provided by the second paragraph of article 4 of the LNL, was appealed before the Constitutional Court by the Spanish government for alleged unconstitutionality. According to the Court, Catalan government does not have power to take judicial actions, otherwise the state exclusive competence on processual law and common administrative procedure would be vulnerated.[65] The same fate has befallen the first clause of article 6, which dictates that all laws approved by Catalan parliament have to be published in both official languages, but the Catalan version would be the authentic one in case of doubtful interpretation. This last element was considered in contradiction with the principle of co-

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[62] Cf. Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de Justicia, "Decreto 125/1984, de 17 de abril, por el que se regula el uso de la lengua catalana en las escrituras públicas," *DOGC*, May 9th, 1984.No. 432, pp. 1099-1100; Tribunal Constitucional de España, "Sentencia 74/1989, de 21 de abril," *BOE*, May 22nd, 1989, No. 121, pp. 5-9.

[63] Cf. J. Webber, M. Strubell i Trueta, *The Catalan Language: Progress Towards Normalisation*, n. p., The Anglo-Catalan Society's Occasional Publications, 1991, p. 37; E. Franquesa i Bonet, L. Jou i Mirabent (eds.), *op. cit.,* pp. 146-148.

[64] Cf. Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de la Presidencia, L. 7/1983, cit., Arts. 4.2; 6.1; J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.,* pp. 116-117.

[65] Cf. Cortes Generales, CE, cit., Arts. 149.1.6; 18; E. Franquesa i Bonet, L. Jou i Mirabent (eds.), *op. cit.,* pp. 143-44.

officiality mandated by article 3 of the Constitution and, furthermore, with the state competence on application, and therefore interpretation, of legal norms provided by article 149.1.8 of the Spanish Constitution.[66] As expected, the contested articles were both declared unconstitutional in 1986.

In accordance with the Statute of Autonomy, Catalan government has exclusive competence on culture and full powers to regulate education: indeed, both sectors fall within the scope of the 1983 Language Normalisation Law.[67] Concerning the former field, the LNL provides for the promotion of Catalan language and culture by means of communication, turning the regional tongue into the preferred one. Catalan government may subsidise daily publications totally or partially drafted in Catalan, in case of unfavourable conditions affecting their production and diffusion. Public subsidies may address also to radio transmitters broadcasting in Catalan, in order to boost the normalisation of the local language; the very purpose is to make all citizens able to understand and use it. In this regard, the principle of linguistic non-discrimination must be respected. The *Generalitat* should take adequate measures to foment the production and diffusion of movies, books, theatre plays and any other cultural manifestations in Catalan, as well as dubbing and subtitles of non-Catalan films, reaffirming that:

> 3. Todas las medidas que se adopten para fomentar estos medios y otros que se puedan considerar deberán aplicarse con criterios objetivos, sin discriminaciones y dentro de las previsiones presupuestarias.[68]

Nonetheless, the field of mass media has always been dominated by Castilian and left little room for alternative languages, mostly for economic reasons. Even though some progresses have been made since the end of Francoism, normalisation of media is still far away, also owing to the complex division of powers over communication between central state and autonomous communities. Indeed, central state has power over national mass media, regulating also the implementation of autonomous communities' powers on internal communication: for instance, it prevented the various Spanish communities speaking Catalan to draw a common communication policy, thus avoiding a broader language standardisation of mass media. Media fragmentation had a significant impact

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[66] Cf. Cf. Cortes Generales, CE, cit., Arts. 3.2; 149.1.8; E. Franquesa i Bonet, L. Jou i Mirabent (eds.), *op. cit.,* pp. 144-145.
[67] Cf. Jefatura del Estado, LO 4/1979, cit., Arts. 9.4; 15.
[68] Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de la Presidencia, L. 7/1983, cit., Art. 23.3.

on the process of language normalisation: "the regionalisation (into each individual autonomous community) of audio-visual media has represented a handicap for the standardisation of the Catalan language."[69] Regarding the press, the first newspaper edited in Catalan after the end of Franco's regime was the daily *Avui,* in 1975. During the 1980s, only other five dailies were drafted in Catalan: *Regiò 7*, El *Punt*, *Diari de Barcelona*, *Diari de Lleida*, *Diari de Girona.* Although the progresses made between the 1970s and 1980s were evident, the language situation in the press sector was still unbalanced. The supremacy of Castilian in daily news remained unchallenged: demand and offer of Castilian dailies was way higher than Catalan ones. What emerges is that daily publications in Catalan might be risky, since it would be difficult to reach the same sale level of Castilian. It is important to notice that the forty-year prohibition to use Catalan has led to a limited number of people able to read such tongue, and this may be another reason of the low success of Catalan press. However, the trend seems different for what concerns regional and local periodical journals, where the presence of Catalan was much higher: between 80% and 90% of them were completely edited in Catalan during the 1980s.[70] Concerning the normalisation of this field, Jude Webber and Miquel Strubell i Trueta argue that: "the Catalan press seems to be linguistically 'normal' insofar as it exists."[71] In 1987, the *Institució de les Lletres Catalanes* was re-established and committed to fomenting awareness of Catalan literature abroad, and promoting translations of Catalan works and Catalan book publishing.[72] Similarly, another consequence of the LNL was the creation of two full-Catalan television channels in 1984 and 1989: respectively, *TV3* and *Canal 33*. For the first time, they made possible to broadcast in Catalan at peak viewing time:

> The potential impact of this can only be measured in relation to the very limited
> tolerance of Catalan television under Franco when its presence on the screen had

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[69] J. Gifreu, "Language Policies in the Public Media and the Promotion of Catalan in the Private Media, Arts and Information Technologies," in M. Strubell i Trueta, E. Boix-Fuster (eds.), *op. cit.,* p. 196.

[70] Cf. J. Webber, M. Strubell i Trueta, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-43; J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-174.

[71] J. Webber, M. Strubell i Trueta, *op. cit.*, p. 43. Jude Webber is currently the *Financial Time*'s correspondent for Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay; previously, she worked as correspondent for *Reuters* news agency; Miquel Strubell i Trueta (1949) is a Catalan sociolinguist. He worked as General at the Department of Language Promotion of the *Generalitat* for nineteen years (1980-1999)*,* and now he is director of the Linguamón-Universitat Oberta de Catalunya Chair in Multilingualism. Cf. M. Strubell i Trueta, E. Boix-Fuster (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. xii-xiii; Anon., "Jude Webber," *Americas Society: Council of the Americas*, n. d., <https://www.as-coa.org/speakers/jude-webber>, (Accessed June 26th, 2020).

[72] Cf, J. Webber, M. Strubell i Trueta, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

been restricted to one hour per month (!) in 1964, rising to nine hours per month by 1974.[73]

The popularity of these public channels transmitting in the local tongue was significantly growing within the whole region. Another step towards normalisation of television was made in 1987, when the Spanish national channel *TV 2* has progressively introduced Catalan and ended up using it as the major language. In 1988 the Spanish parliament passed the Private Television Act, delineating a system of franchising for a ten-year period, consisting in public subsidies to private television and radio industries. Clearly, the level of broadcasting in Catalan by private stations would depend on the incentives granted by the *Generalitat*. However, these private companies had franchises throughout the whole Spanish territory and, therefore, the presence of Castilian was still dominant.[74] A more linguistically normalised medium of communication was surely radio. In fact, Catalan government owned some radio stations broadcasting in Catalan, thus balancing the state channels transmitting in Castilian; among the former, *Catalunya Ràdio* and *Ràdio Associació y Catalunya Musica* were the only ones entirely employing the regional tongue while airing. However, at the beginning of 1990s, Barcelona had more than 100 radio transmitters broadcasting in Catalan. Furthermore, during the 1980s Catalan government provided aid for dubbing or subtitling foreign movies in Catalan, and in 1986 the Catalan Department of Culture created a trademark called "Catalan Films & TV" that was aimed at promoting Catalan audio-visual industry abroad. Therefore, at the end of the decade Catalan film industry was registering an upward trend. As a consequence, many short and full-length films were produced in a double version, and numerous foreign movies dubbed into Catalan: indeed, the screening of Catalan feature films turned from 6% in 1980 into 86% in 1988. This tendency was further boosted in 1988 thanks to joint projects between *Asociación Catalana de Productores Cinematográfico* and *TV 3*: in exchange of pre-purchase rights of Catalan productions, the television channel would screen one Catalan film for every three foreign ones.[75]

Surely, education has played a role of utmost importance in enhancing Catalan and standardising its usage, thus ensuring the consolidation of its status. In fact, Webber and

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[73] Cf. J. Webber, M. Strubell i Trueta, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
[74] Cf. J. Gifreu, *op. cit.,* pp. 187-193; J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-168; J. Webber, M. Strubell i Trueta, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.
[75] Cf. J. Gifreu, *op. cit.,* pp. 187-193; J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-177; J. Webber, M. Strubell i Trueta, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-47.

Strubell declares that it has been a key sector for the achievement of language normalisation.[76] As predicted by the Spanish Constitution, autonomous communities have legislative powers to implement policies meant to "el fomento de la cultura, de la investigación y, en su caso, de la enseñanza de la lengua de la Comunidad Autónoma."[77] In this respect, the LNL has laid the foundations for managing bilingualism at school. After declaring that Catalan is the *normal* teaching language in all schooling levels, the LNL establishes the obligation to teach both Catalan and Castilian in non-university education. However, it grants children the right to receive early childhood education in their usual language, either Catalan or Castilian; in spite of their initial language choice, at the end of basic education all pupils must be proficient in both languages. Moreover, the administration must take the necessary measures to avoid separation of students for linguistic reasons and guarantee the progressive use of Catalan so that all students would master it. The teaching of Catalan is considered a stepping stone: this law explicitly requires the gradual use of the regional tongue in accordance with pupils' increasing mastery of it. The final aim is to implement Catalan as normal medium of instruction, allowing its full restoration in the schooling system.[78] In compliance with provisions concerning the realisation of an effective bilingualism, students must prove an adequate knowledge of both official languages at the end of basic general education; failure to comply would result in not issuing the diploma of basic general education. Similarly, professors must show a withstanding knowledge of both official languages in order to comply with their duty. Therefore, teacher trainings should include linguistic mastery of both Castilian and Catalan, that is a necessary condition to accede to professorship. The LNL provides linguistic guidelines also for higher education, where professors and students have the right to express themselves, both verbally and in writing, in the language of their choice.[79] According to this law, educational centres have to turn Catalan into a normal vehicle of expression in both internal and external activities, these including administrative ones.[80] In short, the LNL provides the guidelines to gradually implement a particular model of education that, actually, privileges the local language: while

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[76] Cf. J. Webber, M. Strubell i Trueta, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[77] I.e., "The promotion of culture, research and, where applicable, teaching of the Self-governing Community." Cortes Generales, CE, cit., Art. 148.

[78] Cf. J. Webber, M. Strubell i Trueta, *op. cit.,* pp. 34-35

[79] On the one hand, universities are obliged to offer Catalan language courses to those students who do not know the regional tongue; on the other, the teaching of Catalan and Castilian language is mandatory in adult education. Cf., Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de la Presidencia, L. 7/1983, Arts. 14-20.

[80] Ibidem.

recognising the equal status of both official tongues, the right to freely choose the language of instruction may be limited to normalise Catalan and achieve a real condition of language co-officiality. More precisely, this model of managing bilingualism in education is known as *linguistic conjunction*: it avoids separation of students based on their native tongue, implying the use of more languages in the same class. Concerning the specific case of Catalonia, the education model implemented is called *"model de conjunció en català"* (conjunction-in-Catalan model), and consists in gradually employing Catalan as the normal vehicular language, regardless the mother tongue of students, although ensuring a proper presence of Castilian in schooling curricula.[81] The conjunction-in-Catalan model was meant to address a double objective: on the one hand, the full restoration of Catalan as the normal language of Catalonia, after suffering a forty-year social, demographic and legal oppression under Francoism; on the other hand, the linguistic integration of immigrants who have arrived in the region since the 1950s, thus avoiding the division of Catalan society by language criteria.[82]

José Carlos Herreras recognises two main phases of linguistic normalisation within the Catalan education system, namely: extension and intension.[83] The *phase of extension* began in 1978, after issuing the Decrees on Bilingualism, which basically established Catalan as a mandatory subject at school with a minimum three-hour schedule per week. This phase was a first important step towards the integration of Catalan in education, assuring a minimum presence of it at schools. During the 1985-86 academic year, the grade of the *teaching of the language* in Catalan-speaking communities bordered on 94%: 100% in Catalonia and Balearic Islands, and 84,4% in the Valencian Community.[84] By this time the first phase was over, and the second one was just started. The *phase of intension* was launched after the promulgation of the LNL, and was precisely aimed at

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[81] Therefore, subjects regarding the teaching of other languages and literatures are taught in those own languages (i.e., Castilian language or literature; English language or literature; etc.). This model applies to all non-university education levels, with the exception of nursery school where children are free to choose the language of instruction. This system opposes to linguistic separatism, that basically divides students in different classes according to the teaching language of their choice. The Catalan education pattern provides also some language immersion techniques to further foment the knowledge and use of the regional language. Cf. M. Sendra, F. Xavier Vila, "Catalonia," in C. Lapresta-Rey, Á. Huguet (eds.), *Multilingualism in European Language Education*, Bristol, Multilingual Matters, 2019.

[82] Cf. D. Escribano, "El sistema de conjunción lingüística de Cataluña y Arán, eterna obsesión de la derecha neoliberal españolista," *Sin Permiso*, February 21st, 2018, <https://www.sinpermiso.info/textos/el-sistema-de-conjuncion-linguistica-de-cataluna-y-aran-eterna-obsesion-de-la-derecha-neoliberal>, (Accessed May 26th, 2020).

[83] Cf. J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-205.

[84] Ibidem, p. 202.

intensifying the presence of Catalan at public schools: namely, turning it into the *language of teaching* of a substantial part of the curriculum of non-university education and implementing a schooling program where there would be a more balance between the two official languages. In fact, the conjunction-in-Catalan model was precisely meant to consolidating Catalan as the normal medium of teaching and learning, thus establishing an adequate presence of the two official languages in study programs and granting students to normally and correctly use both at the end of compulsory education.[85] In the wake of the 1983 normalisation law, the Catalan government outlined the "*Programas de Inmersión Lingüística*" (PIL), which were optional programs entailing Catalan immersion in classroom for all children from the age of three to seven, upon approval of the parents.[86] These immersion strategies were based on the assumption that Catalan was in a weak position *vis-à-vis* Castilian, and therefore needed additional support and protection by the regional government.[87] Among these, in 1984 the *Generalitat* established the *Planes Intensivos de Normalización Lingüística Escolar*, with the specific aim of spreading Catalan language normalisation in those areas were the previous actions had not been successful and that registered more than 70% of non-Catalan-speaking students, owing to the predominance of Castilian-speaking groups.[88] These intensive language immersion programs were mostly addressed to children of Castilian-speaking families who had little contact with Catalan in their usual environment.[89] The very purpose of these programs was the instant integration of immigrants, due to the new migratory flow registered in Catalan language territories since 1990s.[90] The number of educational centres implementing language immersion programs grow rapidly: from 19 in 1983-84, to 343 in

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[85] This "mixed language instructional model" assures the presence of both official languages at schools, complying with the principle of language availability, although Catalan has a privileged role as the normal medium of instruction. Cf. F. Xavier Vila i Moreno, "Language-in-Education Policy," in M. Strubell i Trueta, E. Boix-Fuster (eds.), *op. cit.,* p. 127; F. Ferrer, "Languages, Minorities and Education in Spain: The Case of Catalonia," *Comparative Education*, Taylor & Francis, Ltd., Vol. 36, No. 2, 2000, p. 193.

[86] I.e., "Language Immersion Programs." The PIL is a learning methodology consisting in a full or partial contact with a major language of a community in all stages of the learning process of pupils. In the case of Catalonia, it consists in Catalan immersion in the classroom for all children from the age of three to seven, regardless of their native tongue. Cf. Anon., "La inmersión lingüística en Cataluña. Un modelo eficaz y de éxito," *Plataforma per la Llengua*, 2017, p. 5. < https://www.plataforma-llengua.cat/que-fem/estudis-i-publicacions/201/la-immersio-linguistica-a-catalunya> (Accessed May 25th, 2020); D. Escribano, *op. cit.*

[87] On the contrary, Castilian already enjoyed a favoured position in the Catalan society, and it did not need further assistance by the government. Cf. F. Ferrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-194.

[88] I.e., "Intensive Plans for School Language Normalisation." Cf. D. Escribano, *op. cit.*

[89] This learning methodology has been proved to be advantageous for infants' linguistic skills, without damaging their capacities in the mother tongue (Castilian). Cf. J. Webber, M. Strubell i Trueta, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[90] Cf. F. Xavier Vila i Moreno, *op. cit.,* p. 134.

1985-86, and 684 in 1989-90.[91] Concerning university education, most state universities created a general service of linguistic normalisation to enable students to gain proficiency in Catalan language. Overall, the lack of adequate educational materials and deficit of professors qualified to teach Catalan language made more difficult carrying out the plan of normalising education at the beginning.[92] Consequently, huge efforts have been made in all autonomous communities to extend the availability of native languages at schools. In Catalonia, from 1978 a set of refresher courses for teachers were offered, in order to improve their competence in Catalan; at the end of these courses, they would receive a certificate to teach Catalan at school.[93] As a consequence, the incorporation of Catalan as vehicular language was gradual and not complete until the 1986-87 academic year.[94] The progress of this linguistic model may be observed by comparing the data of students receiving a total or partial instruction in Catalan in 1980 with those in 1990: the former ranged only the 5,1%, whereas the latter reached the 90% (56,44% totally in Catalan, and 33,64% partially in Catalan and Castilian).[95] According to Herreras, a feasible explanation of such results may lie in the promulgation of the 1992 Decrees on Language Immersion, after which very few Catalonia's educational centres still employed Castilian as the teaching language. Indeed, within the broader framework of the 1990 *Ley Orgánica de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo de España* (LOGSE)[96] that granted decisive powers in the hands of autonomous communities to implement the education reform, the 1992 decrees have provided for the general organisation and curricular arrangements of early childhood, primary and compulsory secondary education in Catalonia, affirming that:

> 3.1. El catalán como lengua propia de Cataluña también lo es de la enseñanza. Se utilizará normalmente como lengua vehicular y de aprendizaje de la educación infantil, de la educación primaria y de la educación secundaria obligatoria.[97]

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[91] Cf. J. Webber, M. Strubell i Trueta, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-213.

[92] Cf. J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-213.

[93] In 1986 more than 10.000 professors of public schools had received the certificate to teach Catalan through these training courses, then withdrawn as the objective had been reached. Cf. J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

[94] Cf. J. Webber, M. Strubell i Trueta, *op. cit.,* p. 35.

[95] These data refer to early childhood and basic education, in both public and private schools. Cf. J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[96] I.e., "Organic Law on General Organisation of Education System."

[97] I.e., "3.1. Catalan as Catalonia's own language is also the teaching one. It will normally be used as a vehicular and learning language of early childhood, primary and compulsory secondary education." Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de Educación, "Decreto 75/1992, de 9 de marzo, por el que se

As a result of 1992 education reforms and increasing implementation of PIL, in the 1992-93 academic course, 75% of pupils at nursery and primary school had Catalan as teaching language; already in 1995-96, the grade rose to 81%.[98] Although PIL was completely voluntary at first, from the 1993-94 academic year it turned to mandatory. As expected, the transition from free to compulsory immersion language programs inaugurated a set of protests by Castilian-speaking families, who invoked article 14.2 of the 1983 LNL concerning the right to freely choose the teaching language in public nursery schools. Some of them made a step further by creating an association called *"Coordinadora de Afectados en Defensa del Castellano"* (CADECA), which filed an appeal before the High Court of Justice of Catalonia against the language immersion and some articles of the LNL concerning education.[99] Accordingly, the High Court of Justice of Catalonia turned to the Supreme Court of Spain for the alleged illegitimacy of the education model designed by the LNL. In particular, it was believed that article 14.2 about lecturing in the habitual language of children in early childhood education was actually excluding the same right to the other schooling levels. Moreover, article 14.4 regarding the duty to normally and correctly use both official languages at the end of basic education, and the subsequent article 15 on the necessity to prove proficiency in both languages to receive the final certificate of basic education, were considered in contrast with article 3 of the Constitution, which provides for the obligation to know *only* Castilian. Finally, the disposition of turning Catalan into the normal language of internal and external activities of educational centres, contained in article 20, has been questioned because it would downgrade Castilian to a lower level with respect to Catalan. In short, the overall education-related language policy was contested, as in contrast with the right of language choice. Furthermore, it has also been stressed article 3 of the Constitution establishes the duty to know Castilian and not the other regional tongues, thus implying, as a natural consequence, the imposition of the former as the normal language of education and not

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establece la ordenación general de las enseñanzas de la educación infantil, la educación primaria y la educación secundaria obligatoria en Catalunya," *DOGC*, April 3rd, 1992, No. 1578, pp. 2048-2051, Art. 3.1; Cf. Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de Educación, "Decreto 94/1992, de 28 de abril, por el que se establece la ordenación de las enseñanzas de la educación infantil," *DOGC*, May 13th, 1992, No. 1593, pp. 2739-2740; Jefatura del Estado, "Ley Orgánica 1/1990, de 3 de octubre, de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo," *BOE*, October 4th, 1990, No. 238, pp. 28927-28942; J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

[98] On the contrary, in 1992-93 the percentage of students receiving instruction in Castilian in early childhood and primary education was 3%, and in 1995-96 dropped to 1%. Again, these data refer to both public and private schools. J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[99] Cf. Ibidem, pp. 216-218; Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Consejo Escolar de Estado, *Informe sobre el estado y situación del sistema educativo. Curso 1993-94*, Madrid, Secretaría General Técnica: Centro de Publicaciones, 1995, pp. 455-456.

the other way around. However, in 1994 the Supreme Court recognised the legitimacy of the above-mentioned articles and, more broadly, the entire conjunction-in-Catalan model of education, as well as language immersion programs:

> Al posibilitar en el sistema de distribución competencial que prevé que las Comunidades Autónomas asuman la competencia de desarrollo legislativo, y por ende de ejecución, es decir, de gestión de la organización y medios, en materia de enseñanza, no impide que sean las Comunidades Autónomas las que determinen la lengua vehicular en ella, bien estableciendo un modelo de conjunción lingüística o bien de separatismo lingüístico. Por otra parte, el uso del catalán como lengua vehicular de la enseñanza no produce ninguna lesión del derecho a la educación en cuanto el catalán constituye una lengua comprensible para el alumno, lo cual se consigue mediante el proceso de enseñanza previa de la lengua, así como con una introducción progresiva y ajustada a criterios pedagógicos. Tampoco existen elementos para deducir que la conjunción lingüística produzca perjuicios a la lengua castellana, que cabe reputar como un bien constitucionalmente protegido.[100]

Indeed, it denied the existence of a real constitutional right to choose the teaching language, while admitting the possibility of the autonomous communities to draw different linguistic models. Following this reasoning, it also excluded that article 3 of the Constitution would imply the duty to impose Castilian as the medium of instruction; rather, it embeds the obligation to teach Castilian as a mandatory subject.[101] Nonetheless, while declaring the legitimacy of the education model provided by the 1983 LNL, the Court recognised that article 14.2 of this same law, implying pupils' right to choose the vehicular language in early childhood education, had been infringed. In compliance with this ruling the High Court of Justice of Catalonia required Catalan government, as a precautionary measure, to guarantee schooling in the chosen language until the age of seven to those pupils whose parents were demanding Castilian as the teaching language.

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[100] I.e., "Enabling the Autonomous Communities, within the system of competence distribution, to assume the power of legislative development and therefore execution, that is the management of organization and means in terms of education, does not prevent the Autonomous Communities from being those that determine the vehicular language in education, either establishing a model of linguistic conjunction or linguistic separatism. On the other hand, the use of Catalan as a teaching language does not cause any harm to the right to education, as Catalan is an understandable language for the student, since it is achieved through a prior process of language teaching, as well as its progressive introduction, adjusted to pedagogical criteria. Nor are there elements implying that the linguistic conjunction produces damages to Castilian, which should be considered as a constitutionally protected asset." Cf. Tribunal Constitucional de España, "Sentencia 337/1994, de 23 de diciembre," *BOE*, January 23rd, 1995, No. 19, pp. 14-17.
[101] Cf. E. A. Rovira, "El régimen lingüístico de la enseñanza. (Comentario a la STC 337/1994, de 23 de diciembre)," *Revista Española de Derecho Constitucional,* No. 44, 1995, pp. 248-256.

Moreover, judges demanded Catalan administration to take the necessary measure to ensure the efficacy of bilingual teaching for those pupils older than seven whose parents had filed the appeal. Meanwhile, the High Court of Justice of Catalonia rejected the pretention of those parents for an exclusive teaching in Castilian, as well as the suspension of the language immersion process. The Catalan government justified the generalisation of language immersion by assuring the respect of individual linguistic rights of Castilian-speaking children through a personalised attention in that language, for those who required it.[102] Concerning the verdict of the High Court of Justice of Catalonia, Herreras reports an extract from a 1994 article of the daily *Diario 16* that might help reflect on possible implications of that ruling:

> Comentando el fallo del TSJC, el conseller Pujals ha subrayado que, de doscientos mil alumnos escolarizados menores de ocho años, sólo 57 han solicitado recibir enseñanza individualizada en castellano y, de estos 57, trece ya 'se han pasado' a la enseñanza íntegramente en catalán. Estos porcentajes que con tanta satisfacción exhibe el señor Pujals revelan la magnitud del problema, la indefensión de buena parte de la población y la ausencia 'real' de libertad para escoger. En este momento hay que ser un héroe en Cataluña para exigir la enseñanza en español y no hace falta ser un lince para comprender la presión ambiental que pesa sobre los 57 niños y sus familias que han decidido estudiar en español. Lo que pervierte la libertad de elegir no es la ley de Normalización Lingüística sino la eliminación de una doble red escolar o la separación de aulas de un mismo centro, criterio que se exhibe como 'integrador', que lo defiende la misma sentencia y que, en principio, no sería criticable si no ocultara la práctica eliminación del español del sistema de enseñanza catalán. (…) Los padres que quieran que sus hijos reciban, en una escuela pública y sin presiones de ninguna clase, enseñanza en español sólo tiene una vía, emigrar.[103]

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[102] Cf. C. Pastor, "Un tribunal requiere a la Generalitat para que garantice la enseñanza en castellano," El País, December 3rd, 1993, <https://elpais.com/diario/1993/12/23/espana/756601220_850215.html>, (Accessed May 29th, 2020); C. Pastor, "Los padres opuestos a la 'ley del catalán' piden apoyos para el castellano," *El País*, February 10th, 1994, <https://elpais.com/diario/1994/02/10/espana/760834824_850215.html>, (Accessed May 26th, 2020).

[103] I.e., "Commenting on the ruling of the TSJC, Minister Pujals has stressed that, of two hundred thousand schoolchildren under the age of eight, only 57 have requested to receive individualized instruction in Spanish and, of these 57, thirteen have 'passed' to teaching entirely in Catalan. These percentages that Mr. Pujals displays with such satisfaction reveal the magnitude of the problem, the helplessness of a large part of the population and the 'real' absence of freedom to choose. Right now, you have to be a hero to demand teaching in Spanish in Catalonia, and it is not needed to be a lynx to understand the pression that weights on those 57 children and their families who have decided to study in Spanish. What perverts the freedom to choose is not the Linguistic Normalization Act, but the elimination of a double school network or the separation of classrooms of a same educational centre, a criterion that is exhibited as 'integrant', which is

As commented in the next section, the conjunction-in-Catalan model would lie the basis for the 1998 Language Policy Law (LPL), through which it would be consolidated and become the sole school-related language policy in Catalonia.

3.4. The revival of Catalan: towards expansion

The 1983 LNL provided the framework for language policy, that was further widened during the 1990s and the 2000s. As stated in the above section, Boix-Fuster et al. believe the second stage of the normalising process of Catalan started in 1995 through the expansion of its scope of action, and has continued to present day. In fact, it was believed the globalised context resulting from the end of the Cold War required a redefinition of objectives. The 1990s were inaugurated by changes in the cultural and technological sector, but also in the political one. The Spanish adhesion to the European Union in 1986 made the necessity for a new language policy particularly clear, given the support for the principle of multilingualism by the European Community. Regarding linguistic rights, there were some improvements at international level with respect to the previous decade. Indeed, in 1987 the European Parliament approved the Resolution on the Languages and Cultures of Regional and Ethnic Minorities in the European Community, through which it basically recommended Member States to protect ethnic minorities within their territory and take a set of measures to encourage the usage of regional tongues, alongside national ones. This resolution was of utmost importance in spreading awareness about linguistic minorities and the necessity to preserve them. In 1990 the European Union passed another resolution concerning the specific situation of Catalan language, after the Catalan parliament appealing for obtaining equal treatment to the other European official (national) languages. Although this resolution declared the impossibility to fully grant equality to all the languages spoken in the countries of the European Community, it admitted some privileges to Catalan within the EU institutions, such as: using Catalan for publication of treaties and basic texts as well as dissemination of information; but also including it in learning language programs and allowing to use it in the European Court

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defended by the same ruling and which, in principle, it would not be criticized if not conveying the concrete elimination of Spanish from the Catalan education system. (…) Parents who want their children to receive, in a public school and without pressure of any kind, instruction in Spanish only have one way, to emigrate." Anon., "Catalán: ¿Sentencia ociosa?", *Diario 16*, 1994, quoted by J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

of Justice.[104] Finally, in 1992 and 1998 the Council of Europe adopted, respectively, the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, thus stressing the recognition and protection of linguistic rights within the European scope. Although the United Nations have never ratified any documents concerning this issue, a feeble attempt to boost it at international level has been made in 1996, through the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights, signed by the non-governmental organisation PEN Club during the World Conference on Linguistic Rights.[105] In this new panorama, it was necessary to draw a Catalan language policy addressing a society influenced by the advent of new information and communication technologies, the development of free trade, and the evolution of international political frameworks for the protection of ethnic minorities and linguistic rights. Accordingly, the second phase of the normalisation process has been characterised by a tighter political line, embracing wider social spaces but also improving the legislation in those already dealt with.[106] In 1995 the Catalan government approved the *Plan General de Normalización Lingüística* (PGNL),[107] with the dual aim of achieving the habitual use of Catalan in all public contexts and the full respect of citizens' linguistic rights. This language planning gathered around some general strategies regarding the territorial coordination of various bodies committed to this cause, as well as the implementation of measures to spread Catalan knowledge abroad. Similarly, the plan coordinated sociolinguistic researches and provided a standardisation and specialisation of the language.[108] Furthermore, this plan drew the guidelines for a further boosting of the regional language in the following scopes: public and justice administration; education and youth; mass media and culture; socio-economic, associative and health sectors. Two major instruments have been adopted by the *Generalitat* to consolidate and enhance the

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[104] Cf. European Parliament, "Resolution A3-169/90, December 11th, 1990, on Languages in the Community and the Situation of Catalan," Official Journal of the European Community, January 28th, 1991.

[105] PEN Club is a NGO committed in the development of culture and the support of the freedom of expression. Curiously, the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights has not been ratified by the UN General Assembly, unlike the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and not received formal approval from UNESCO, but only a moral and technical support. Cf. Anon., "Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights, 1996," *Cultural Rights: Culture and Development*, September 2010, <https://culturalrights.net/en/documentos.php?c=18&p=184>, (Accessed June 26th, 2020).

[106] Cf. E. Boix-Fuster, J. Melià, B. Montoya, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

[107] I.e., "General Plan for Linguistic Normalisation."

[108] Cf. M. Reniu i Tresserras, "El pla general de normalització lingüística: un projecte per a Tothom," *Revista de Llengua i Dret*, No. 23, 1995, pp. 171-184.

legislation of the1983 LNL: the 1998 Language Policy Law and the 2006 Organic Law reforming the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia.

Surely, the 1998 *Ley de Política Lingüística* (LPL) was one of the biggest efforts made by the Catalan government to carry out the new language normalisation plan.[109] Whereas the LNL has tried to normalise the use of Catalan in order to achieve a real condition of dual officiality, the LPL has focused mostly on the realisation of the first clause of article 3 of the Statute of Autonomy: that is, shaping the society on the basis of the assumption that Catalan is Catalonia's own language. Already in its preamble, the LPL emphasises the intimate link between Catalan and Catalonia:

> La lengua catalana es un elemento fundamental de la formación y la personalidad nacional de Cataluña, un instrumento básico de comunicación, integración y cohesión social de los ciudadanos y ciudadanas, con independencia de su origen geográfico, y el vínculo privilegiado de Cataluña con las demás tierras de habla catalana, con las que forma una comunidad lingüística que ha aportado a lo largo de los siglos, con voz original, una valiosa contribución a la cultura universal. Además, ha sido el testimonio de fidelidad del pueblo catalán hacia su tierra y su cultura específica.[110]

Within the section regarding general principles, this law provides an in-depth analysis of the legal terms of *own language* and *official language*, granting linguistic authority to the *Instituts d'Estudis Catalans*. As Catalonia's own language, Catalan is the *prevalent* one in territorial identification and public institutions, namely: toponymy; administration of the *Generalitat*; local administration; public corporations and institutions; administrative proceedings. Catalan is also employed as the *normal* language in education, mass media and public companies, without excluding a possible usage of Castilian. According to Franquesa and Jou, there is a slight difference between Catalan as a *prevalent* and *normal*

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[109] The Language Policy Law was passed on 7th January 1998, with a large majority (80%), although not with the whole consensus as in the case of the previous 1983 Language Normalisation Law. Beyond the social sectors the 1983 LNL had already dealt with (public and justice administration, education and communication), the 1998 LPL has addressed also socio-economic, private mass media, and cultural industries world. Cf. M. À. Pradilla Cardona, "La *Catalanofobia*. A Community in Search of Linguistic Normality," in in Strubell i Trueta, M.; Boix-Fuster, E. (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[110] I.e., "The Catalan language is a fundamental element in national formation and personality of Catalonia, a basic instrument of communication, integration and social cohesion of citizens, regardless of their geographical origin, and Catalonia's privileged link with other Catalan-speaking lands, with which it forms a linguistic community that has brought, with an original voice, a valuable contribution to universal culture over the centuries. In addition, it has been the testimony of loyalty of Catalan people towards their land and their specific culture." Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de la Presidencia, "Ley 1/1998, de 7 de enero, de Política Lingüística," *BOE*, No. 36, February 11th, 1998, pp. 4809-4818.

language. In the first case, the LPL clearly indicates those sectors where Catalan enjoys a sort of exclusivity, marked with the imperative sentence: "debe utilizarse el catalán."[111] In the second one, the law addresses those scopes where Catalan should not be the exclusive but the regular language, signalled with the phrase: "el catalán debe utilizarse normalmente."[112] Furthermore, Catalan is the *preferred* language in situations of linguistic conflict, or when it is necessary to decide which official language should be deployed, such as in public documents where there is no explicit language preference. Finally, Catalan is the *necessary* language, possibly alongside Castilian, in those cases when the legislator has made a linguistic choice based on the opportunity criterion, indicated with the phrase: "han d'emprar, almenys, el Catalan."[113] Most of provisions implying the "compulsory (non-exclusive) use of Catalan" concern the world of business and consumer affairs.[114] For instance, companies offering public services must use, *at least,* Catalan in signage and communication to the public; similarly, checks, promissory notes or other documents offered by financial institutions to their customers must be written, *at least,* in Catalan.[115] This choice should be considered in a strictly normalising perspective.[116] Indeed, the concept of normalisation implies a situation in which the language to be normalised (that is, the native language) is privileged and the freedom of language choice is limited. In this sense, the principle of linguistic property prevails the one of linguistic equality.[117] The regional government has to take action and allocate resources in order to protect and promote Catalan in all social fields, foment communication between Catalan-speaking territories, and boost its external projection.[118] Concerning the status of official language granted to Catalan and Castilian, this law reaffirms the rights to use both of them interchangeably and with full validity, in all public and private activities and legal acts, without discrimination.[119] Accordingly, the officiality of the two tongues ensures citizens to enjoy the following linguistic rights: knowing both languages; expressing themselves in either of the two official languages, orally and in writing, in public and private situations; being served in either one or the other language

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[111] I.e., "Catalan must be used."
[112] I.e., "Catalan should be used normally."
[113] I.e., "They must use, at least, Catalan."
[114] Cf. A. Branchadell, J. Melià, "Language Policy in the World of Business and Consumer Affairs: from Non-Existence to Ineffectiveness," in Strubell i Trueta, M.; Boix-Fuster, E. (eds.), *op. cit.,* p. 206.
[115] Cf. Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de la Presidencia, L. 1/1998, cit., Arts. 15.5; 31.1.
[116] Cf. E. Franquesa i Bonet, L. Jou i Mirabent (eds.), *op. cit.,* pp. 219-222.
[117] See pp. 8-9.
[118] Cf. Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de la Presidencia, L. 1/1998, cit., Art. 6.
[119] Ibidem, Art. 3.

in the terms established by this law; using any of them in all social fields; not being discriminated for linguistic reasons; appealing to the judiciary to the obtain legal protection of such linguistic rights; demanding public administration to take action to guarantee the aforementioned linguistic rights.[120] Therefore, the policies implemented by the *Generalitat* would assure the normal usage of both languages and their teaching to all Catalan people, as well as the linguistic training of officials at the public administration. Accordingly, this would lead to the full equality of citizens in terms of linguistic rights and duties in the society and, thus, the achievement of the condition of dual officiality.[121] The scopes falling within the LPL basically regard: institutions and onomastics; communication and cultural industries; education; socio-economic activities. However, most of its regulations simply reaffirm the legal framework of the 1983 LNL, or turn dispositions introduced in previous years into laws; hence, only changes of earlier legislation will be presented. In addition, the subsequent provisions completing the 1998 LPL will also be exposed.

Concerning the institutional field, the new law does not provide any substantial change. However, it establishes the preference for Catalan as the language to be used by companies and bodies providing services to the public, as well as the state administration in Catalonia.[122] Although public documents are valid in both official languages, the third clause of article 14 of the LPL imposes Catalan as the preferred linguistic medium in case grantors do not explicitly indicate the language preference.[123] Moreover, it consolidates the requirement of Catalan language knowledge to accede to public functions, as previously mandated by the 1985 law on public function, in order to comply with citizens' right of language choice.[124] This principle would be reaffirmed also by the 2006 Catalan Statute of Autonomy, requiring public officials the accreditation of a sufficient level of proficiency in both official languages.[125] For what concerns the toponymy, as in the previous legislation, Catalan is still the only official language employed in the region,

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[120] Cf. Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de la Presidencia, L. 1/1998, cit., Art. 4.
[121] Ibidem, Art. 5.
[122] Previously, Catalan was only the prevalent language of the *Generalitat*, territorial administration, local administration and other public corporations. Cf. J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.,* p. 117.
[123] Cf. Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de la Presidencia, L. 1/1998, cit., Arts. 14; 15.
[124] For further information concerning the1985 law on public function, see p. 17.
[125] More precisely, article 33 requires such accreditation from: judges and magistrates; prosecutors; notaries; property and commercial registrars; civil servants of Civil Registry; officials of justice and state administration. Cf. Jefatura del Estado, "Ley Orgánica 6/2006, de 19 de julio, de reforma del Estatuto de Autonomía de Cataluña," *BOE*, July 20th, 2006, No. 172, pp. 27269 a 27310, Art. 33.

except for the Valley of Aran. Unlike the LNL, the LPL grants people the right to use the Catalan version of their first and last names, thus allowing the Civil Registry to provide a correct translation to those applying for it.[126] Furthermore, within this 1998 legal framework, the *Generalitat* is supposed to collaborate with the institutions of other Catalan-speaking territories, to encourage cultural exchange and coordinate language policies; likewise, it has to promote Catalan language and culture in the academic and research world, as well as within European Union institutions.[127] This point would be further extended by the 2006 Catalan Statute of Autonomy, thus establishing the responsibility on both Catalan government and Spanish state to favour the recognition of Catalan as an official language of the EU, and its presence in international organisms and treaties dealing with cultural and linguistic heritage.[128] In order to better draw and manage language policies, the Decree on Transversal Organisation of Language Policy would be approved in 2011, thus adopting three main bodies committed to such purpose: the General Directorate of Language Policy, the Technical Commission for Language Policy, and the Technical Network for Language Policy. The General Directorate of Language Policy draws legal proposals and plans, as well as generic and sectorial actions, for language policy. The Technical Commission for Language Policy is the collegiate body responsible for guaranteeing the homogeneous application of language regulations by all departments of the public administration. Instead, the Technical Network for Language Policy is committed to providing technical support to the first two bodies.[129]

Communication and cultural industry have been affected by huge changes with respect to the 1980s legislation, partly due to the introduction of new sectors and the privatisation of old ones. This 1998 law is precisely aimed at increasing the use of Catalan in the newly field of information technology, but also granting a minimum threshold of Catalan in private radio and television media, as well as other cultural sectors. In fact, it requires private television and radio stations subjected to public licence to employ the local language for at least 50% of their broadcasting time. Moreover, it imposes the rule to use Catalan in a higher percentage than the minimum standard for awarding public concessions for terrestrial television stations, cable television channels and broadcasting

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[126] Cf. Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de la Presidencia, L. 1/1998, cit., Arts. 18; 19.
[127] Therefore, the Generalitat has to elaborate common language policies with the Valencian Community, the Balearic Islands, Aragon, and with the Andorra, French and Italian states. Cf. Ibidem, Art. 39.
[128] Cf. Jefatura del Estado, LO 6/2006, cit., Art. 6.
[129] Cf. Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de Cultura, "Decreto 371/2011, de 19 de julio, de organización transversal de la política lingüística," *DOGC*, July 21st, 2011, No. 5925, pp. 41064-41067.

stations. Likewise, both TV and radio should promote Catalan artists in their music programs, and a minimum of 25% of songs must be performed in Catalan or Aranese language. Another interesting detail concerning this law is the introduction of penalties for those private companies that do not respect such normative, as considered a non-fulfilment of the essential conditions of public concession. Similarly, the LPL introduces a quota regime for strengthening the presence of Catalan in the cinema offer. In fact, the *Generalitat* establishes exhibition and distribution language quotas for cinematographic products exhibited and distributed with dubbing and subtitles. However, the annual quotas established for the production of movies dubbed or subtitled in Catalan cannot exceed 50% of the offer of exhibiting and distributing companies. In 2010 the Catalan government would pass a law to further strengthen this regulation on film industry, requiring companies to distribute or exhibit 50% of foreign movies with dubbing and subtitles in Catalan, in order to guarantee a linguistic balance within the cinematographic field.[130] However, the Constitutional Court has declared this threshold disproportionate and reduced it at 25%.[131] The LPL provides similar provisions for fomenting the use of Catalan in written means of communication: the *Generalitat* subsidises periodical publications of general distribution that are drafted mostly or totally in Catalan, as well as the ones belonging to a local scope. Concerning institutional means of communication, both audio-visual and written, the LPL re-establishes Catalan as the language to be normally employed. In general, the *Generalitat* must promote and stimulate the production of Catalan culture, such as: Catalan literary and scientific works, as well as their translation in other languages; Catalan films, plays, music, books and periodicals; Catalan written and listening material for blind people; any other Catalan public cultural event.[132] As stated by Josep Gifreu, at the end of the 1990s the audio-visual sector would become central in Catalan policies.[133] Therefore, by the first decade of the new century the regional parliament would pass a set of laws regulating audio-visual communication within the territory, in order to introduce innovative provisions and obligations for the

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[130] Cf, J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.,* pp. 163-164; Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de la Presidencia, L. 1/1998, cit., Arts. 25-29.

[131] Cf. L. Mayor Ortega, "El Constitucional anula las multas por rotular solo en castellano en los comercios," *La Vanguardia,* July 4th, 2017, <https://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20170704/423893468920/cine-catalan-constitucional-anula-ley.html>, (Accessed June 5th, 2020).

[132] Cf. Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de la Presidencia, L. 1/1998, cit., Arts. 27; 28.

[133] Josep Gifreu is emeritus Professor of Communication at the Pompeu Fabra University (Barcelona) and director of the journal *Quaderns del CAC.* He is a full member of the Philological Section of the Institute of Catalan Studies. Cf. Strubell i Trueta, M.; Boix-Fuster, E. (eds.), *op. cit.,* p. xi.

normalisation of Catalan in public and private media. These regulations would consolidate a system of positive discrimination against Castilian for enhancing Catalan in communication and cultural sectors.[134] For what concerns the new sector of digital information and communication technology, the LPL requires the regional government to take measures aimed at encouraging the production, distribution and commercialisation of software, computer games, digital editions and multimedia works in Catalan, as well as all kinds of products related to language industry, such as Catalan voice recognition and the automatic translation. The *Generalitat* was also supposed to improve the presence of Catalan products and information on telematic information networks.[135] As affirmed by Gifreu, at the end of the century the normalisation of Catalan in mass media would almost be completely achieved:

> Catalan was present in all communication sectors (the press, radio, television, video, the internet) and in all their forms of expression (written, oral, audiovisual, multimedia, etc.). It was also present in all genres (journalism, opinion, fiction, entertainment, etc.) and for all types of public (the general public, children and the young, specific social and cultural sectors, local and district, etc.).[136]

Nevertheless, the lack of intercommunication between mass media within the Catalan-speaking regions would still determine the hegemony of Castilian in this field.[137]

As in the case of public administration, the LPL has not significantly modified regulations on education with respect to the previous legal framework. The only relevant change regards the post-compulsory education and the public administration's duty to foment policies of language planning and teaching, aimed at guaranteeing students an improvement in both languages. In this frame, professors do not only need to know both languages, as mandated by the 1983 legislation, but also be able to make use of them in their teaching tasks.[138] Regarding universities and higher educational centres, the LPL indicates the obligation to take necessary measures to encourage the use of Catalan in all

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[134] In the 2000s, the Catalan parliament passed the following laws: the 2000 Catalan Audio-visual Council Act, which gave full independence to such authority; the 2005 Catalan Audio-visual Communication Act, committed to drawing dispositions addressed to public and private media, and monitored by the Catalan Audio-visual Council; and the 2007 Catalan Audio-visual Media Corporation Act, aimed at regulating the public service of audio-visual communication, thus imposing the legal regime of the Catalan Audio-visual Media Corporation. Cf. J. Gifreu, *op. cit.,* pp. 188-192.
[135] Cf. Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de la Presidencia, L. 1/1998, cit., Art. 29, L. 1/1998.
[136] J. Gifreu, *op. cit.,* p. 195.
[137] Ibidem.
[138] J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.,* pp. 207-208.

teaching and non-teaching activities, including research and thesis defence. However, they are allowed to establish particular criteria for language use in activities concerning international agreements; this regulation has probably been introduced as a consequence of some protests of foreign students and professors who were participating to exchange programs promoted by the European Union.[139] Basically, this law consolidates the programs of language immersion, and confirms the conjunction-in-Catalan model of education as Catalonia's sole school-related language policy.[140] Indeed, 88,9% of primary schools would adopt Catalan as the *exclusive* language of instruction in the 1999-00 academic course, except for teaching Spanish language and literature, and any other foreign languages.[141] In 2003 there would be a shift in the Catalan political power, not comporting big changes in the conjunction-in-Catalan model but rather some innovations relating to education for foreigners and immigrants. In fact, the centre-right nationalist federation *Convergència i Unió* was replaced by a government composed by the leftist and nationalist three-party coalition of *Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya* (PSC), *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* (ERC) and *Iniciativa per Catalunya* (IC). After Jordi Pujol's sixth term of presidency, and thus twenty-three consecutive years of CiU government, this time the *Generalitat* would be led by the socialist Pasqual Margall.[142] In the early 2000s, a new immigration flux was registered, thus leading to draw a further plan for the treatment of the newcomers. Therefore, in 2004 the Plan for Language and Social Cohesion has been adopted, that is to say:

> A system for integration which combined the principle of *conjunció* – according to which children should not be separated into different classes on the basis of their first language – with the intensive teaching of Catalan language and culture to the new arrivals. The result of this model is to be seen in the system of *aules d'acollida* ('welcoming classes', also translated in 'insertion classes').[143]

The "welcoming classes system" implies that newly arrived pupils would study together with the other schoolmates, respecting the classical model of education-in-conjunction, while being frequently separated from them to attend several-hours intensive Catalan language and literature classes. Each school would be responsible of drawing its own

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[139] Cf. J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.,* pp. 207-208; 269-270.
[140] Cf. F. X. Vila i Moreno, *op. cit.,* p. 128.
[141] Cf. J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.,* p. 2013.
[142] Cf. A. Branchadell, J. Melià, *op. cit.,* p. 206; E. Boix-Fuster, J. Melià, B. Montoya*, op. cit.,* p. 164.
[143] F. X. Vila i Moreno, *op. cit.,* p. 135.

language program. This education system has been proved to be good for enhancing immigrants' language skills and their integration within school and, more broadly, Catalan society. The principle of non-separation of pupils according to linguistic criteria is further recognised in 2006, by the new Statute of Autonomy. This education model would be again under social debate in 2007, when the central state requires Catalan government to increase the teaching hours of Castilian, thus adapting to the new three-weekly-hour minimum threshold.[144] Consequently, the number of Castilian teaching hours in primary education would turn from two to three per week, whereas the remaining twenty-seven weekly hours would be instructed mostly in Catalan and, some of them, in English.[145] In 2009, the *Ley de Educación* (LEC), the first Catalan law on education, would be approved with a 89% of votes in favour, thus consecrating the Catalan-in-conjunction model and providing educational centres with more autonomy. It would also confirm Catalan language immersion, as well as "welcoming classes" programs, but granting pupils the right to receive a personalised attention in their mother tongue in the early childhood educational cycle, upon specific request. This legal text was mostly drafted by the three-party coalition leading the government and the opposition coalition, the CiU; instead, the two right-wing parties *Ciutadans* (Cs) and *Partit Popular* (PP) voted against it.[146] This latter party questioned the constitutionality of the linguistic regime provided by such law before the Constitutional Court. In 2019, the Court has reaffirmed the legitimacy of Catalan language immersion, and therefore the use of Catalan as the teaching language, provided that the full mastery of Castilian is guaranteed at the end of compulsory education. Similarly, it validated the articles concerning a specific language program for newcomers who do not know Catalan, as long as this right to linguistic support is provided also to those who do not know Castilian. In fact, the Court stressed that the fact education is instructed in Catalan must not prevent the right to learn Castilian, a language that someone may do not know, and therefore schools must assure pupils to progressive improve in both official languages; this must be the objective of the whole education system in Catalonia. Nonetheless, the Constitutional Court ruled over the

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[144] Cf. F. X. Vila i Moreno, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130; 136.

[145] Cf. S. Tobarra, "Las escuelas catalanas aumentarán las clases en castellano y en inglés," *El País*, January 31st, 2007, <https://elpais.com/diario/2007/01/31/sociedad/1170198008_850215.html>, (Accessed June 6th, 2020).

[146] Cf. Anon., "Aprobada la primera ley de Educación de Cataluña con el 90% de los votos del Parlament," *El País*, July 1st, 2009, <https://elpais.com/sociedad/2009/07/01/actualidad/1246399205_850215.html>, (Accessed June 5th, 2020); Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de la Presidencia, "Ley 12/2009, de 10 de julio, de Educación," *DOGC*, July 6th, 2009, No. 5422, pp. 56589-56682.

unconstitutionality of ten articles of the LEC, due to conflict of jurisdiction; indeed, the ruling established that it was a state competence to regulate the following procedures: objectives and elements of curricula; organisation of primary, secondary and higher school; methods to valuate students, art and sport education; teaching staff structure.[147] Meanwhile, in 2013 the Spanish parliament had passed a new state Law on Education (*Ley Wert*), providing for families' right to choose the official language through which their children had to be educated in bilingual autonomous communities.[148] Concerning Catalonia, this law obliged the *Generalitat* to sustain the economic cost of enrolling students, whose families wanted them to be educated in Castilian, in private educational centres where Castilian was used as vehicular language. However, it is interesting to notice that in the 2014-15 academic course only three families required the economic compensation to enrol their children in private schools. As predictable, Catalan government filed an appeal before the Constitutional Court which, in 2018, nullified the articles obliging the *Generalitat* to sustain with public funds the education in Castilian to those students demanding for it, as this did not respect the division of powers between central state and regions. In the same year, there was a political change in the central government, and the newly Spanish executive branch led by the socialist party, *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE), started to work on a new education law, meant to reforming the controversial Wert Law.[149]

The last sector that falls into the scope of the LPL is the socio-economic one. As already said, it represents a step further from the previous legislation, since the LNL has not dealt with the world of business and consumer affairs. This new law laid the groundwork for regulating the use of both languages in public and private companies and, most importantly, in their relations with customers. It also establishes some sanctions in case

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[147] Cf. M. Pérez Efe, "El Tribunal Constitucional avala la enseñanza en catalán siempre que se garantice aprender castellano," El País, April 25th, 2019, <https://www.expansion.com/economia/politica/2019/04/25/5cc03d76268e3e02588b45ec.html>, (Accessed June 5th, 2020); Anon., "El TC avala el régimen lingüístico de Catalunya pero tumba 10 artículos de la LEC," *La Vanguardia*, April 4th, 2019, <https://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20190425/461855186936/tribunal-constitucional-avala-regimen-linguistico-lec-ley-de-educacion-cataluna.html>, (Accessed June 5th, 2020).
[148] I.e., Wert's Law, in reference to José Ignacio Wert, who was the Minister of Education of Spain between 2011 and 2015. Cf. D. Cetrà, *op. cit.,* p. 90.
[149] Ibidem, pp. 90-91; P. Álvarez, "El Constitucional deroga el sistema de la LOMCE para estudiare en castellano en Cataluña," *El País*, February 21st, 2018, <https://elpais.com/politica/2018/02/20/actualidad/1519130453_693262.html> (Accessed June 16th, 2020).

of non-compliance with such dispositions.[150] Basically, Catalan is the language to be normally employed by public companies in their internal acts and documentation, but also in labelling, instructions for use, and packaging of products and services they offer. Even though Catalan is the regular language of invoices and other purchase documents, this does not prevent costumers to require them in Castilian. As stated previously, both public and private companies offering a public service must use *at least* Catalan for communication and signage. Companies dedicated to the sale of products, or provision of services, that carry out their activity in Catalonia should be able to assist customers in both official languages. Companies that have signed a collaboration agreement with the *Generalitat*, or are subsidised by it, should use at least the Catalan language in labelling, notification and documentation addressed to the public. In general, information that appears on labelling or packaging of products distributed within the region can be in Catalan, Castilian or any other European Union language. However, the information appearing on the labelling of Catalan products with protected designation of origin and geographical indications, as well as artisanal products, distributed in Catalonia should be at least in Catalan. Concerning advertising of Catalan government, local administrations and other public institutions, Catalan should be the language normally used. In general, the *Generalitat* is supposed to foment the adoption of Catalan in advertising. Nonetheless, there is still an imbalance between Catalan and Castilian in both labelling and advertising, being the latter the most commonly used language. Finally, the Catalan government should stimulate the inclusion of language clauses in collective bargaining agreements.[151] Following this line, in 2004 the *Generalitat* imposed language clauses in public procurement and subsidies.[152] Linguistic rights of consumers would be further confirmed by the 2006 Statute of Autonomy and the 2010 Consumer Code.

At this point, it may be interesting to contemplate the 2006 Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia and, above all, how the two official languages and linguistic rights are treated in comparison with the 1979 version. As already said, in 2003 there was a political shift which saw the rise of a nationalist left-wing coalition, thus widening nationalistic aspirations and boosting progresses in language-related normative. In this context, the Catalan parliament approved a law aimed at reforming the 1979 Statute of Autonomy and

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[150] J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
[151] Cf. Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de la Presidencia, L. 1/1998, cit., Arts. 30-36*; J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
[152] Cf. A. Branchadell, J. Melià, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

adapting it to the new sociolinguistic situation of Catalonia. Accordingly, the introduction of a whole chapter regarding linguistic rights and duties of citizens was a great innovation, thus confirming the language legislation adopted in so far. After a twenty-three-year linguistic normalisation process, this time the principle of language availability was clearly exposed in the legal text and required to be accomplished in the various social sectors.[153] Actually, the new Statute was largely criticised by the opposition, due to the attempt to extend Catalan self-government; therefore, some of its articles were appealed before the Constitutional Court and delegitimised. Although twenty-eight years had passed from the promulgation of the Spanish Constitution which introduced the new concept of *"nacionalidades,"* the ambiguity of such term was still subjected to debates.[154] In fact, it is curious how the new Statute interchangeably uses the terms nation and nationality in the preamble:

> El Parlamento de Cataluña, recogiendo el sentimiento y la voluntad de la ciudadanía
> de Cataluña, ha definido de forma ampliamente mayoritaria a Cataluña como *nación.*
> La Constitución Española, en su artículo segundo, reconoce la *realidad nacional* de
> Cataluña como nacionalidad.[155]

As exposed at the beginning of the chapter, the concept of historical nationality provided for the very first time by the Spanish Constitution had raised some perplexities on the part of centralists, as it could have been easily changed with the one of nation.[156] Indeed, the conceptualisation of Catalonia as a nation engendered critics, and the constitutionality of this part of the preamble was questioned by the PP political party. However, in 2010 the Constitutional Court stressed that the two expressions "Cataluña como *nación*" and "*realidad nacional* de Cataluña" lack legal effectiveness, since the preamble of a law has no any normative value and therefore cannot be declared unconstitutional. Hence, the statement contained in the preamble has to be considered as the expression of an historical circumstance: a community self-identification as a national reality in the ideological, historical or cultural sense is totally legitimate. Nonetheless, criticisms were further

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[153] Ibidem.ì, pp. 207-208.
[154] Cf. V. Gutiérrez Calvo, J. Manuel Romero, "El enigma de las 'nacionalidades'," *El País,* December 6th, 2013, <https://elpais.com/politica/2013/12/05/actualidad/1386269379_384129.html>, (Accessed June 6th, 2020).
[155] I.e., "The Parliament of Catalonia, gathering the sentiment and the will of the citizens of Catalonia, has largely defined Catalonia as a nation. The Spanish Constitution, in its second article, recognizes the national reality of Catalonia as a nationality." Cf. Jefatura del Estado, LO 6/2006, cit.
[156] See pp. 4-5.

alimented by the allusion to Catalan national symbols, provided by article 8: "1. Cataluña, definida como nacionalidad en el artículo primero, tiene como símbolos *nacionales* la bandera, la fiesta y el himno."[157] Again, the judicial body indicated that national symbols established by article 8 must be interpreted in an ideological - and not juridical - sense, taking into account the *cultural meaning* of the term nation that is implied in the preamble of the law.[158] The Constitutional Court's ruling has confirmed what the Founding Fathers had intended with the concept of *nationalities*: that is to say, Catalonia must be defined as a nation in the cultural and identity sense, instead of alluding to a juridical and political interpretation of such term.[159]

Another substantial difference compared to the previous version of the Statute is the definition of Catalan as the language of normal and *preferred* usage, but also the introduction of citizens' *duty* to know it, alongside Castilian:

> 1. La lengua propia de Cataluña es el catalán. Como tal, el catalán es la lengua de uso normal y *preferente* de las Administraciones públicas y de los medios de comunicación públicos de Cataluña, y es también la lengua normalmente utilizada como vehicular y de aprendizaje en la enseñanza.
>
> 2. El catalán es la lengua oficial de Cataluña. También lo es el castellano, que es la lengua oficial del Estado español. Todas las personas tienen derecho a utilizar las dos lenguas oficiales y los ciudadanos de Cataluña el derecho y el *deber* de conocerlas. Los poderes públicos de Cataluña deben establecer las medidas necesarias para facilitar el ejercicio de estos derechos y el cumplimiento de este deber. De acuerdo con lo dispuesto en el artículo 32, no puede haber discriminación por el uso de una u otra lengua.[160]

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[157] I.e., "1. Catalonia, defined as nationality in the first article, has as national symbols the flag, the national day and the anthem." Art. 8.1, LO 6/2006, *op. cit.* Nonetheless, Catalan official flag (*Senyera*), anthem (*Els Segadors*) and national day (*La Diada Nacional de Catalunya*, on September 11th) became symbols of a national pride that, from this point on, would start to radicalise. There are other Catalonia's historical and folkloristic symbols without legal recognition, such as: the *Sardana* popular dance; the traditional *Castellers* human tower; the feast of the patron Sant Jordi, celebrated on April 23th on the occasion of the book day; and many others. Cf. Anon., "Laws Regulating Catalan National Symbols," Barcelonas.com, n. d., <https://www.barcelonas.com/catalan-national-symbols.html>, (Accessed June 27th, 2020).

[158] Cf. Anon., "Las normas no pueden inducir al equívoco sobre la indisoluble unidad de la nación," *El País*, April 21st, 2010, <https://elpais.com/diario/2010/04/21/espana/1271800805_850215.html>, (Accessed June 6th, 2020).

[159] See pp. 4-5.

[160] I.e., "1. Catalonia's own language is Catalan. As such, Catalan is the language of normal and preferred use by public administrations and public media in Catalonia, and it is also normally used as the teaching and learning language in education. 2. Catalan is the official language of Catalonia, as well as Castilian, which is the official language of the Spanish State. All people have the right to use the two official

Again, the Popular Party filed an appeal against this article before the Constitutional Court, which has ruled that the preference for using Catalan instead of Castilian in public institutions, mass media and education, is unconstitutional; therefore, the above-mentioned term *"preferente"* was invalidated, allowing only the concept of Catalan as the "lengua de uso normal."[161]

In short, the second stage of the normalisation process (1995-today) has been definitely more decisive concerning the language policy, thus leading to a re-definition of a Catalan identity and stimulation of some nationalistic expectations. This trend was surely enhanced in 2003 after the political change, and consolidated in 2006 with the adoption of the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia.

3.5. Nationalist implications

It is interesting to notice that after the end of Franco's regime and for at least two decades, Spanish nationalism experienced a sort of political disappearance, since all patriotic symbols and rhetoric had been appropriated by the dictatorship and hence delegitimised in the new democratic context. On the contrary, sub-state nationalisms were gradually reaffirmed, becoming a synonym of anti-Francoism. Only in the XXI century the concept of Spanish nationalism would be recovered, but this time regarded as a mere civic nationalism lacking any ethnic content. This new version of political nationalism, or *"nacionalismo constitucional,"[162]* would be grounded in the modern democratic model and legitimated by the acceptance of an internal decentralisation. Instead, peripheral nationalisms would be indicated as purely ethnic ones, mostly based on cultural sentiments and featured by an exclusionary behaviour towards Spain.[163] Anyway, from the *Transición* onwards peripheral nationalisms extended their influence on different spheres of civil society. This trend was clearly boosted when nationalist parties entered into local government of autonomous communities, as they had access to wider resources

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languages and the citizens of Catalonia have the right and the duty to know them. Catalan public powers must take the necessary measures to facilitate the exercise of these rights and the fulfilment of this duty. In accordance with the provisions of article 32, there can be no discrimination for the use of one or the other language." Jefatura del Estado, LO 6/2006, cit., Art. 6.1; 6.2.

[161] Cf. V. Gutiérrez Calvo, J. Manuel Romero, *op. cit.*

[162] I.e., "Constitutional nationalism."

[163] Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Suspiros de España*, cit., pp. 109-110. See the first chapter for further information on civic and ethnic nationalism.

and mechanisms to start a new and alternative process of nationalisation.[164] As already seen, they contributed to exalt regional tongues, adopting specific models of language planning aimed at expanding their knowledge and usage. In this sense, language has been used as a nationalising tool: "la intensidad de la normalización e inmersión lingüística, que no solamente ha tenido efectos sobre la lengua, sino en el nivel de las ideas y estructuras mentales."[165]

From the first democratic elections of the Catalan parliament in 1980 until the ones held in 2003, the nationalist coalition CiU dominated and its leader Jordi Pujol was responsible of most political actions taken to restore the Catalan language.[166] According to Miquel Àngel Pradilla Cardona, this repeated success proves the pivotal role of language in political and social dynamics of Catalonia, and, *vice versa*, the huge impact of political institutions in fostering a language and shaping a national idea.[167] Pujol made the language the main symbol of Catalan nationalist and identity discourse, affirming that: "el tema de la lengua en general, y en particular del catalán en las escuelas, es central en la reivindicación de la personalidad colectiva de Catalunya."[168] The so-called *Pujolismo* precisely indicates the twenty-three-year timeframe in which Jordi Pujol has governed and implemented a process of re-nationalisation of the Catalan society:

> "[la renacionalización] se ha fundamentado, entre otras cosas más, en la llamada normalización lingüística, las estructuras culturales bautizadas como nacionales, el control de los medios de comunicación o el reclamo funcionarial. En los cuatro

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casos, los resultados han sido globalmente exitosos para los intereses del nacionalismo."[169]

Núñez Seixas affirms that education-related language policy has been converted into one of the main tools of institutional nationalisation, and for this reason it was subjected to many conflictual debates.[170] It is curious that between 1977 and 1992 independentist forces were barely present: only few radical sectors of nationalist parties were in favour of a pacific and gradual independence of Catalonia.[171] Therefore, independentism was a minority within Catalan nationalism during almost the whole *Pujolismo*, turning in a main political force afterwards.[172] Although Pujol is considered the father of modern *Catalanism*, he was a moderate politician and his discourse did not include the will for independence; in fact, the political relations between the central and Catalan governments have been quite stable throughout his mandate.[173] In the 1990s there has been an increment of campaigns in favour of independence on the part of nationalist leftist parties, especially ERC: from 1992 elections, this latter would become the reference political party for Catalan independentists.[174] In 1993 the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE) lost the absolute majority at state elections, and the political support of the CiU

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[169] I.e., "[The renationalisation] has been based, among other things, on the so-called linguistic normalization, the cultural structures baptized as national, the control of the media or the official claim. In all four cases, the results have been globally successful for the interests of nationalism." Among Catalan national structures, the *Arxiu Nacional de Catlunya*, *Museum d'Història de Catalunya* and *Teatre Nacional de Catalunya*, respectively founded in 1980, 1986 and 1996, are essential parts of Catalan national identity: they create and shape the national history and culture of Catalonia. Similarly, from 1983 the resources invested in creating, developing and maintaining Catalan mass media, and above all Catalan television, have been significant. Public radio and television fall within the scope of the country project to defend the native language and create a national conscience. According to Jordi Canal, the institution of new autonomous administrations in the early 1980s favoured a nationalist clientelism. J. Canal, *op. cit.*, p. 123. Jordi Canal (1964) is a Catalan historian and Professor at the School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences (EHESS) in Paris. In 2016 he was appointed by the Catalan parliament as member of the *Junta de Govern* (board of directors) of the *Memorial Democràtic*. Cf. Anon., "Membres statutaires: Jordi Canal," *Centre de Recherches Historiques*, n. d., <http://crh.ehess.fr/index.php?101>, (Accessed June 26th, 2020).
[170] Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Los nacionalismos en la España contemporánea*, cit., pp. 138-139.
[171] Indeed, in the 1980s there were only few social movements in defence of the regional language, supporting to some extent the Catalan independentist claim: among these, the *Crida a la Solidaritat* was surely a principal one. Since 1986, this movement was completely led by young activists in favour of Catalan independence and committed to mobilising civil society towards this direction. However, already in 1993, this social association dissolved. Cf. X. M. Núñez Seixas, *Los nacionalismos en la España contemporánea*, cit., p. 129.
[172] Cf. J. Canal, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
[173] Cf. M. Guibernau, *Catalan Nationalism*, cit., pp. 141-151.
[174] From 1989, ERC was controlled by radical Catalan nationalists from the late Francoism, who supported the construction of a Catalan Republic. In 1996, those politicians created a sovereigntist party, *Partit per la Independencia* (PI), which was later incorporated to the *Convergencia Democrática de Catalunya* (CDC) to form e coalition in favour of independence. Cf. J. B. Culla, *op. cit.*, p. 17; J. Canal, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

became essential to form the Spanish government. Accordingly, the influence of the Catalan government at state level increased dramatically.

The language policy, and more specifically the education model, implemented by the CiU leader was not free from oppositions, especially by the *Popular Party*: in view of the 1995 parliamentary elections in Catalonia, the PP would propose a new model of education, based on strict bilingualism and called "doble inmersión lingüística." For the first time since 1984, the CiU had not obtained the absolute majority of votes in these regional elections; instead, the PP had gained more ground and ranked the third position. The following elections of the Spanish parliament faced the absence of a party with absolute majority. Similarly to what happened in the previous general elections, the first party, this time the PP, has been obliged to negotiate with other political actors, like the CiU, in order to reach an agreement on governability. Thanks to the pact with the PP, the Catalan government led by the CiU was granted with the possibility to work on a law reforming the Language Normalisation Law. Accordingly, Jordi Pujol would give birth to the 1998 Language Policy Law, which would consolidate the unilingual education model. This favourable political context was crucial for negotiating further autonomy and, thus, for the fate of Catalan language.[175] In the 1999 elections, the CiU had won without an absolute majority and opted to govern with the support of the PP, instead of the ERC.[176] Likewise, in the 2003 elections the CiU was not able to gain the full majority of votes and, therefore, the ERC created a three-party coalition, together with the other leftist forces, the IC and the PSC, aimed at reforming the 1979 Statute of Autonomy. This would be a winning move, leading them to take power. Under the new - more radical - nationalist three-party government, the 2006 Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia would be approved by the Catalan parliament with 120 votes in favour (ERC, PSC, IC, and CiU), and 15 against (PP).[177] The *Pujolismo* officially ended in 2003 with the political shift in favour of left-wings parties, after twenty-three years in which "se había construido Cataluña o,

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[175] Cf. J. Argelaguet i Argemí, "Los partidos catalanes y el proceso de elaboración de la Ley de Política Lingüística," *Revista Vasca de Administración Pública*, Vol. 1, No. 53, 1999, pp. 249-273.

[176] This choice further cooled the relationships between CiU and ERC. Cf. Argelaguet i Argemí, "La qüestió lingüística en els primers passos del procés de reforma de l'estatut d'autonomia de Catalunya (1999-2003)," *Revista de llengua i dret*, No. 47, 2007, p. 146.

[177] Anon., "El Parlamento catalán aprueba el nuevo Estatuto de Cataluña," *El Confidencial*, September 30th, 2005, <https://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/2005-09-30/el-parlamento-catalan-aprueba-el-nuevo-estatuto-de-cataluna_510658/>, (Accessed June 11th, 2020); Argelaguet i Argemí, "La qüestió lingüística en els primers passos del procés de reforma de l'estatut d'autonomia de Catalunya (1999-2003)," cit., pp. 146-156.

como mínimo, una de las Cataluñas posibles. Un país, en cualquier caso, mucho más nacionalizado."[178] The CiU leader had been able to resolve the *dilemma* between either concentrating exclusively on Catalan matters with the risk to be isolated, or participating in the Spanish polity with the danger of losing the support by Catalan nationalists, thus adopting a political attitude based on greater involvement at state level "to win ever increasing concessions to the Catalan interest of further autonomy."[179]

The new three-party government (PSC-ERC-IC),[180] that remained in power from 2003 to 2010, has represented a more decisive boost for Catalan nationalism, confirming that "for any political formation aiming to play more than a merely token role in Catalonia, support for language-related and national aspirations is a core issue."[181] Indeed, the 2006 Statute of Autonomy was an evident tool for enhancing *Catalanism*, extending the powers in the hands of the *Generalitat* and leaving more room for Catalan autonomy. As already seen, the constitutionality of such a law was questioned, assuming it was a danger for the unity of Spain. The 2010 Constitutional Court's ruling over the delegitimization of some articles, and above all the non-recognition of Catalonia as a nation, as well as Catalan as the preferential linguistic medium in public institutions, education and mass media, generated protests from the Catalan independentist faction. Therefore, on 10th July of the same year, a huge manifestation was organised in Barcelona in the name of the slogan "som una nació. Nosaltres decidim."[182] From this moment on, the independentist discourse would become mainstream. Although the political coalition CiU was not an independentist force at first, within this new social environment dominated by an extreme nationalist impetus, it would change direction and become more radical. Indeed, between 2008-2010 this party regained consensus and, through the propagandistic motto "la nostra pròpia transició cap al dret de decidir,"[183] won the 2010 elections. In this context, the new party leader Artur Mas announced the beginning of a national transition, a path towards independence. However, in his first two-year term he excluded the possibility to vote for

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[178] I.e., "Catalonia, or at least one of the possible versions of Catalonia, had been built. A country, in any case, much more nationalized." Ibidem.
[179] H. Miller, K. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
[180] The PSC-ERC-IC three-party was, precisely, a socialist-independentist-ecological communist coalition. Cf. J. Canal, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
[181] M. À. Pradilla Cardona, *op. cit.,* p. 40.
[182] I.e., "We are a nation. We decide." Cf. C. Pont Sorribes, C. Perales-García (eds.), *Anàlisi de la presència i construcció del relat del context sociopolític de Catalunya (2010-2015) a la premsa internacional*, Barcelona, Generalitat de Catalunya, Institut d'Estudis de l'Autogovern, 2018, pp. 18-19.
[183] I.e., "Our transition to the right to decide." Cf. J. B. Culla, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

a referendum on self-determination, as he believed the country was still not ready for it; therefore, he prioritised economic matters and postponed improvements in Catalan independence for his second term.[184] The final aim of the CiU would be the conversion of Catalonia into a free and sovereign European nation of the XXI century, and therefore: "caminar de l'autonomisme cap al sobiranisme."[185] On 11th September 2012, another demonstration supporting Catalan independence was held in Barcelona, under the name of "Catlunya, nou estat d'Europa."[186] The fact that this protest was organised in occasion of the Catalan national day is not a coincidence: Catalan national symbols were exploited by nationalist forces to foster secessionist ideals. As pointed out in the first chapter, symbolism is central and of utmost importance in nationalist discourse. Indeed, as had occurred in the 2010 manifestation, even this time there was a wide employment of independence symbols: from various nationalist slogans, to the unofficial Catalan independence flag, known with the name of *Estelada*.[187] This event was characterised by a huge flow of people, thus leading the president of the *Generalitat* to anticipate the elections, that otherwise should be held in 2014. As expected, Artur Mas, who had now centred his whole propaganda on independentist arguments, was reconfirmed as president of the Catalan government. In 2014 he declared the willingness to induce a popular referendum on Catalan self-determination, but the central government appealed it before the Constitutional Court which, in turn, suspended this act. Therefore, on 9th November of the same year, Mas opted for a non-binding popular consultation to ask citizens the following question: "vol que Catalunya esdevingui un Estat? I, en cas afirmatiu, vol que aquest Estat sigui independent?"[188] Although it was supposed to be a process of popular participation organised by volunteers, with only a little logistic implication by the *Generalitat*, Artur Mas maintained instead the leading position of this initiative, thus not complying with the dispositions of the Court.[189] The result was significant for the independentist cause: according to *El País*, out of around 2,3 million of participants, 80,76% of them voted "yes" to the two questions; 10, 07% were in favour of the

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[184] J. B. Culla, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-173.
[185] I.e., "Walking from autonomy towards sovereignty." This protest was organised by the *Assemblea Nacional Catalana*, founded in 2011 and committed to seeking political independence of Catalonia. Ibidem, p. 176.
[186] I.e., "Catalonia, new state of Europe." Cf. C. Pont Sorribes, C. Perales-García (eds.), *op. cit.,* p. 19.
[187] Cf. J. B. Culla, *op. cit.,* pp. 177-185.
[188] I.e., "Do you want Catalonia to become a State? And if so, do you want this State to be independent?" Cf. Ibidem, p. 180.
[189] Ibidem, pp. 183-184.

institution of a Catalan but not independent state; and only 4,54% voted "no" for both.[190] After this outcome, Mas anticipated the elections and created a new political alliance between the two independentist parties CDC and ERC, called *Junts per Sí* (JxSí).[191] Nevertheless, it did not gain the absolute majority in the 2015 regional elections and, therefore, had to negotiate with a left-wing independentist party not belonging to the coalition, the *Candidatura d'Unitat Popular* (CUP). Finally, in 2016 they reached an agreement to form a government, led by a new president: the CDC politician Carles Puigdemont.[192] Soon, the new Catalan government demonstrated to be even more determined in the realisation of a process for Catalonia's independence. In fact, on September 2017 the Catalan parliament passed a law to regulate a binding referendum for the self-determination of the region, to be held on the first day of the following month, on the basis of this assumption: "El pueblo de Cataluña es un sujeto político soberano y, como tal, ejerce el derecho a decidir libremente y democráticamente su condición política."[193] This law was juridically grounded in "recent resolutions" of the International Court of Justice, based at The Hague, concerning the possibility to invoke the international principle of self-determination also in cases other than colonial or dictatorial oppression.[194] As may be expected, the day after its promulgation, the law was immediately suspended by the Constitutional Court.[195] However, on 1st October 2017 the Catalan independence referendum took place anyway, registering a participation of more than 2,2 million of people (around 42% of the electoral roll). According to *La*

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[190] Around 2,3 million of participants means that more than 33% of the electoral roll took part to this consultative initiative. Cf. F. J. Pérez, P. Ríos, "1,8 millones de personas votan por la independencia catalana en el 9-N," *El País*, November 10th, 2014, <https://elpais.com/politica/2014/11/09/actualidad/1415542400_466311.html>, (Accessed June 9th, 2020); C. Castro, "Las cifras del tumulto," La Vanguardia, October 1st, 2017, <https://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20171001/431684576880/cifras-participacion-potencial-referendum-1o.html>, (Accessed June 10th, 2020).

[191] Meanwhile, the CiU, the coalition composed by CDC and UCD, was desegregated, mainly due to the new independentist political identity of the former. Cf. J. B. Culla, *op. cit.,* p. 186.

[192] Ibidem, pp. 188-190.

[193] I.e., "The people of Catalonia is a sovereign political subject and, as such, exercises the right to freely and democratically decide its political condition." Generalidad de Cataluña, Departamento de la Presidencia, "Ley 19/2017, de 6 de septiembre, del referéndum de autodeterminación," *DOGC*, September 6th, 2017, No. 7449A, pp. 1-12, Art. 2.

[194] However, it is believed that the entire legal basis of such a law refers only to the 2010 resolution of the International Court of Justice on the case of Kosovo, that had a clearly different social and political situation than Catalonia and whose independence had been demanded by the United Nations. Cf. X. Vidal-Folch, "Cataluña no es Kosovo," *El País*, <https://elpais.com/politica/2017/08/12/actualidad/1502562247_125256.html>, Agoust 13th, 2017.

[195] Cf. P. Ríos, "Las diez claves de la ley del referéndum de Cataluña," *El País*, September 6th, 2017, <https://elpais.com/ccaa/2017/09/06/catalunya/1504677760_128384.html>, (Accessed June 9th, 2020).

Vanguardia, 90%[196] of participants voted in favour of the independence of Catalonia, answering affirmatively to the referendum question: "Voleu que Catalunya sigui un estat independent en forma de República?"[197] Accordingly, on 27th October 2017 the Catalan parliament declared the independence of Catalonia, thus starting the formation process of the Catalan Republic. This declaration was not recognised by the Spanish government, and after four days it was revoked with retroactive effect by the Constitutional Court. In accordance with article 155 of the Spanish Constitution, the Prime Minister of Spain, Mariano Rajoy, dismissed the Catalan president, Carles Puigdemont, who was temporarily replaced by the Deputy Prime Minister of Spain, Soraya Sáenz de Santamaría.[198] New regional elections would take place on December of the same year, and Joaquim Torra i Pla would become the president of the *Generalitat.*[199] The former Catalan president was accused of rebellion, sedition and illegal appropriation of public money; under the threat of being imprisoned, he would escape to Belgium. Similarly, other independentist leaders were accused and, this time, would be temporarily arrested waiting for a trial. On 14th October 2019, the Supreme Court of Spain condemned twelve independentist leaders to sentences up to thirteen years in prison. This ruling was followed by a set of violent social unrests in the whole Catalonia.[200] Therefore, it might

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[196] Only 7,8% of participants voted for "no;" however, the Catalan government estimated that around 770.000 votes would be missing from counting, since many polling places had been anticipately closed and ballot boxes seized by the police. Cf. Anon., "Más de 2,2 millones votan en el referéndum con una victoria del sí por el 90%," *La Vanguardia*, October 2nd, 2017, <https://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20171002/431728900422/referendum-resultados.html>, (Accessed June 10th, 2020).

[197] I.e., "Do you want Catalonia to be an independent State in the form of Republic?" Cf. Anon., "Consulta aquí los resultados del referéndum en Catalunya," *La Vanguardia*, October 26th, 2017, <https://www.lavanguardia.com/referendum/>, (Accessed June 10th, 2020).

[198] Article 155 of the Spanish Constitution regulates those cases in which Autonomous Communities do not comply with their constitutional obligations, or act in a dangerous way for the general interest of Spain; in this sense, the Spanish government is allowed to take necessary measures to force the autonomous communities to respect their duties, or to protect the national interest. Cf. Cortes Generales, CE, cit., Art. 155.

[199] Joaquim Torra i Pla led the independentist coalition *Junts pel Catalunya* (JxCat). Cf. Anon., "Candidato de choque," *El País*, May 12th, 2018, <https://elpais.com/elpais/2018/05/11/opinion/1526058295_004280.html>, (Accessed June 10th, 2020).

[200] According to the urban guard, around 350.000 people protested against the Constitutional Court's ruling in Barcelona on 26th October 2019, under the slogan "*Llibertat*" (i.e., "freedom"). Cf. R. Rincón, "Sentencia del 'procés': penas de 9 a 13 años para Junqueras y los otros líderes por sedición y malversación," *El País*, October 15th, 2019, <https://elpais.com/politica/2019/10/14/actualidad/1571033446_440448.html>, (Accessed June 10th, 2020); A. Mata, M. García Rey, "Así contamos las protestas contra el fallo del 'procés' del sábado 26 de octubre," *El Confidencial*, October 27th, 2019, <https://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/cataluna/2019-10-27/protestas-barcelona-disturbios-26-octubre-cataluna_2301788/>, (Accessed June 10th, 2020).

be prudent agreeing with Jordi Argelaguet i Argemi's following statement, concerning the relations between language regulations and political power:

> Dado el papel que juega la lengua catalana en la concepción nacional de Cataluña, la regulación normativa de los usos lingüísticos es una de las cuestiones más importantes que el Parlamento de Cataluña puede tratar.[201]

3.6. Conclusions

At this point, it is interesting considering the current sociolinguistic situation of Catalonia, reflecting on the results of an almost forty-year linguistic normalisation process. According to the 2018 Language Policy Report, provided by the Catalan Department of Culture: 94,4% of the population residing in Catalonia understand Catalan; 81,2% can speak it; 85,5% can read it; and 65,3% can write it. Moreover, 76,4% of those who can speak Catalan use it at some point of the day; instead, Castilian is daily employed by 94,2% of Catalan population.[202] Undoubtedly, the condition of precarity, oblivion and prohibition that affected Catalan language in past eras has been long gone, and now replaced by a public recognition and its widespread social usage in the whole region. As predictable, the language revitalisation process has brought different results in the various social fields. The institutional use of Catalan has been normalised and consolidated: indeed, Catalan is now the most used language in public administration.[203] In justice administration, the situation is quite different: in 2018, the presence of Catalan in court rulings was 7,7%, and in legal proceedings 9%.[204] Similarly, notarial deeds and trade documents are still prevalently in Castilian. For what concerns mass media, Castilian is still hegemonic in the press printing and book publishing. In terms of consumption, the percentage of Catalan citizens that choose to read newspaper either in Catalan (66,6%) or Castilian (66%) was pretty similar in 2018; whereas the percentage of who opt for Catalan

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[201] I.e., "Given the role that the Catalan language plays in the national conception of Catalonia, the legal regulation of language uses is one of the most important questions that the parliament of Catalonia may address." Cf. J. Argelaguet i Argemí, "Los partidos catalanes y el proceso de elaboración de la Ley de Política Lingüística," cit., pp. 249-273.

[202] More than 97% of the population can understand, speak, read and write in Castilian. All these data refer to 2018. Cf. Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura, "Informe de política lingüística 2018," *Direcció General de Política Lingüística*, Barcelona, 2019, pp. 10-16.

[203] Accordingly, the Catalan parliament has passed to full usage of the regional language, and Spanish toponymy within the region has been converted into the community's own language, or a bilingual version. Cf. J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-336.

[204] Cf. Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura, "Informe de política lingüística 2018," cit., pp. 49-51.

books (27,7%) was still lower than the one of those choosing Castilian (63,2%).[205] Instead, the local language has gained ground in regional radio and television, since both media have significantly increased the number of hours of Catalan broadcasting. Surely, the creation of autonomous television and radio played a key role in consolidating the status of the regional tongue, thus enabling all people to have an easy way to accede to the community's own language.[206] In 2018, consumers who chose to watch television partly or totally in Catalan were 58,2% against the 83,8% who chose to do it partly or totally in Castilian; *vice versa*, those who preferred listening to the radio partly or totally in Catalan were 71,5%, against the 52% who opted for a total or partial radio in Castilian.[207] Culture is another field whose advancements in the normalisation of Catalan need to be mentioned. Thanks to public subsidies, production of Catalan movies has grown considerably: in 2018, sixty-four films were released in Catalan with the support of the *Generalitat*. Concerning consumption, films in Castilian were still the most watched in 2018: according to data based on a survey on the total number of consumers with a multiple-choice question, only 9% of them went to cinema and chose the Catalan version, whereas the 88,4% still preferred the Castilian one.[208] Likewise, the production of theatre plays has registered a significant progress: in 2018, 50% of shows were held in Catalan. Here, even the data regarding consumption are encouraging: 58,5% of people declared to have watched the last show in Catalan, 39,3% in Castilian and 11,8% in other languages.[209] In the socio-economic field, the usage of Catalan and Castilian is quite similar. For instance, in 2018 35% of people working in customer service used prevalently Catalan, 30,1% Castilian, and 27% the two languages interchangeably.[210] Clearly, education is the sector that has registered the broader success in terms of normalisation of the Catalan language. As already said, Catalan recovery in education has experienced two phases: extension and intension. Thanks to the phase of extension, the 1978 Decrees on Bilingualism regarding the mandatory teaching of the Catalan language, have been fully implemented in the 1985-86 academic course; in this same year, 2.037.567 pupils

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[205] These percentages are based on a multiple-choice question on the total number of consumers, and refer to 2018. Cf. Ibidem, pp. 40; 46.
[206] Cf. J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-340.
[207] Again, these percentages are based on a multiple-choice question on the total number of consumers, and refer to 2018. Ibidem, pp. 38-39.
[208] Cf. Ibidem, p. 44.
[209] Again, these percentages are based on a multiple-choice question on the total number of consumers, and refer to 2018. Cf. Ibidem, p. 48.
[210] Ibidem, p. 33.

in general basic education (34,4% of the national total) learned the local language.[211] The 1983 normalisation law made clear what was the main objective in education: turn Catalan into the vehicular language of non-university educational cycle. In the wake of such legislation, the second phase of intension has been carried out to intensify the presence of Catalan in school. As previously exemplified, the generalisation of PIL in the 1993-94 academic year has furthered the process of language standardisation.[212] The total or partial instruction in Catalan during early childhood and general basic education turned from 5,1% to 90% between 1980 and 1990.[213] Today, Catalan is the language normally used in non-university levels, as well as the most employed in university education: around 75,6% of bachelor's courses and 54,2% of master's are held in the regional tongue.[214] The normalisation of Catalan within the communitarian borders has registered a set of successes, too. Although not being an official language, Catalan is eligible to be used as a language of communication within the European Union. After the 2005 resolution of the Council of European Union concerning the limited use at EU level of additional languages whose status is recognised by the constitution of member states, and after the 2006 bilateral agreements between some European institutions and Spain, any citizen has the right to address the following institutions in Catalan, as well as receive a reply in the same language: the European Commission; the European Council; the European Ombudsman; European Economic and Social Committee; the European Court of Justice; and the Committee of the Regions.[215] Furthermore, some official EU documents or publications are translated in Catalan, and the Representation of European Commission in Barcelona normally employs Catalan in communication with citizens.

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[211] As previously stated, in the 1985-86 academic year, the index of the teaching of Catalan language bordered on 94% in the Catalan-speaking communities: 100% in Catalonia and Balearic Islands, and 84,4% in the Valencian Community. See pp. 21-22.

[212] Cf. J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-364.

[213] In 1990, total or partial instruction in Catalan at nursery, primary and secondary schools ranged 90% (56,44% totally in Catalan, and 33,64% partially in Catalan and Castilian). See p. 22.

[214] Cf. Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura, "Informe de política lingüística 2018," cit., pp. 31-32.

[215] However, since Catalan does not have official status at state level, but only at regional level, it is not eligible to be used in European Parliament. Cf. Anon., "Exposició 'The Catalan Language: 10 milions European voices'," *Plataforma per la Llengua*, June 19th, 2019, <https://www.plataforma-llengua.cat/que-fem/estudis-i-publicacions/244/exposicio-the-catalan-language-10-milions-european-voices>, (Accessed June 16th, 2020).

Moreover, representatives of Spain may, if applicable and upon request, use Catalan at a Council session.[216]

Overall, in the 2018 Survey of Linguistic Uses of the Population (EULP) provided by the *Instituto de Estadística de Cataluña*, Catalan is: the *first* language of 31,5% of people; the *identity* language of 36,3%; and the *usual* language of 36,1%. These data are still below the ones regarding Castilian, that is: the first language of 52,7% of the Catalan population; the identity language of 46,6%; and the habitual language of 48,6%.[217] Linguistic normalisation has to be intended as "a process during which a language gradually recovers the formal functions it had lost," and supposed to be succeeded only if that language is normally used in every situation.[218] Someone may wonder if this main objective of full normalisation of Catalan, laid down in the 1980s, has been reached and, therefore, the positive discrimination affecting Castilian may come to an end. According to Herreras, the answer would depend on the political forces in power: if language normalisation is politically driven and controlled by nationalist ideologies, the answer is most likely to be negative. Indeed, the author maintains that nationalist parties would base their policies on the assumption that "la lengua autonómica, sea cual fuere su situación, no ocupará nunca el lugar prominente que consideran debe ser suyo."[219] Assuming that normalisation has not been fully achieved, Herreras argues that the main obstacle would have been, precisely, the extreme interventionism of the Catalan political elite. He suggests that this process should have been gradual rather than radical, so that legislation had not been accepted only because imposed from above. In view of this, Herreras believes a full linguistic normalisation would have true possibilities to succeed if the regional government took into account the real composition of Catalan society in drawing language policies, a condition that the author thinks has not always been respected.[220] In conclusion, all the political debate gathering around the language question in Catalonia is

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[216] Cf. European Commission, "El Catalán En La UE", European Commission: Representation in Barcelona, June 16th, 2020, <https://ec.europa.eu/spain/barcelona/about-us/cat_UE2_es>, (Accessed June 16th, 2020).

[217] These data refer to the population in Catalonia from fifteen years old over in 2018. Cf. Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura, "Encuesta de usos lingüísticos de la población," *Instituto de Estadística de Cataluña*, November 29th, 2019, <https://www.idescat.cat/pub/?id=eulp>, (Accessed June 22nd, 2020).

[218] J. Torres, "Problems of linguistic normalization in the Països Catalans: from the Congress of Catalan Culture to the present day," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language,* Vol. 1984, No. 47, 1984, p. 59.

[219] I.e., "The autonomous language, whatever its situation, will never occupy the prominent role they consider should be its own one." Cf. J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

[220] Cf. J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.*, pp. 373-374.

about the positive discrimination against Castilian: is it fair limiting linguistic rights of Castilian-speaking people to ensure a condition of equality between the two official languages of the region? If yes, to what extent?

Conclusions

As revealed in the first chapter, the social constructivist theory of nationalism emphasises the strict relationship between politics and culture, where the former is assumed to exploit the latter to foment nationalism. In this regard, the two modernists Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner stress the role of cultural homogenisation in the development of a nationalistic sentiment. If Anderson focuses on print capitalism and script-languages to explain the nationalisation of people, Gellner turns to mass education and literacy as the focal elements of his theory. Both of them recognise language as a powerful definer of national identity. At this stage, it might be interesting wondering if the two intellectuals' theories, or more generally the ones belonging to Social Constructivism, may apply to the case of Catalonia: has Catalan turned into what Gellner defines as *high culture*?[221] May it be classified as what Anderson considers a *print-language*?[222] Has the full-scope standardisation of the regional tongue shaped a Catalan national consciousness? In all cases, the answer seems to be positive.

According to Herreras, the 1979 concept of *own language* applying only to Catalan has established a sort of linguistic hierarchy within the community: although both Catalan and Castilian have an official status in Catalonia, the former is actually prioritised, being the language of the territory. Clearly, this hierarchical condition has been further consolidated by the necessity to normalise the sociolinguistic panorama of the region, in order to achieve a real situation of linguistic co-officiality. Therefore, the privileges reserved to the autochthonous tongue have been legitimated by the various normalisation instruments outlined from the 1980s.[223] Indeed, the process of Catalan language normalisation was precisely meant to realise the principle of linguistic availability entailed by the Statute of Autonomy, thus ensuring citizens to actually exercise their right of language choice.[224] It was believed that a full equality between Catalan and Castilian could be achieved only implementing unequal policies, given the different role the two

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[221] According to Gellner, high culture is the culture of the political elite and intelligentsia, contraposed to low culture, typical of the less-educated part of population. Therefore, it is the written standard culture-language of a community. See p. 16 of Chapter 1.

[222] I.e., a common vehicular language; a vernacular that experiences the passage from a tribal to a national scope, becoming a common means of expression. The term *print-language* indicates the link with the practice of mass printing of that same vernacular. See p. 17 of Chapter 1.

[223] Cf. J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.,* pp. 366-368.

[224] See pp. 8-9 of Chapter 3 for further information of linguistic principles which co-officiality of Catalan and Castilian is based on.

languages were playing in the Catalan society at the end of the 1970s. A positive discrimination against Castilian has been the basis of the last forty-year Catalan language policy, justified by the need to restore a tongue that had been oppressed and persecuted for decades. Given the overall results of this policy - exposed in the previous chapter and related to 2018 - some might wonder whether we can still talk about a discrimination in a positive sense, or this has come to be negative. In other terms, is it still reasonable considering Catalan in an inferior position *vis-à-vis* Castilian? Is Catalonia still facing a condition of *diglossia*? Or has it achieved full bilingualism? According to Henry Miller and Kate Miller, there is a huge debate over this topic.[225] The authors refer to Ferguson's distinction between high and low language within a given community in drawing their conclusions, considering as diglossic a situation in which one language gains ground at the expense of the other.[226] This distinction depends upon the functions a language carries out in a society: only the high variety fits formal situations, whereas the low one is limited to informal circumstances. Concerning the current case of Catalonia, Miller and Miller point out that there is no general agreement about which is either the high or low language; hence, here this dichotomy seems to be less rigid than usual. However, the historical political hegemony of Castilian in the region, as well as its ongoing role as national language of the whole country, has led many to still consider it as the high language. In a typical diglossic condition, the high variety is assumed to have higher prestige than the low one. Nonetheless, the authors point out that the current situation in Catalonia is the other way around: although Castilian was, and still is, the presumed high language, Catalan enjoys higher prestige within the regional society. Indeed, whereas Castilian had long been the language of political power, Catalan has always been related to the economically dominant group. Today, Catalan keeps being the language of the upper society, while Castilian is associated to the lower economic and social class of the immigrants. In addition, the new political panorama outlined at the end of the 1970s has led to a shift in the institutional support of linguistic groups, thus privileging autochthonous ones. Therefore, the authors conclude that the process of language normalisation that begun after the transition to democracy has reversed the *status quo* in

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[225] Henry Miller (University of Aston, Birmingham, United Kingdom); Kate Miller (University of St. Andrew, United Kingdom). Cf. H. Miller, K. Miller, "Language Policy and Identity: the case of Catalonia," *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1996.

[226] Charles A. Ferguson (1921-1988) was an American linguist and one of the founders of sociolinguistics. He is best known for his work on *diglossia*.

Catalonia, leading Catalan to gradually substitute Castilian: "overall, the vitality of the Catalan ethnic group in relation to institutional support, within Catalonia, is substantially higher than that of the non-Catalan group."[227] According to these assumptions, it seems prudent stating that times of *diglossia* are long gone and Catalonia is now enjoying a general condition of bilingualism, even though a "highly competitive, seesawing bilingualism of an unstable kind."[228] In short, the policy of linguistic revitalisation has restored the prestige of Catalan language, thus being consolidated as the common vehicular language of a high culture, the Catalan culture. According to Cetrà, nationalist forces are the very responsible for the shift from a folk culture into a high one (that is, a written standard culture-language), considering nationalism "as a unifying process seeking political integration through full-scale cultural assimilation."[229]

It might be useful now referring to the arguments of linguistic justice, in order to reflect on the type of linguistic regime Spain has adopted in managing multilingualism and, accordingly, on Catalonia's political direction concerning linguistic issues. More precisely, the focus turns to the following question: in a multilingual society, would it be fairer drawing a linguistic legal framework on the basis of either the territoriality or personality principle? According to Philippe Van Parijs, imposing monolingual policies in a defined territory where there is a high concentration of a specific linguistic group would surely enhance the language of that group, thus helping officialise its status and overcome the typical lack of public recognition affecting minority languages.[230] Indeed, he supports territorial separation, arguing that this would ensure each language to become dominant in a given area: "if every language community can enjoy a territory on which they are sovereign, we can expect parity of esteem to be attained."[231] In view of this, linguistic rights of a specific territory would prevail over individual rights of citizens.[232] Nevertheless, other intellectuals maintain that territorial monolingualism fails in considering identity interests of minorities within minorities, as well as people who

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[227] H. Miller, K. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
[228] Ibidem, p. 117.
[229] D. Cetrà, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
[230] Philippe Van Parijs (1951) is a Belgian political philosopher and economist; he is also Professor at the Faculty of Economic, Social and Political Sciences of the University of Louvain and a Visiting Professor at the Department of Philosophy of Harvard University. He is best known for his work in the linguistic justice field of study.
[231] H. De Schutter, D. Robichaud, "Van Parijsian linguistic justice – context, analysis and critiques," *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy,* 2015, Vol. 18, No. 2, p. 103.
[232] Cf. J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

consider themselves as bilingual or hybrid. Conversely, these scholars base their theory on the personality principle, that "operates along demographic, rather than territorial, lines."[233] Hence, they propose a multilingual institutionalism that is assumed to be a fairer approach to managing linguistic heterogeneity, thus implying the recognition of more than one language at institutional level and allowing citizens to exercise their linguistic rights "independently of the area they live in the political community."[234] In short, the two arguments convey the classical dialectic between equality and equity: the last reasoning seems more equal by assuring equal treatment of all languages in a given area, but the former may be fairer in prioritizing the principal linguistic group in that territory to ensure the same public recognition at national level as already established languages.[235] Whereas a linguistic regime based on territoriality principle permits more ethnolinguistic autonomy, a political line following personality criteria rarely allows minority self-management of cultural and economic services, but more usually involves a central control and approval.[236] While turning into a democratic and plural state, Spain opted for a territorial linguistic regime: indeed, contrary to Castilian that is official in the whole state territory, the other minorities enjoy institutional recognition only in their respective linguistic communities. Accordingly, the application of this principle in Catalonia has favoured the dominant ethnicity of the region, that is to say the Catalan-speaking group. Therefore, Castilian ethnic class is in a subordinate position and may be said to have "an unsatisfactory social identity in comparison with the more affluent and powerful Catalan group."[237] According to Joshua A. Fishman, the overall issue of linguistic justice is not about language *per se*, actually, but rather the relations between minority and majority ethnolinguistic groups.[238] As shown in the third chapter, education is the field where a policy based on the criterion of linguistic territoriality has been more radical, thus

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[233] J. A. Fishman, "Bilingualism and Separatism," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. 487, No. 1, 1986, p. 178.

[234] L. Cardinal, R. Léger, "The Politics of Multilingualism in Canada: A Neo-Institutional Approach," in P. A. Kraus, F. Grin (eds.), *The Politics of Multilingualism: Europeanisation, Globalisation and Linguistic Governance*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2018, p. 23; D. Cetrà, *op. cit.,* pp. 40-46. This would be the case if Catalan, as well as the other regional tongues, was officialised in all Spanish communities.

[235] Cf. A. Gosseries, Y. Vanderborght (eds.), *Arguing about Justice: Essays for Philippe Van Parijs,* Louvain, Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 2011, pp. 204-205; D. Cetrà, *op. cit.,* pp. 43-44.

[236] Cf. J. A. Fishman, *op. cit.,* pp. 178-179.

[237] H. Miller, K. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[238] Cf. J. A. Fishman, *op. cit.*, p. 179. Joshua A. Fishman (1925-2015) was an American linguist and Emeritus Distinguished University Research Professor of Social Sciences at Yeshiva University and Visiting Professor of linguistics and education at Stanford University.

implementing a sole education model with a single vehicular language, Catalan.[239] In fact, among all areas targeted by the normalisation laws, education appears to be a key sector to gain public support and, therefore, ensure the success of the whole process of language standardisation.[240] Specifically, Catalonia's linguistic conjunction model of education is supported by a set of language immersion strategies, mainly directed to the full catalanisation of society. Although there are different patterns of language immersion, the one chosen by Catalonia is the most extreme: full early immersion programs. This method was believed to be the most appropriated to the sociolinguistic situation of the region, and the most functional to the purpose of progressive restoration of Catalan as Catalonia's own language.[241] Besides being questioned by some parents of Castilian-speaking pupils, the generalisation of PIL has been discredited also by some sociolinguists, who believe that these programs are successful only if voluntary and gradual.[242] According to Herreras, under the guise of turning school into a tool of integration through the standardisation of language immersion programs, Catalan government has been contributing to create a situation of *reductive monolingualism*, instead of additive bilingualism. The introduction of Catalan as the sole vehicular language in education would be endangering the working and academic future of a wide part of Catalan population whose native tongue is Castilian.[243] In 1997 the National Institute of Quality and Evaluation (INCE) provided a report on the academic results of students of secondary schools in the various Spanish regions, showing that Catalan pupils got a result below the national average. According to critics, a possible reason of such negative outcomes may be the obligatoriness of PIL, since:

> Cuando se indaga entre el profesorado por las posibles razones del fracaso relativo
> de la educación secundaria en Cataluña, que muestra el informe del INCE, (…) sale
> a flote el tema de la lengua, concretamente el de los posibles efectos de la inmersión
> lingüística en los malos resultados que refleja el informe. A muchos les parece una
> obviedad que, en un momento determinado, un alumno cuya lengua materna es el

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[239] Cf. J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.*, p. 367.
[240] Cf. H. Miller, K. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
[241] Cf. J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-364.
[242] Ibidem, p. 349.
[243] Cf. Id., "Políticas de normalización en la España democrática," *Nuevos caminos del hispanismo...: actas del XVI Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*, Paris, July 9th-13th, 2007, coordinated by P. Civil, F. Crémoux, Vol. 2, 2010, p. 20.

castellano y que tenga que estudiar matemáticas en catalán, tendrá más dificultades que un catalanohablante.[244]

Herreras stresses the evidence of an extreme interventionism of the autonomous government in this social field, thus delineating a situation of excessive standardisation whose objective does not seem to be the encouragement of a real bilingualism, but rather the imposition of a reductive monolingualism. He points out that the language policy gradually implemented in Catalan education is a contradiction to the initial goal to normalise this field: that is to say, the students' ability to normally and correctly use both official languages at the end of compulsory education. Indeed, the author supports the impossibility of becoming bilingual, namely having an equal mastery of the four foundational skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing) in the two languages, through an unilingual education system.[245] Similarly, Hobsbawm declares that the turn of Catalan into an *all-purpose language* came at the expense of the lower social classes (Castilian-speaking people), since the result has been to "deprive poor and uneducated inhabitants of this bilingual region of the native advantage of speaking and writing one of the few major international languages, namely, Spanish."[246] Cetrà defines the entire Catalonia's linguistic dispute as a dichotomy between liberalism and nationalism: on the one hand, the protection of the Castilian-speaking people individual right to be educated in their mother tongue; on the other, the protection of Catalonia's social cohesion through the preferential use of its *own* language.[247] Therefore, Miller and Miller maintain that the education policy of normalising Catalan as the language of teaching has to be intended as part of a wider project for the definition of a Catalan identity. Accordingly, they declare that: "for nationalism education and language are important for the construction of national identity. This is true in the formation of Catalan identity."[248]

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[244] I.e., "While investigating among teachers on the possible reasons for the failure related to secondary education in Catalonia, as shown by the INCE report, (…) the issue of language comes up and, specifically, the possible effects of language immersion in the poor results displayed by the report. It seems obvious to many that, in a certain moment, a student whose native tongue is Castilian and who has to study mathematics in Catalan may have more difficulties than a Catalan-speaker." However, Catalan government blamed the high migratory flux, rather than language immersion, for those poor results. Anon., "Muchas razones y muchas dudas," *El País*, 1998, quoted by J. C. Herreras, *Lenguas y normalización en España,* cit., p. 356.
[245] Cf. J. C. Herreras, *Lenguas y normalización en España,* cit., p. 374.
[246] E. J. Hobsbawm, "Language, Culture, and National Identity," *The Johns Hopkins University Press*, Vol. 63, No. 4, 1996, p. 1076.
[247] Cf. D. Cetrà, *op. cit.,* p. 198.
[248] H. Miller, K. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

At this stage, it might be interesting turning attention to Jordi Argelaguet's conclusions on the role of political actors in the transformation of the status of Catalan language and, therefore, fomentation of Catalan *national* identity.[249] He argues that the choice of a specific language policy is nothing but the projection of the political ideology of who holds the power: leading parties are thus the main responsible for the destiny of a language. The author suggests that opting for a unilingual model of education, although being a plurilingual society, has been a choice dictated not only by the need to extend the usage of Catalan, but also to foster a sense of belonging to the Catalan political community among students. According to him, this decision was in line with the nationalist ideology of the political coalition in power in the 1980s, the CiU.[250] In the first years of normalisation, Catalan education policy has been constantly updated through small and gradual changes, alongside campaigns promoting the adoption of Catalan as the language of instruction and stressing specific duties for teachers and pupils regarding the knowledge of the regional tongue. This strategy has been hugely effective: in only ten years, 75% of pupils at nursery and primary school were trained in Catalan.[251] The author reflects on the impact this education model had on both language proficiency and electoral behaviour of the young. In the first case, he argues the result of such policy was successful in both the number of schools adopting Catalan as unique medium of instruction, and the quantity of students receiving a full education in this language. In the second case, the author notices that language policy in education has shaped political ideas and values, thus aligning them to the nationalist parties' ideals: specifically, the party holding the power when this model was implemented (CiU), and the one which has been subjected to an increasing electoral support in the early XXI century (ERC). Therefore, the author affirms that younger generations would be more sensitive to nationalist messages. In short, this education-related language policy has led to consolidate a key role of Catalan in the society, and boost a feeling of belonging to a national community. According to

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[249] Cf. E. Heidepriem Olazábal, "An Overview of Catalan Research into Language Policy and Planning," in M. Strubell i Trueta, E. Boix-Fuster, *op. cit.,* p. 231; J. Argelaguet i Argemí, "La qüestió lingüística en els primers passos del procés de reforma de l'estatut d'autonomia de Catalunya (1999-2003)," cit., p. 146. In this regard, it might be useful considering the social constructivist theories presented in the first chapter as a macro frame to interpret Argelaguet's considerations concerning the relations between politics and language. For further information on Social Constructivism, see pp. 10-21 of Chapter 1.

[250] Cf. E. Heidepriem Olazábal, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

[251] This datum refers to the 1992-93 academic year, and it is assumed to be an immediate result of the 1992 education reforms providing for the general organisation and curricular arrangements of early childhood, primary and compulsory secondary education, thus establishing Catalan as the normal language of teaching and learning. Cf. J. C. Herreras, *op. cit.*, p. 212; Cf. E. Heidepriem Olazábal, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-235.

Hobsbawm, the privileged use of a language as the only vehicular medium in education does not respond to the educational needs, but rather it is politically and ideologically driven.[252] In this sense, it is reasonable presuming such language policy has contributed in shaping a Catalan *national* identity. Miller and Miller agree on this point, arguing that: "the development of a regional yet 'national' education language policy (…) provides some insights into the formation of group, individual, regional and national identities."[253] Similarly, Robert L. Cooper maintains that language planning usually, and perhaps always, addresses non-linguistic ends, and may be defined as an attempt to influence language behaviour of people. Specifically, the author indicates national integration, political control, creation of new elites or consolidation of old ones, and mass mobilisation of national and political movements, as some of the typical objectives of a language strategy.[254] He therefore emphasises the link between language politics and nationalist forces, stating that: "language planning is a typical adjunct of these nationalist movements, as their leaders seek to mold the new standard to mobilize and unify those they hope to lead, to legitimate their claims, and to buttress their authority."[255] In view of this, language is a political tool exploited to negotiate power relations, besides being an identity symbol.[256]

Many modernist theorists of nationalism have pointed out the link between language and issues of power and identity: following this reasoning, the advent of nationalism, that is presumed to be a modern phenomenon, has turned language into a "symbol of domination."[257] Therefore, the development of nationalist feelings has endowed language with a certain political importance: politics may be used to confirm and enhance the status of a language; in turn, language may be exploited to achieve political goals.[258] Hobsbawm describes standard languages as the "result of compulsory education and the spread of mass media, which are products of conscious public policy, and it is in that sense that

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[252] E. J. Hobsbawm, "Language, Culture, and National Identity," cit., p. 1070.

[253] H. Miller, K. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

[254] Cf. R. L. Cooper, *Language Planning and Social Change*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989, p. 35. Robert L. Cooper is Professor of Education and Sociology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

[255] Ibidem, p. 144.

[256] Cf. H. Miller, K. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

[257] Cf. M. Nic Craith, *Language, Power and Identity Politics*, Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan, 2007, p. 102.

[258] J. A. Fishman, *Handbook of Language & Ethnic Identity*, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999, p.79

national languages (...) are artefacts of a politicized community."[259] Likewise, Gellner attributes to the political elite the responsibility for the legitimisation, upgrading and restructuration of a folk language in order to turn it into a "proper vehicle for the expression of a national sentiment that is capable of being politicized."[260] Concerning the case of Catalan, Hobsbawm defines it as a *political language* to the extent that it has been used as a symbol of nationalist aspirations and secessionist purposes. In this regard, he stresses the process of regionalisation of states as an element encouraging the political redefinition of languages, stating that: "if Spain is a guide, this will lead to the creation of localized 'official' languages, no doubt eventually - as in Catalunya - demanding monopoly status."[261] Accordingly, John E. Joseph believes the case of Catalan is one of "the best success story of a *national* language re-emerging after deliberate suppression within Franco's Spain."[262]

Jordi Pujol's recurrent nationalist discourse, whose twenty-three-year government has been responsible for most of normalising manoeuvres, revolved around the idea of "building up Catalonia," leveraging on its cultural *distinctiveness*. The role of political forces in the boost of the status of the regional tongue has entailed the redefinition of an ethnic identity that, sometimes, has been translated into a radical nationalist reaction. Catalan language normalisation process has intensified the social cohesion among Catalan-speaking people and, at the same time, accentuated the differences with the other major sociolinguistic group, the Castilian one.[263] Surely, the linguistic discrimination against Catalonia's own language during Francoism has marked Catalan consciousness: it would not be amiss assuming that this ethnic identity opposes anything that may be associated with Franco's regime. In this sense, Castilian, the former "language of power," is still perceived as an outsider element. As revealed in the first chapter, the link between language and ethnicity is grounded in assumptions of common kinship and cultural heritage, that are perceived by the *insiders* to be primordial features.[264] However,

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[259] Ibidem, p. 83. The word "national" has been italicized on purpose, although in this case the reference is with a regional language.
[260] J. A. Fishman, *Handbook of Language & Ethnic Identity*, cit., p. 82.
[261] E. J. Hobsbawm, "Language, Culture, and National Identity," cit., p. 1078.
[262] J. E. Joseph, *Language and Identity: National, Ethnic, Religious*, Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan, 2004, p. 127. John E. Joseph is Professor of Applied Linguistics at the University of Edinburgh.
[263] M. Guibernau, Catalan Nationalism, cit., pp. 141-152.
[264] J. A. Fishman, *Handbook of Language & Ethnic Identity*, cit., p. 160.

modernist scholars point out this linkage as socially conditioned, and national identity as constructed for the group to cohere:

> Identity speaks in a specific language for each individual; language generates a feeling of integration, a feeling of community among all its speakers and becomes a symbol of 'belonging' to a specific group, generating the distinction between 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. Language allows the past to be recorded and shared memories to be evoked, and it is an instrument of social reproduction.[265]

In this regard, Guibernau points out that national identity is "constructed through belonging and exclusion and it invariably entails a strong emotional attachment to the group or community to which one belongs."[266] The link between language and collective identification has been supported by a wide range of intellectuals belonging to the nationalism field of study, who believe that fostering a common language is essential for the social integration.[267] In fact, Hobsbawm affirms that ethnicity and language have become the main decisive criteria of potential nationhood, and all the peoples who consider themselves as a 'nation' will claim for self-determination.

To sum up, it is reasonable presuming that the standardisation of the regional language through a mass spreading and literacy has shaped a Catalan national identity. It is likewise reasonable stating that Catalan nationalism is built upon linguistic difference. However, nationalism is not a matter of language *per se*, but rather of politics of language: that is to say, the uses or abuses of political means to control language behaviour of the people.[268] Accordingly, reporting Hobsbawm's words: "politics and not culture is at the core of this language manipulation."[269] The author maintains that in an era of national or regional secessionism, there is a natural trend for complementing political independence with linguistic separatism; therefore, he believes all languages have elements of self-determination.[270] In conclusion, Catalonia's linguistic dispute, as well as nationalist struggle, seems to be a never-ending issue: "let us remember the Tower of Babel. It

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[265] M. Guibernau, Catalan Nationalism, cit., p. 64.
[266] Id., *Belonging*, cit., p. 48.
[267] For instance, Anderson do believe that language is a key feature to foster a sense of belonging among people who will probably never meet most of their fellow citizens: in this sense, language creates "imagined communities," that are nothing but linguistic communities. See pp. 9-10 and p. 18 of Chapter 1.
[268] Cf. D. Cetrà, *op. cit.,* p. 198.
[269] E. J. Hobsbawm, "Language, Culture, and National Identity," cit., p. 1078.
[270] Ibidem, p. 1078.

remained forever uncompleted because God condemned the human race to everlasting linguistic conflict."[271]

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[271] E. J. Hobsbawm, "Language, Culture, and National Identity," cit., p. 1079.

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