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Introduction

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Language planning and policy have become the subject of academic interest surprisingly recently. They were first broached in sociolinguistics (e.g. Rubin and Shuy 1973) and the sociology of language (e.g. Cobarrubias and Fishman 1983). Eastman (1983) made an early attempt to overview language planning, followed by Cooper (1989). Considerable attention is paid to language corpus planning in such publications.

But scant attention was paid to Catalan, largely because the regional authorities had only recently been established in the post-Franco period. The papers edited by Cobarrubias and Fishman (1983) do not even mention Catalan. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) mention Catalan on barely half a dozen occasions. Cooper (1989) devotes six lines to Catalan in the section on ‘promotion’ in a chapter on ‘Some Descriptive Frameworks’, mentioning a 1982–83 campaign to promote Catalan (see Boix 1985). Things changed with Fishman’s (1991) treatise on Reversing Language Shift. In his chapter on ‘Three Success Stories (More or Less)’, alongside Modern Hebrew and French in Quebec, Fishman describes the Catalan government’s efforts to promote the language, though making virtually no reference to language planning outside Catalonia. However, a contemporary book edited by Marshall (1991) contained no contribution on Catalan.

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recently, part of Spolsky’s (2003) chapter on ‘Resisting Language Shift’ compares language policies with regard to Basque, Catalan (again, in Catalonia only) and French in Quebec. And also in 2003 a book was published in French on language planning for the Catalan language (Boix and Milian 2003).

Thus English-language literature has devoted increasing attention to the revival of Catalan following Franco’s dictatorship and the restoration of a democratic regime in Spain. Often, however, the depth of these reviews is limited by the fact that Galician and Basque are also covered in the same book (Siguan 1993, Mar-Molinero 1994, Turell 2001). The focus is often on sociolinguistics, not language policy and planning (Ros García and Strubell 1987, Boix and Payrató 1996, Moreno Fernández and Dorian 2007). In other works, in-depth treatments are limited to one of the territories in which Catalan is spoken (Hoffmann 2000, Strubell 2001, Pieras-Guasp 2002).

Perhaps surprisingly, no overall, detailed description and comparison of the policies implemented in each territory is available in English, an essential precondition for any in-depth, international academic discussion on the topic. Attention has concentrated mainly (for reasons that readers will discover) on only one of the four territories in Spain: Catalonia. Valencia, the Balearic Islands and eastern Aragon have been the subject of far less scrutiny. This book offers an updated treatment of the subject.

There is a need to exchange information on the very diverse nature of language policies around the world and on how they are applied in each society, to help cultural groups to coexist in a more peaceful, mutually enriching way. The experience of language policies in Catalan-speaking territories, given their intensity and uniqueness, may well be useful in other contexts.

The Catalan-speaking community, with over 9 million speakers in eastern Spain, ‘Northern Catalonia’ (in France), Andorra in the Pyrenees and l’Alguer (the Sardinian town of Alghero/s’Alighèra, in Italy), is by far the largest linguistic minority in Europe. Though it is a medium-sized language in global terms, Catalan speakers have no officially recognised rights in the eastern strip of Aragon, Northern Catalonia and l’Alguer, while Catalan has no official status in the central authorities in Spain, France and Italy or in those of the European Union.

For people who greet each other with a bon dia (‘good morning’), giving up speaking Catalan is straightforward. All Catalans learn early in life to speak another language very well – most of them Castilian, some French and a few Italian – so they can abandon their ancestral
tongue and shift to another language (often referred to as more ‘powerful’, ‘prestigious’, ‘useful’ or ‘common’) and speak the latter only to their children.

This shift from Catalan is no flight of fancy: in well-attested cases of language attrition, most Catalan speakers in Northern Catalonia, in the South of France, and in l’Alguer in Italy did indeed stop passing it on to their offspring at some stage in the twentieth century, and the story is similar in the cities of Alicante, Valencia and even Palma de Mallorca. Nevertheless, many Catalan speakers state that preserving and passing on their language is a matter of dignity as a people.

It would seem that families in many parts of the world seem more anxious that their offspring do not speak their heritage language than that they learn the dominant language: bilingualism often seems not to be the aim, and their choice seems to be motivated less by a rational explanation based on usefulness and social advancement, and more by the social stigmatisation of speakers of the heritage language(s) in a particular country. Research is urgently needed in this area, but is complicated in that self-reporting (the simplest source of data) is affected by rationalisation and may hide deeper causes.

Political subordination and globalisation make it difficult for Catalan speakers to ensure the future of their language, though it has several cards up its sleeve. Firstly, Catalan boasts an excellent codification, its norma lingüística, which respects its internal dialectal diversity (with slight differences between the varieties spoken in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, Valencia and elsewhere) yet provides common standards.

Secondly, Catalan culture has a great tradition of openness to the outside world. This long-standing tradition (a German–Catalan dictionary was published in the early sixteenth century, for example) has been especially visible since the revival of the language towards the end of the nineteenth century, and resulted in numerous translations of Greek and Latin works (the exemplary Bernat Metge collection), Christian classics, the Koran, and the great masters of world literature: Goethe, Kafka, Shakespeare, Milton, Joyce, Flaubert, Camus, Montaigne, Dostoyevsky, Kavafis, Kundera, Ibsen, Dante among many others. Catalan also has many bilingual dictionaries: Spanish, Chinese, English, Sanskrit, Finnish, Hungarian, German, French, Italian, etc. Catalan culture may not be as extensive as its neighbours, but is by no means parochial. Catalan theatre exemplifies both this openness and a deep-rootedness in its own culture, with Shakespeare sharing billing with Catalan classics such as Guimerà and Sagarra.
Thirdly, the demographic dimensions of Catalan-language culture make it completely viable. With around 9 million speakers and 13 million people that can understand it, Catalan-speaking culture could, with collective and political will, be totally competitive. However, Catalan speakers would need to have a common communications market with shared radio and television stations, magazines and newspapers (both digital and hard copy). Gossip, cooking, decoration and general news magazines, paperback collections, a range of radio and television channels, websites of all kinds, and more are feasible. Clearly, to achieve this goal currently dominant languages would have to be displaced in certain areas of usage. This is not easy: what kind of democratic strategy could aim to displace the centrality of Spanish-medium papers such as *La Vanguardia* (Barcelona’s main newspaper), or the two sporting dailies, *Sport* and *Mundo Deportivo*? How could a Catalan magazine compete successfully with *Hola*, the most widely read Spanish gossip magazine (published in Barcelona)? The chief problem for language planners is that new products are often launched in Castilian only (e.g. free newspapers, new banks, new kinds of food, new medical insurance companies) and ‘catalanisation’ becomes a truly Sisyphean task of struggling against the tide. In Catalan-speaking parts of Spain there are more labels in Castilian and Portuguese than in Castilian and Catalan. In Catalonia proper Catalan seems almost exclusive: high culture is in Catalan, mass culture much less so. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. For example, the announcements in FC Barcelona’s stadium are exclusively in Catalan.

Catalan speakers are far from achieving such legitimate, everyday aspirations, which would put them on the same footing as other similarly sized language groups: Swedish, Finnish, Norwegian or Czech. This is mainly because Catalans lack the tools of power, a state behind them (except, that is, for the singular case of Andorra) that plays a decisive role as guarantor of their culture. Thus, when broadcasting licences were issued to Spain’s large private television channels (Antena 3 and Telecinco at the end of the 1980s, and La Sexta and Cuatro recently), nobody ensured any presence at all of non-Castilian languages. Again, Spain’s immigration policy fails to inform newcomers (via the consulates in, say, Rabat, Bogotá or Quito) that where they will be going, they may have to cope with two official languages. This makes it unusual for immigrants to be motivated to learn Catalan, especially Latin Americans who speak Castilian as their mother tongue.

Is it legitimate to envisage policies that attempt to redress this situation? To what extent is it legitimate to aim for linguistic security for a
community? As we shall see below, Réaume and Green (1989) call for a secure environment in which speakers can freely make choices about language use. What is needed, we may ask, to achieve linguistic security? There are certainly limits in a democratic state, which must not interfere in a citizen’s private life. However, there are undoubtedly many aspects of public life, commercial relationships and the world of education, in which a policy encouraging the language is perfectly viable. So too is one that makes its presence and/or use compulsory, if it is devised to guarantee citizens’ rights. This being said, there are many ways of doing so, and we will see how some regional governments have not gone much beyond institutional lip-service, and have not taken effective action to slow down, far less reverse, language shift.

It may be argued that citizens should be free to choose the language they use. As a bland statement, or principle, it needs to be reformulated. No one claims that all citizens (including migrants and tourists) should be free to choose any language they use, anywhere they like, and expect equal treatment in response. This discourse, as readers shall see, is propagated principally by organisations who aim to attack efforts to achieve linguistic equality in terms of rights, an objective of policies to promote Catalan or Basque (and to a lesser extent, Galician). Their views were recently expounded, in language reminding one of the Franco era, in a Manifiesto en defensa de la lengua común, which was massively disseminated by the Spanish right-wing and radical media.

In the last analysis the issue is whether the linguistic model for Spain should be France or Switzerland: France, where one language is imposed on all others, with sufficient pressure to force language shift among speakers of the other languages; or Switzerland, in which speakers of each constituent language can use it freely within the areas where it is traditionally spoken, and also at federal level, but find no official facilities elsewhere. Many Catalan speakers, while preferring the second model, do not believe it will ever be viable inside Spain, because the first model is deeply engrained in most of the country.

As readers will soon find out, there are frequent attacks in the media on initiatives to legislate in language matters in the peninsula’s periphery; and these are often echoed internationally. ‘Freedom’ is the catchword, and it is appropriate to recall sound judgements by two intellectuals. One is Henri Lacordaire¹ (1802–61), who wrote: ‘Entre le fort et le faible, entre le riche et le pauvre, entre le maître et le serviteur, c’est la liberté qui opprime et la loi qui affranchit.’ The other is the Canadian political philosopher Will Kymlicka, who writes that ‘The question is not how should the state act fairly in governing its minorities, but what are
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the limits to the state’s right to govern them?’ (1995: 118). And again, ‘Liberals should seek to ensure that there is equality between groups, and freedom and equality within groups’ (1995: 194).

Most language policies related to Catalan aim to improve the circumstances in which Catalan speakers (whether native speakers or learners) can in practice enjoy rights they have on paper. Only when the presence and use of Catalan cease to be marked choices, could one legitimately discuss, say, parental language choice for children in schools.

Rampant language shift away from Catalan in the middle classes living in large Valencian cities, which began mainly in the second third of the twentieth century, can be explained in terms not of the advantages of Spanish, but rather of the perceived stigma of being a Catalan speaker, and strong official, educational and social pressures against them. What in other circumstances might have led to a stable situation of personal and social bilingualism, turned into a stampede away from Catalan, the effects of which are evident in most urban areas in the Valencian region.

Throughout this book, we will be reviewing the political response to six interrelated challenges raised in Catalan-speaking lands, in its main territories. These challenges can be arranged into an elegant mnemonic listing (Branchadell 2003): disintegration, dissolution, devaluation, division, disappearance and demobilisation.

Disintegration means the risk that Catalan is managed separately in each territory where it is spoken. The absence of a common communication space in Catalan, the progressive blocking of Televisió de Catalunya broadcasts in Valencia and the lack of mutual familiarisation between the language’s main dialects (Central, Balearic, Valencian and North-western), which would permit the exchange of dubbed material throughout their territories, could lead to the split of a language that has, overall, remained highly unified. Mari (2006) and others have recurrently proposed an agreement on coordination between the different Catalan-speaking territories, like the Nederlandse Taalunie of the Flemish and the Dutch. What is lacking is the political will. Many wondered why the government of Valencia did not participate in the 2007 Frankfurt World Book Fair, where Catalan culture was a guest of honour (and several Valencian authors were present as guests). Many wonder why the Valencian government does not help to shore up the worldwide network of university departments that teach Catalan, many of whose staff are themselves Valencians.

Dissolution would entail the language losing features that make it unique among the languages of the world. The overwhelming presence of Castilian, constantly heard in the media and in the street, makes
many Catalan speakers pepper their conversation with loaned expressions. For example, although Catalan is a language rich in insults and imprecations, as witnessed in its medieval literature, many younger Catalans resort to Castilian imprecations such as ‘Joder!’ (‘Fuck!’) or ‘Me la suda’ (‘I couldn’t give a toss’). Or, in administrative and financial jargon, which is highly ‘Castilianised’, almost everyone says *una compte corrent* (current account), instead of the masculine *un*, because of the influence of Castilian.

Devaluation means the risk of a language no longer being used in what could be called ‘prestigious’ contexts. Let us give four examples. Catalan is used in the Catholic liturgy in Catalonia, but only very occasionally – almost never, in fact – in Valencia, a fact that has had a side-effect on the (low) regard in which the language is held. Similarly, the use of Catalan is under pressure in universities (mainly because of the mobility of students and teaching staff). The use of Catalan in university undergraduate studies (Simó 2007) varies greatly: 11 per cent in Valencia, 51.3 per cent in the Balearic Islands and 63.3 per cent in Catalonia. Third: the extent to which Catalan is available in new technology, from the Internet to mobile telephones. It is technically prepared for this, and a voluntary association, Softcatalà, translates popular programs. Fourthly, the extent to which Catalan can be used in everyday communications between citizens and the Spanish central authorities. In the main, Spain still comes across as monolithic and Castilian-centred.

Division means the risk that Catalan-speaking countries split internally along linguistic or ethnic lines. For example, they might have language-based political parties, for Castilian and for Catalan speakers, similar to Belgium, which has Flemish and Walloon socialist parties. In Catalonia, since the transition to democracy in the middle of the 1970s, most parties and civil organisations – the Church, neighbourhood associations, trade unions, etc. – have invoked the unifying slogan ‘A Catalan is anyone who lives and works in Catalonia’. One exception to this in Catalonia has been the emergence of a party, Ciudadanos – Partido de la Ciudadania, whose programme is mainly based on the interests of Castilian speakers. During a party conference (in June 2007) some delegates were reported as walking out simply because Catalan was one of the languages spoken there.

Disappearance refers to the risk that the language no longer passes from generation to generation because parents stop speaking it to their children. After such an interruption, it is extremely difficult to reintroduce the language into the home. The complete or partial revival
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of a language, as with Hebrew in Israel or in the Basque Country with Basque, requires an extraordinary level of social mobilisation, which is not visible in Valencia, for example.

The final risk, demobilisation, is that, faced with the previous challenges, citizens fail to react at all, adopting a laissez-faire attitude towards the dominant language. Some politely and naturally apply a gentle, yet meaningful form of mobilisation: ‘passive bilingualism’, that is, always addressing others in Catalan, unless they are not understood. A more committed form of mobilisation comes in the form of organisations working to promote the language. There are the great long-standing associations such as Obra Cultural Balear in the Balearic Islands, Acció Cultural del País Valencià in Valencia and Omnium Cultural, but there are also other, lesser known ones such as la Plataforma per la Llengua, Escola Valenciana (which campaigns for Catalan-medium schools in Valencia) and Immi.Cat and Veu Pròpia (which both represent people of immigrant origin who have opted for the Catalan language). And there are numerous grass-roots initiatives, such as volunteers who help teach Catalan to immigrants. Clearly, mobilisation in support of a language is most successful if it is also carried out by central state, regional and local level authorities, and when enacted through legal measures.

In a globalised society, Catalan is in a delicate and fragile situation. The market favours large languages to the detriment of medium-sized and small ones. Catalan can be a viable language in the twenty-first century, but policies are needed to ensure its normal, everyday use in most domains of society if citizens’ rights are to be realised in practice: that is, to give all speakers linguistic security. According to Réaume and Green (1989: 781ff.):

The point of language rights is to give speakers a secure environment in which to make choices about language use and in which ethnic identification can have a positive value (…). To have linguistic security in the fullest sense is to have the opportunity, without serious impediments, to live a full life in a community of people who share one's language.

Catalan speakers interested in ensuring the future of the language have to be actively involved in these issues, because the language is socially weak. To adopt a medical metaphor, diagnosis is crucial: the condition is curable if the doctor diagnoses the ailment and prescribes
the treatment, and especially if the patient understands the situation and the doctor can act effectively.

This book focuses on an analysis of the three main territories, all of which form part of the Spanish state: Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands. Occasional references are made to the eastern strip of Aragon, where Catalan is spoken but lacks official status (for an overview of the sociolinguistic situation in all Catalan-speaking territories, see Boix 2008).

The second chapter provides a brief historical and geographical primer on the Catalan-speaking regions of Spain and the policies that affect them as regards corpus and status planning. The outline is Heinz Kloss’s theory on the different stages of language planning. The chapter provides a briefing for readers unfamiliar with Catalan’s sociolinguistic context, which will allow them to assess its contents: the language’s features, its spread over time, and the geographical distribution of its speakers. A cursory overview of the social history of the language is presented: its beginnings in the eighth century, its geographic expansion in the tenth to thirteenth centuries, its ‘Golden Age’ in the fifteenth century, its long literary decadence between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, and its revival in the twentieth century which dignified the Catalan language and culture again, despite two dictatorships preventing it from developing normally. Corpus planning measures are also presented. The chapter summarises the language reform of Catalan by Pompeu Fabra at the end of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, up to the Civil War, allowing the development of a standard variety while respecting its main geographical differences. The reform designs a compositional (with contributions from different dialects) and polymorphic (with alternative forms to provide equivalent solutions for certain traits) model. Despite the technical excellence of Fabra’s reform, mention is made of attempts at linguistic secession, based mainly in Valencia. The author discusses the polycentric dynamic caused by a new linguistic authority in Valencia (AVL, Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua), whose scope is limited to the Valencian Autonomous Community. Catalan has a wide range of geographical varieties but it is still very unitary.

Status planning measures are also presented. The levels of linguistic vitality and intervention in the territories are shown, including the steady decline of Catalan in Valencia. Three issues are emphasised: (1) the ideological debates with liberal forces which denounce so-called ‘nationalist excesses’, (2) the fact that the boosting of formal
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in institutional uses of Catalan does not automatically lead to increases in usages linked to the individual's private spheres, and (3) poor levels of interregional interaction between Catalan speakers.

Before continuing, the editors would like to mention the language policy situation in Valencia. It may seem surprising that the private cultural organisations that have been most active in promoting what in the region is officially called 'Valencian' (Acció Cultural del País Valencià, Escola Valenciana, the weekly *El Temps*, etc.) receive no support whatever from the Valencian (conservative) regional government; in fact their positions seem poles apart. They receive more support from the Catalan authorities than from their own. As readers will soon discover, the Valencian government – which stubbornly claims that 'Valencian' and 'Catalan' are separate languages – has been taken to court over 15 times and each time lost its case. Its position has forced hundreds of would-be teachers holding a degree, or proficiency qualifications, in the language, to look for jobs outside the region. The same government has been closing down the TV relay stations set up by Acció Cultural (mentioned above); these stations allowed people throughout the region to pick up TV3, Catalonia's public TV channel, for over 20 years. The language conflict in Valencia, in fact, is not between Valencian speakers and Catalan speakers (that is a tautology) but rather between promoters of the language – whatever it be called – and those who have no objection to the rampant and continuing shift towards Spanish in the region. The conflict has in effect paralysed any effective policy promoting the local language. The motives and logic behind the regional government and local groups supporting its position (a few of whose more militant members claim to be behind periodical acts of vandalism against bookshops and the premises of cultural organisations) have little to do with safeguarding the language’s future.

Chapter 3 compares language-related legislation and case law in each territory. It describes the official status of the Catalan language in the statutes of each regional ‘autonomous community’ and the four language-related laws in the three regions. It presents the concept of linguistic normalisation. It analyses how Catalonia’s 2006 Statute of Autonomy makes knowledge of Catalan compulsory, just as the Spanish Constitution does for Castilian. Finally, it reviews language-related case law and the role played by the courts in interpreting the law and its enforcement. The Constitutional Court and ordinary courts, for instance, have supported in various rulings the constitutionality of an asymmetrical treatment in favour of the local language in accordance with the goal of ‘normalisation’. The Council of Europe, in the context
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of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML), also supports such measures. The wealth of language-related law is behind the fact that a leading journal in this field, Revista de Llengua i Dret, is published in Barcelona. The authors conclude that linguistic normalisation needs to continue because factors which threaten the local language still exist. Catalan still needs to be protected and promoted, as most of the population wants, to prevent it from disappearing.

Chapter 4 studies the authorities’ policies on language use in dealings with the public. Legislation establishes, in each territory and in Spain as a whole, the use of Catalan and Castilian in government bodies (at central Spanish, regional or ‘autonomous community’, and local level), the validity of documents in each language and criteria for dealing with the public. The main differences between these policies are analysed. The difference is drawn between territories where both Catalan and Castilian are official (Catalonia, Balearic Islands and Valencia), and Andorra, where Catalan is the only official language. Catalonia’s 2006 Statute of Autonomy states that Catalan, as Catalonia’s own language, is the normal and preferential language used by the public authorities and states that ‘everyone has the right to use the two official languages and the citizens of Catalonia have the right and duty to know them’. In some regions, Catalan competence requirements in public authority recruitment processes vary when the party in power changes. In Northern Catalonia, l’Alguer and the eastern strip of Aragon the use of Catalan in relations between the authorities and the public is virtually non-existent. Secondly, the chapter analyses relations with Spanish state institutions, and with supranational institutions like the Council of Europe and the European Union. As regards relations with Spanish state institutions, the Spanish Constitution implements an unequal plurilingual model. Official recognition of non-Castilian languages is territorially limited to their autonomous communities, so their use in institutions outside their own territories will depend on the level of political will; there is no territorial limitation for Castilian in the state as a whole.

Chapter 5 examines language-in-education policies at all educational levels. Legislation defines the rights and duties of individual citizens and the authorities as regards the education system in each territory. These policies have changed considerably. Catalonia has adopted a unified system, whilst the government of the Valencian region has developed separate linguistic streams and the Balearic Islands have adopted a mixed model. The authors analyse differences between these policies. The main current challenge is the integration of incoming students
Democratic Policies for Language Revitalisation (from Latin America, Eastern Europe and North Africa), who tend to choose Spanish as a lingua franca. Three centuries of the ‘Castilianisation’ language policy have been successful: today, Castilian is the most highly valued language, clearly ahead of Catalan. Yet education has been the field most open to intervention in favour of Catalan since the Catalan-speaking territories achieved political devolution.

Chapter 6 covers policies to promote Catalan in interpersonal oral communications and to improve language attitudes. So far bilingualism has clearly been asymmetrical. The ‘accommodation norm’, which makes Catalan speakers switch unconsciously and automatically to Spanish in conversations with Castilian speakers, is a leading obstacle to speakers of Castilian trying to learn Catalan. Passive bilingualism is encouraged by the Catalan government but faces significant psychological and political problems. Legislation leaves the ‘promotion’ of Catalan to the regional governments in a general way, so the limits of the legitimate involvement of the authorities – in a liberal democratic society – are unclear. How can substate governments ensure the spreading of linguistic usage norms that favour Catalan without creating tensions amongst ethnic groups or with the central government? Can they, for example, try to influence intergenerational language transmission in families? The efforts (mainly publicity campaigns) focusing on this use have varied greatly from region to region and also within each one following changes in the government (above all in the Balearic Islands and Valencia). The chapter breaks down activities by territory, with an initial stage from 1981 to 1994, and then a second stage, which began in Valencia in 1995, to the present day. The authors say it is hard to assess their impact. The fact that campaigns have been recurrent (‘Catalan is everybody’s business’, ‘You are a teacher’, ‘Pass on Catalan’) suggests they have not attained their goal. Such campaigns seem to amount to little more than a declaration of intent, of the ‘goodness’ of the language being promoted, without citizens being expected to change their behaviour. Significantly, many acknowledge that the accommodation norm hampers the social presence of Catalan: while appropriate in exchanges with tourists or outsiders, it reduces the visibility of Catalan, and motivation to learn and use it, when applied to non-Catalan-speaking residents. Short workshops are offered privately to those wishing to overcome the accommodation norm and subordinate language behaviour (e.g. Suay and Sanginés 2005, 2010).

Chapter 7 analyses language policy in the publicly and privately owned media, the arts and information technology. Each regional government has set up radio and television channels, offering different
options in each case, within a market still dominated by broadcasts in Castilian. The development of each region’s social communication media system is related to two variables: the dynamics of the region’s civil society, and the political will of those in power, more favourable in Catalonia, and inconsistent – and sometimes even unfavourable – in Valencia and the Balearic Islands. Regional policies on, for example, dubbing and the language model to be followed vary greatly, as do their policies to promote the language in other media, the arts and in information technologies. Two important lines of normalisation have become consolidated: Catalan is present in all communication sectors, in all forms of expression and in all genres; and progress has been made in defining a model for the language close to what is generally considered the standard variety. The main shortcomings are the lack of interregional intercommunication and especially the dominant position of Spanish in the communicative market.

Chapter 8 describes language policies in the business world and consumer affairs, which are affected by increasingly globalised market forces. Several regional parliaments have defined consumers’ language rights, but these are often ignored. In Catalonia, for example, where language-related policies are most advanced, a customer’s right to language availability – i.e. their right to be served in the language of their choice – has yet to be guaranteed. Catalonia has also given active support to the use of Catalan in labour relations. In Catalonia, at least, private businesses have to comply with some minimum language-related requirements to qualify as potential suppliers to the regional government, whereas campaigns in the Balearic Islands have been scant and even negative, in Valencia, towards Catalan in a form of counter-planning. The special case of Andorra shows how Catalan can be used normally in business and consumer affairs. The presence of nationalist parties in the relevant regional government and the existence and intensity of policies promoting Catalan in the world of business and consumer affairs appear to be correlated. The main overall conclusion is that the Catalan-speaking territories are not a common politico-linguistic area and that, within Spain, there is a very close correlation between the political will of the majority and political action, or inaction, in regard to the promotion of Catalan.

In the last chapter in the book several significant publications on specific or local aspects of language policy are discussed, to give a fuller picture. Three types of text have been chosen: (1) a general overview of the Catalan-speaking territories; (2) two doctoral theses, on the evaluation of the impact of language policy as applied to schools between 1980
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and 1995, and on the process of learning Catalan by the adult population during the post-Franco era; and (3) two texts on legal and judicial issues.

The reader may notice that some authors use the term ‘Spanish’ while others prefer the synonym ‘Castilian’. The editors have respected each author’s use of these terms. Over the years, there have been heated debates in both Spanish (Castilian) and Catalan about the most appropriate term to use. In fact, the Spanish Constitution states that ‘Castilian is the official Spanish language of the State’ so, strictly and legally speaking, ‘Castilian’ is probably the better term, though the English-speaking reader may be less familiar with it.

The editors of this book are aware that there is a gap in the coverage of language policies in the territories dealt with. The Spanish government and, in general, the central authorities (including the courts), have their own language policy, which cannot but have an impact on Catalan. As the monitoring process of the implementation in Spain of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages shows, Spain’s linguistic ideology has over the centuries not been favourable to linguistic diversity, and heels have been dragged in the process of adapting the institutions in what is one of Europe’s most linguistically plural countries. Moreover, the prevalent linguistic ideology in Spain falls neatly under Michael Billig’s (1995) term ‘banal nationalism’, and policies promoting other languages often provoke outbursts of righteous indignation, particularly in the Spanish press. It was thus timely when a monoglot Spanish professor, Moreno-Cabrera, published his book (2008) on linguistic nationalism, in which he exposes, using hundreds of quotes, what he regards as the only existing linguistic nationalism in Spain, the one that supports the supremacy of the Spanish language in Spain.

The editors are also aware that there is some degree of overlap between chapters. Each has been written as a self-contained text. They ask for the reader’s indulgence.

Finally, the long-awaited Constitutional Court judgment on Catalonia’s 2006 Statute of Autonomy (in actual fact, an Organic Law adopted by the two chambers of the Spanish Parliament), came as the book was being prepared for publication (July 2010). In regard to the articles covering language, despite deeming only one word (‘preferential’) unconstitutional, the judgment affects the text in several key issues, by venturing interpretations or limitations to the wording of the text. We have preferred not to amend the texts at this stage. Nevertheless, interested readers are referred to Millan-Massana (2010).
Notes

1. Quoted by Peter Leuprecht, Directeur de l’Institut d’Études Internationales de Montréal, in his address ‘La liberté qui opprime et la loi qui affranchit’ (http://www.unesco.chairephilo.uqam.ca/LACORDAIRELeuprecht.pdf).

2. Note that the Departmental Council adopted a ‘Charter in favour of the Catalan language and culture’ on 10 December 2007, and the Perpignan Municipal Council adopted a ‘Municipal charter for the Catalan language’ on 10 June 2010. The latter, alongside French, officially recognises Catalan as a historic language of the city, and lays down policies in education, services to infants, signposting, public services and social use, and in the media.

3. See, for instance, the table of Monitoring Reports and Committee of Ministers’ Recommendations on the Council of Europe website: http://www.coe.int/t/e/legal_affairs/local_and_regional_democracy/regional_or_minority_languages/2_Monitoring/Monitoring_table.asp

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