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**LANGUAGE PLANNING AND
POLITICAL IDEOLOGY: A CROSS-
COMPARISON BETWEEN
CATALONIA, VALENCIA AND THE
BALEARIC ISLANDS ON THE
REINTRODUCTION OF CATALAN**

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Abstract

According to recent sociological critiques, language planning activities are not neutral, but ideologically burdened, so that it seems that there is an urgent need to revise traditional views on language planning studies. The present work, in this sense, is an attempt to demonstrate the significant relationship between language planning and political ideology. I first give some preliminary definitions of the concepts of political ideology and language planning, and next discuss the potential link which some eminent scholars have already established between them, especially in relation to the doctrine of nationalism. The practical application of this initial hypothesis is achieved by means of a case study: language planning activities in relation to Catalan in Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands since the restoration of democracy in Spain in the mid-seventies. After a characterization of the linguistic, social, historical and political contexts, there follows a detailed and comprehensive analysis of language planning in each one of these territories. The study reveals how the influence of different political ideologies in the Catalan-speaking territories has been a major factor in the implementation of different language planning processes. The consequences of this fragmentation for the general health of Catalan at both status and corpus levels are next looked at. I conclude by arguing that the general situation in the Catalan-speaking regions requires a more political approach to language planning activities.

It is important to note that this is a pioneering study in the field of Catalan language planning. It actually constitutes the first serious attempt to offer a systematic comparison of the different linguistic policies characterizing Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearics.

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Acknowledgments

When I started to write this dissertation I had two principal aims. First, I hoped to give a detailed account of the language planning processes characterizing Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands, so that it would be easy and fast to make clear comparisons among them. Second, I hoped to demonstrate that the political factor was crucial in shaping each one of the processes. Because of the nature of the topic, the research has been difficult. All the same, here it is, after several months of intense work. If these goals have been to some degree attained, it is because I was able to rely on the invaluable help of many people from Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearics. My debt to them is great, in the sense that this work would not have been possible without their contributions.

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List of Abbreviations

BOCAIB	Balearic Islands Autonomous Community Official Gazette (<i>Butlletí Oficial de la Comunitat Autònoma de les Illes Balears</i>)
BOE	Spanish State Official Gazette (<i>Boletín Oficial del Estado</i>)
BOPC	Catalan Parliament Official Gazette (<i>Butlletí Oficial del Parlament de Catalunya</i>)
BOPIB	Balearic Islands Parliament Official Gazette (<i>Butlletí Oficial del Parlament de les Illes Balears</i>)
DOGC	Catalan Generalitat Official Gazette (<i>Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya</i>)
DOGV	Valencian Generalitat Official Gazette (<i>Diari Oficial de la Generalitat Valenciana</i>)
Unp.	Unpublished

Introduction

The idea that language can be planned has a long history. However, its emergence as an academic subdiscipline of some force derives from the past forty years. As is pointed out by Blommaert (1996, 199), language planning emerged during the decolonization of huge parts of the world after World War II in a generally optimistic environment greatly influenced by the new possibilities of the paradigm of 'development'. At that time it was an important means to achieve social modernization and to implement successful programs of literacy, alphabetization and standardization. It was seen, in some sense, as one of sociolinguistics' success stories. Recent critiques of mainstream sociolinguistics and the sociology of language have completely changed this original view. Language planning is no longer seen as the devising and implementation process of a series of neutral activities aimed at the improvement of society, but rather as a particular 'discourse on language and society, containing ideological assumptions of various kinds and evolving in a particular socio-historical and political context' (200).

Adopting the critical perspective of this later approach, the main aim of the present research will be to study the relationship between the concepts of political ideology and language planning. This will be done by comparing the particular formulation and implementation of the different language planning processes found in three major Catalan-speaking territories (Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands) since the arrival of the democratic regime in Spain in the mid-seventies.

The structure of the work will be as follows. The concepts of language planning and political ideology will be first introduced. The next section will highlight the potential political dimension of language planning and its relation with the concept of nationalism. Once the description of the historical, demographic and geographic context of the language and the social and political contexts in Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearics Islands have been completed, a detailed analysis of the different language planning processes in each one of these regions will follow. This analysis, which constitutes the main bulk of this work, will attempt to demonstrate how a thorough study of language planning reveals a particular kind of political ideology in these areas.

The implications and impact of the different language planning processes (and, therefore, different political ideologies) for the overall social use of Catalan will come next. Some conclusions focusing on the critique of language planning as a neutral activity, and the necessity to advocate a more political approach to it, will finally be drawn.

It is necessary to stress that the study of language planning in Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearics is subject to the following observations:

1. Period

The analysis contained in the present work extends only until March 2000.

2. Structure

The analysis of each one of the language planning processes follows two main stages -formulation and implementation-, according to the division proposed by Fishman and others (1971) and Tollefson (1980). All the same, it should be noted that these terms are used here in a different sense: formulation refers only to the linguistic provisions found in the respective Autonomy Statutes and the general language normalization acts; implementation, on the other hand, includes the development of these previous regulations both at a legal level (orders and decrees, especially) and at a practical level (economic funding, mainly). Other issues, such as the levels of use and knowledge of Catalan, are also described in the implementation stage.

Both the formulation and the implementation stages are applied to three main areas of the language planning process: general considerations (which are concerned with two issues: the global characteristics of the different language normalization acts, on the one hand, and the implementation of devices and processes common to both status and corpus planning, on the other (see, for instance, the coordinating bodies, the general language planning plans, the official examinations board, and the evaluation stage, among others); status, and corpus planning (the two of them being used in the sense defined in the next section of this work).

It is finally important to remark that status planning is concerned with four areas: administration, education, mass media and cultural industries, and the socioeconomic world. This structure is inspired by the organic division of the different general language planning acts, especially the one found in the 1998 Language Policy Act for Catalonia.

3. Contents

Three main points should be taken into account:

a) The author is aware that a significant lack of data characterizes the analysis of the implementation stage in the Balearic and Valencian language planning processes during the conservative period. This void is due to the enormous difficulty of accessing information during these years. No language planning description has ever been made public by the Conservatives, as has been the case with the CiU's Catalan nationalists and the PSPV-PSOE's Socialists. One of the most important consequences of this non-political openness is that much information has only been accessible as a result of formal request. Even though some data has been obtained in this way, the method has generally been dismissed because of its inherent difficulties.

b) Being aware of the limited character of this work, the author has been obliged to avoid some important issues, such as the linguistic requirements for entry to the local administration, language planning activities in the justice domain, and the design and implementation of language normalization campaigns, among others.

c) It is finally necessary to observe that all language planning regulations in each one of the autonomous communities (especially in the case of Catalonia) should be analyzed according to the significant restrictions and boundaries imposed by the existence of a Spanish nationalist central government. No violation of any superior rank laws being possible, the scope of the language planning process is much more limited than it could theoretically be.

Theoretical Framework

1.- Preliminary Definitions

1.1.- Political Ideology

The working definition of ideology used here is that one provided by Mullins (1972, 66). According to him:

[Ideology is] a logically coherent system of symbols which, within a more or less sophisticated conception of history, links the cognitive and evaluative perception of one's social condition - especially its prospects for the future- to a programme of collective action for the maintenance, alteration or transformation of society.

In this sense, ideology will not be seen as an aberration of perception or of understanding, as it is defined from a Marxist perspective, but, instead, as the widespread social phenomenon of organised, articulated, and consciously held systems of ideas incorporating attitudes and opinions (Freeden 1996, 15), which, in this particular study, characterizes the political domain¹.

1.2.- Language Planning

Language planning will be defined in the following way:

[Language planning is] a body of ideas, laws and regulations (language policy), change rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned change (or to stop change from happening) in the language use in one or more communities. To put it differently, language planning involves deliberate, although not always overt, future oriented change in systems of language code and/or speaking in a societal context [...]. In the simplest sense, language planning is an attempt by someone to modify the linguistic behaviour of some community for some reason [...]. The actors are many, though at the macro level some element of government is usually involved (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, 3-4).

Even though this certainly constitutes something of an oversimplification (28), the current study will consider language planning as a process involving two main

¹ For more information on the concept of political ideology, see Lane (1962, 13-6).

activities: status planning and corpus planning. As observed by Kaplan and Baldauf (30), status planning refers to ‘those aspects of language planning which reflect primarily social issues and concerns and hence are external to the language(s) being planned’. In this sense, language planning activities are basically concerned with the introduction of the use of the language in the different domains of society. Corpus planning, on the other hand, refers to ‘those aspects of language planning which are primarily linguistic and hence internal to language’ (38). Corpus planning activities include two main stages: codification (that is, the ‘standardization procedures needed to develop and formalise a linguistic and usually literate set of language norms’ (39)), and elaboration (which focuses on the ‘functional development’ of the language in order to meet the needs of the modern world; in this sense, all cultural demands put upon language in terms of both terminology and style, from those set by the ‘technological, intellectual, and humanistic disciplines to those associated with the everyday and popular aspects of culture’ (43), should be considered in the elaboration stage).

It is finally necessary to point out that language planning is not only concerned with the devising and implementation of varied strategies to modify a particular language situation according to a previously planned set of general objectives. As observed by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, 37), it is equally important to ‘monitor and evaluate the success of the strategies and progress shown toward implementation’, so that feedback information on the whole process can be eventually attained by the language planners².

2.- Language Planning and Political Ideology

2.1.- Language Planning as Political Activity

Even though it has seldom been recognized, an important relationship is found between language planning and power. Relying on the previous scholarly tradition of Calvet (1974), Apter (1982) and others, a varied range of authors, such as Luke and Baldauf (1990), Tollefson (1991), Williams (1986, 1992, 1996) and Blommaert (1996a), have been advocating in the last decade or so a more political approach to language planning,

in which language is one variable on a par with a number of others. In their opinion, language planning should not be viewed as a neutral (mainly technical and positivistic) process, but, instead, as an ideologically burdened activity which attempts to construct a particular discourse on language and society. According to Blommaert (1996(a), 215):

language planning carries implicit assumptions about what a 'good' society is, about what is best for the people, about the way in which language and communication fit into that picture, and about how language planning can also contribute to social and political progress.

From this particular perspective, then, language planning is an ideological discourse of government policy, and, as such, it should address larger social and political matters within which language change, use and development, and indeed language planning itself, are embedded. As is observed by Tollefson (1991, Vii):

How possible is it [...] to characterise the language planning decisions in any state or institution without appeal to the historical and political identity of that system, and moreover, to the identities of the forces struggling within it? There is no sense in which language planning can be undertaken, or its effects evaluated, within some social vacuum. We need [...] an understanding of these as a prerequisite for explanation.

2.2.- Language Planning and Nationalism

In spite of the many different approaches to the concept of nationalism along the years³, we are going to focus on the definition provided by Guibernau. As is pointed out by her:

Nationalism is a sentiment that has to do with attachment to a homeland, a common language, ideas, values and traditions, and also with the identification of a group with symbols (a flag, a particular song, piece of music or design) which define it as 'different' from others. The attachment to all these signs creates an identity; and the appeal to that identity has had in the past, and still has today, the power to mobilize people (1996, 43).

Language usually being a central factor in the construction of nationalism (Blommaert and Verschueren 1992; Blommaert 1996b), it is no surprise, then, that the doctrine of nationalism is one of the most influential political ideologies in language planning activities.

A pioneering study on the link between language planning and nationalism is Fishman's essay 'The Impact of Nationalism on Language and Language Planning',

² For more information on the concept of language planning, see Eastman (1983) and Cooper (1996).

³ Some of the most significant contributions to the development of the concept of nationalism are found in scholars such as Berlin (1972, 1979), Smith (1971, 1979, 1986, 1991, 1995), Gellner (1983, 1994), Kedourie (1986), Anderson (1990), Hobsbawm (1992), Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), Hutchinson

published in 1972 in his book *Language and Nationalism: Two Integrative Essays*. Another important piece of research is that provided in 1979 by Pool in his article 'Language Planning and Identity Planning', an application of the interrelations between language and identity in the language planning field. How language planning can be oriented by language planners to influence and even manipulate social identity is one of the main issues considered by the author.

A Case Study: Language Planning in Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands

1.- The Context

Having defined all these preliminary concepts, it is necessary now to examine language planning activity in Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands, and to understand its relation with political ideology. We shall begin by exploring the various background dimensions characterizing the Catalan language in these different regions.

1.1.- Historical and Sociolinguistic

Catalan is of a similar age to other Romance languages. It emerged in the centuries following the collapse of the Roman Empire in the region joining the Iberian Peninsula to the rest of the continent, so that by the 10th century it was already identifiable as an independent language. From then until the 15th century, the Catalans gradually expanded their territory (first southwards in the Peninsula to cover the Valencian region, and subsequently eastwards via the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, Naples, Sicily and Greece). By that time, Catalan had become the official language throughout Catalan-speaking areas. These were composed of completely autonomous territories, among which the Principality of Catalonia and the Kingdoms of Valencia and Majorca were the most important. The Catalan-Aragonese Confederation, or Crown of Aragon, was to be its political expression. Literary production flourished during the 14th and 15th centuries so that Catalan acquired 'a status comparable to that of other European languages like Castilian, Portuguese, or Italian' (Cobarrubias and Lasa 1987, 173). The death of King Martin 'The Human' (1410) and the marriage between Ferdinand of Catalonia-Aragon and Isabel of Castile (1469) would be two fundamental steps in the

‘unification’ of Spain, which eventually became a fact after the joining of the two kingdoms in 1516. A long period of political and cultural decadence ensued, coinciding with ‘the rise of Castile at the head of Spain’s projection [...] as an imperial power on a global scale’ (Webber and Strubell 1991, 13). In spite of this, the Catalan territories were able to preserve a considerable degree of autonomy for nearly two centuries. All the same, by this time ‘Castilian began to exert pressure on some language functions and bilingualism became a way of life in certain circles’ (Cobarrubias and Lasa 1987, 173). Following the defeat of the Catalan regions in the War of Spanish Succession (1702-1714), the use of Catalan was actively discouraged by an increasingly centralized Spanish state: ‘the language’s status was eroded as it became progressively more dialectalized and archaic, its use largely confined to limited domestic and unofficial contexts’ (Webber and Strubell 1991, 13-4). Demographic expansion in the 18th century was the basis for renewed economic momentum in the industrial era in Catalonia. As the *Renaixença*, the literary revival movement, gathered strength throughout the 19th century, Romantic nationalism was rediscovered as the symbol of collective identity. At the turn of the century, the arrival of the *Modernista* and *Noucentista* movements would mark one of the most prosperous periods for Catalonia. As is observed by Cobarrubias and Lasa (1987, 174):

The nationalist movement in Catalonia included two stages, both interrupted by military uprisings: first, the *Mancomunitat* (1914-1925), abolished by Primo de Rivera; and second, the *Generalitat* (1931-1939), destroyed by Franco’s forces. These two, short lived, stages were marked by a cultural revival in education, book production, and cultural expression. It [Catalan] recovered its previous official status in 1932, though it became co-official with Castilian.

As already suggested, one of the most remarkable consequences of the industrialization process in Catalonia was the emergence of a strong nationalist cultural and political movement. The influence of the Catalanist wave in Valencia and the Balearics was, on the contrary, absolutely residual, being, as they were, still submerged in a backward agrarian society lacking the potential strength of the bourgeoisie. The economic development of these two regions would not start until the fifties and sixties, following the gradual opening up of the Francoist regime to other countries and the development of the tourist industry. The detrimental effects of Franco’s dictatorship (1939-1975) for the use of the Catalan language in all the Catalan-speaking territories (especially in Catalonia, where the progress made was much more significant) are public knowledge:

Catalan ceased to be the official language and [...] became proscribed from public life, public education, use at the university, and the media. Books in Catalan were removed from bookstores and libraries and very often burned. Publications in Catalan were banned [...].

Linguistic assimilation became the linguistic ideology of the regime (Cobarrubias and Lasa 1987, 174).

Spain regained democracy in 1975. The passing of the Spanish Constitution in October 1978 was an important step towards the firm legal establishment of this new political era. Its enactment marked a period of transition toward the recognition of language rights of non Castilian regional languages. Article Three of the Constitution, in particular, states a multilingual language policy as follows:

1. Castilian is the official language of the State. All Spaniards have the duty to know it and the right to use it.
 2. The other languages of Spain will also be official in their respective autonomous communities according to their statutes.
 3. The wealth of the different linguistic modalities in Spain is a cultural patrimony which will be the object of special respect and protection.
- (Cobarrubias and Lasa's translation)

From now on, the Autonomous Communities would have exclusive authority to legislate over the promotion of their culture and the teaching of their languages (article 148.17 of the Constitution). The passing of the Statutes and the approval of the different Normalization Laws gave them the possibility to start the social reintroduction of the vernaculars. Alongside Basque and Galician, Catalan would be one of the languages affected by the favourable context. The particular geopolitical context of this language has, nonetheless, allowed for the implementation of three absolutely divergent language planning processes. This interesting aspect is going to be thoroughly looked at in the next section of the current study.

1.2.- Demographic and Geographic

Catalan is spoken throughout Catalonia, Valencia, the Balearic Islands, the border area of Aragon, the Roussillon region of France and the city of l'Alguer, in Sardinia. Because of historical and political reasons, most of the Catalan-speaking people live within the borders of Spain. As already pointed out, this territory embraces the three Autonomous Communities of Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearics and is inhabited by approximately ten million people, which are distributed as follows: Catalonia (56%), Valencia (37%) and the Balearic Islands (7%).

All three Communities have had a large influx of immigrants, especially since the tourist boom of the fifties and sixties, so that currently an important part of the

overall population comes from Castilian-speaking regions: 41% in Catalonia, 25% in Valencia and 31% in the Balearic Islands.

It is also important to note that while Catalan has been the only 'historical' language⁴ in the Balearic Islands, Catalan in Catalonia and Valencia, on the contrary, shares this condition with other languages. In this sense, 5,200 people in Catalonia (0.09% of the overall population) speak Aranese, the Occitan language of the Vall d'Aran; and in eleven regions of the Valencian interior, Castilian is a historical language for approximately 440,000 inhabitants (11% of the population)⁵.

1.3.- Political and Social

The political and social context in each one of these three territories can be characterized as follows:

1. Catalonia

All six elections to the autonomous Parliament of Catalonia since 1980 have established CiU (*Convergència i Unió*), a nationalist and conservative coalition, as the only political party leading the region. However, two main obstacles have prevented a full implementation of CiU's nationalist ideology. On the one hand, the fact that this coalition was in parliamentary minority until 1984 implied that many important regulations (such as the Autonomy Statute and the Language Normalization Act, among others) had to be negotiated with other non-nationalist parties, so that an important reduction of the original aims of the nationalists ensued. On the other, the Spanish Government has lodged continuous charges of unconstitutionality against the language planning activities of the Catalan Government (or *Generalitat*), and this has again largely modified the whole process.

It is finally necessary to observe that, broadly speaking, there have never been important civic movements opposing language planning in Catalonia. As will be seen in

⁴ By 'historical' language we refer to those languages which have been continuously spoken in a particular territory for many centuries.

⁵ Sources: Enciclopèdia Catalana (1990, 489, vol. 6); Institut de Sociolingüística Catalana (1996a, 1996b, 1996c); Leprêtre (1992, unp.).

the following pages, language planning activities in this region have generally derived from a previous social consensus⁶.

2. Valencia

The Valencian political context is characterized by two main periods:

a) 1983-1995

PSPV (*Partit Socialista del País Valencià*), a regional socialist party dependent on the larger Spanish socialist party PSOE, ruled the region during these thirteen years.

b) From 1995 onwards

PP (*Partido Popular*), a Spanish conservative political party took power. Between 1995 and 1999, PP, which was in minority, had to form a coalition government with UV (*Unió Valenciana*), of radical anticatalanist (or *blaver*) ideology.

As for the social background, there has been tension between two major civic movements: one urging the spread of the Catalan language, the other defending the anti-Catalanist phenomenon and ideology. Both movements, especially the latter one, have had an influence in the language planning activities of the Valencian Government (or *Generalitat*)⁷.

3. The Balearic Islands

As in the Valencian case, the political context in the Balearic Islands is also characterized by two main periods:

a) 1983-1999

PP (*Partido Popular*), a Spanish conservative political party, ruled the Government of the Balearics for seventeen years. It is important to observe that PP was called to lead the Balearic institutions after an overtly reluctant position regarding the Catalan language and the regional autonomy process⁸. As will be shown, this was to be determinant in all their future language planning activities.

⁶ Sources: Argelaguet (1999, 40-107); Enciclopèdia Catalana (1990, 83, vol. 7; 1993, 119; 1998, 118).

⁷ Sources: Bello (1988); Enciclopèdia Catalana (1990, 125, vol. 17; 1993, 337; 1998, 371); Fuster (1998); Gómez i García (1996).

⁸ Both the PP's abstention in the 1982-3 voting process for the Autonomy Statute, and the moving of various amendments by some of the conservative leaders intending that neither 'Catalan' should be used as the official name for the language, nor the creation of an autonomous communication media network should be made possible, are quite illustrative, in this sense.

All the same, the conservatives had to form a coalition government with UM (*Unió Mallorquina*), a Majorcan regionalist political party, between 1983 and 1992. The regionalist influence of this party on the conservatives policy arose especially between 1987 and 1992, during Maria Antònia Munar i Riutort's mandate as Secretary of Culture.

Another fact to be taken into account is that, following the removal of Gabriel Cañellas i Fons because of corruption, Cristòfol Soler i Cladera was appointed President of the Government of the Balearics in July 1995. His positive attitude towards the Catalan language forced his dismissal in June 1996.

b) From 1999 onwards

PP was to lose the parliamentary elections in 1999, and the *Pacte de Progrés*, a coalition government of left-wing and nationalist parties which had been ruling the *Consell Insular de Mallorca* (Majorcan Regional Parliament) since 1995, came to power. Cultural areas in the new Autonomous Government, including all language planning activities, would now come under the control of the Catalan nationalist party *PSM-Nacionalistes de Mallorca*.

Finally it is important to observe that the PP's language planning activities in this region would be influenced by a strong social movement in support of the Catalan language from 1994 onwards⁹.

2.- Analysis of the Three Case Studies

We are now ready to attempt the description of the language planning processes in the three main Catalan-speaking territories. The analysis will follow the guidelines described in the introductory section of this study.

2.1.- Catalonia

⁹ Sources: Blanes i Marimon (8 May 1995, 1998); Casasnovas Camps (1998, 389-420); El Temps (20 May 1996, 26 May 1996, 3 June 1996, 2 June 1997, 27 April 1998, 25 May 1998, 30 March 1999, 18 May 1999); Melià i Garí (1999); Morro (1997); Mosquera and Nadal (1994); Nadal (1999); Payeras Femenias (1999, 3 November 1999); Pinya Homs (1985).

2.1.1.- Formulation

2.1.1.1.- General Considerations

Catalonia obtained its autonomous condition in 1979 through the fast route of article 151 of the Spanish Constitution.

Language planning activities in relation to Catalan were to be based on three general regulations:

1. Article 3 of the Autonomy Statute for Catalonia (*Estatut d'autonomia de Catalunya*) (Act no. 4/1979, dated December 18th).

2. Language Normalization Act for Catalonia (*Llei de normalització lingüística a Catalunya*) (Act no. 7/1983, dated April 18th -DOGC no. 322 of April 22nd).

3. Language Policy Act (*Llei de política lingüística*) (Act no. 1/1998, dated January 7th -DOGC no. 2553 of January 9th).

Three main characteristics are common to all these texts:

1. The officiality of Catalan and Castilian in Catalonia.

2. The clear idea of Catalan as the only 'own' or 'proper' language of Catalonia (*llengua pròpia*), and

3. The concept of 'normalization' (*normalització*), used in a much broader sense than standardization ('normalization' is here derived from 'normal' rather than from 'norm'). It can be described as the 'process during which a language gradually recovers the formal functions it had lost and at the same time works its way into those social sectors, within its own territory, where it was not spoken before' (Torres 1984, 60). Language planning activities in Catalonia, in this sense, are aimed at the complete 'normalization' of the Catalan language.

As can be deduced, the last two features reflect a clear nationalist ideology which is framed on the basis of Catalanism.

It is also interesting to remark that on 10 July 1996 the *Generalitat* signed an agreement on language planning collaboration with the Government of Quebec.

The charge of unconstitutionality presented by the Attorney General against some parts of the Language Normalization Act for Catalonia was eventually reaffirmed by the Constitutional Tribunal, so that articles 4.2 and 6.1 of this Act were vetoed (Unconstitutional Appeal no. 517/1983 and Ruling of the Constitutional Court no. 83/1986, dated June 26th -BOE, supplement, no. 159 of July 4th).

The evaluation or monitoring stage of the whole language planning process in Catalonia would be applied with three different instruments: the elaboration of a sociolinguistic map of Catalonia, which should be up-dated regularly (article 27.2 of the Language Normalisation Act and article 39.2 of the Language Policy Act); the annual presentation of a report on all language planning activities to the Catalan Parliament (article 39.3 of the Language Policy Act); and the active participation of the social agents (article 39.1 of the Language Policy Act)¹⁰.

2.1.1.2.- Status Planning

2.1.1.2.1.- Administration

The reintroduction of Catalan in the Autonomous Administration of the *Generalitat* is regulated by Sections I and IV (articles 5 to 11, and 24), Additional Provision and 1st Temporary Provision of the Language Normalization Act, and Section I (articles 8 to 14, and 17) and 1st Temporary Provision of the Language Policy Act.

Catalan being the proper language of Catalonia, it is also the proper language of the administrative field. As one of the two official languages, it is also official in this area, where it should be compulsorily used according to the law.

Basically, seven main areas are targeted: the publication of legal texts, official documentation, administrative proceedings and activities, justice, the relations with the general public, public documents, and public registers.

¹⁰ Sources: Bauzà Sastre (unp.(a)); Departament de Cultura (1998, 1-34); Direcció General de Política Lingüística (1990); Generalitat de Catalunya (2000).

As is established by article 24 of the Language Normalization Act, the teaching of Catalan to all the *Generalitat's* civil servants must be guaranteed. All the same, the obligation to know Catalan as a condition to accede to the *Generalitat* would not be legally reflected until the Language Policy Act (article 11).

Both the Language Normalization Act and the Language Policy Act establish a temporary period of two years for the full adaptation of the Catalan Administration to all language requirements in these laws.

2.1.1.2.2.- Education

The reintroduction of Catalan in the education system of Catalonia is regulated by Section II (articles 14 to 20) and 3rd Temporary Provision of the Language Normalization Act, and Section III (articles 20 to 24) of the Language Policy Act.

Catalan being the proper language of Catalonia, it is also the proper language of the education domain, where it should normally be used.

Seven main goals are expressed: the teaching of Catalan will be compulsory at all undergraduate levels; children have the right to be initially taught in their own language (nonetheless, they should not be taught separately in different centres for linguistic reasons); Catalan will be progressively used so that it eventually becomes the normal medium of instruction; all children in Catalonia must be able to use Catalan normally and correctly by the end of their basic education; in accordance with the demands of their educational duties, all teachers must master both Catalan and Castilian; in-service training should be applied to all teaching staff; and educational centres are obliged to make Catalan the normal medium of expression both in internal and external activities. Teaching and the use of Catalan in the universities, adult and specialist training centres are also regulated.

The Third Temporary Provision of the Language Normalization Act guaranteed the teaching of Catalan in all teacher-training centres until their curricula were definitely drawn up and adapted to the regulations.

2.1.1.2.3.- Mass Media and Culture Industries

The reintroduction of the use of Catalan in this field is regulated by Section III (articles 21 to 23) and 4th Temporary Provision of the Language Normalization Act, and Section IV (articles 25 to 29) and 3rd Temporary Provision of the Language Policy Act.

Two main goals are stated in the Language Normalization Act: first, Catalan is the proper language of the *Generalitat*'s own communication media, and so it will be the language normally used in this area; and, second, the *Generalitat* will promote the use of Catalan in this field with an active policy of subsidies (especially in TV and radio, periodicals, the book publishing industry, cinema and videos, shows and any other cultural expressions).

Until it created its own communication media, the Executive Council of the *Generalitat* would guarantee the existence of a transitional TV and radio broadcasting in Catalan in the whole territory of Catalonia.

It is important to observe that this initial policy of subsidies turned out to be a policy of strict legal requirements in the Language Policy Act involving a minimum quota of use of Catalan in the world of TV, radio and cinema. In this sense, the Language Policy Act definitely involved an important improvement in previous language planning regulations in the mass media and cultural field, especially those contained in the 1983 Language Normalization Act, which were not sufficiently developed.

2.1.1.2.4.- Socioeconomic Activity

The reintroduction of the use of Catalan in the socioeconomic world is regulated by Sections I and IV (articles 12, 13, 25, 26, and 27.1) and 2nd Temporary Provision of the Language Normalization Act, and Sections I, II, V and VI (articles 15, 16, 18, 19, and 30 to 38) and 2nd Temporary Provision of the Language Policy Act.

Three main objectives are stated in the Language Normalization Act: excepting those from the Vall d'Aran, the names of places will be officially only in Catalan; all public firms' personnel who are in direct contact with the general public should have an adequate competence in Catalan; and, finally, the Executive Council of the *Generalitat* will promote the use of Catalan in commercial, advertising, cultural, social, sports and other sorts of activities. This last goal was to be achieved in two ways: the action of local authorities, which may grant tax reductions or exemptions for acts related to the

normalization of the use of Catalan; and the creation, wherever the sociolinguistic situation demands, of subsidized centres dedicated to the teaching, use and spread of the Catalan language. Article 2.1 in the Preliminary Section recognized the citizens' right of expression in Catalan at all meetings, and to carry out professional, labour, political, and trade-union activities in the language. According to article 3 in the same Section, legal entities working in Catalonia must respect this right.

The Catalanization of all public signs should be achieved within a maximum period of two years. It is important to observe that a special provision for the execution of normalization campaigns is found in article 27.1. The article reads as follows: 'The Executive Council must set up a plan to make people conscious of the normalization of linguistic usage in Catalonia subsequent to when this Act takes effect'.

As happened before in the mass media and cultural fields, this initial policy of economic incentives would be mostly replaced by one in the Language Policy Act which demands that Catalan be used in certain documentation and bills, public signs and notices, as well as in the labelling of traditional Catalan products. Catalan should now be the language normally used in all public firms. According to article 2 of this last regulation, Catalan is also the proper language of all names of places, public services and the companies that run them, be they public or not. Consequently, it should preferably be used in these various fields.

A temporary period of two years was established for the full adaptation of the companies to these linguistic requirements.

Once again, the 1998 Language Policy Act involved an important improvement in previous language planning regulations concerning the socioeconomic world, specially those contained in the 1983 Language Normalization Act, which were not sufficiently developed.

2.1.1.3.- Corpus Planning

The analysis of corpus planning activities in Catalonia will consider the three following areas: the name of the language, the recognition of the unity of the language and the collaboration with other Catalan-speaking territories, and, finally, the designation of a normative official institution.

2.1.1.3.1.- Name of the Language

Obviously, the language is referred to as ‘Catalan’ (article 3.1 of the Autonomy Statute; article 2.1 of the Language Normalization Act; and article 2.1 of the Language Policy Act).

2.1.1.3.2.- Unity of the Catalan Language and Collaboration with Other Catalan-Speaking Territories

There is also a recognition of the unity of the Catalan language and a wish to collaborate with other Catalan-speaking territories in the area of language planning (articles 27.1, 27.4 and 5th Additional Provision of the Autonomy Statute; Preamble and article 10 of the Language Normalization Act; Section I of the Preamble, article 6.1, 2nd and 3rd Additional Provisions of the Language Policy Act).

The official recognition of the unity of the Catalan language was first expressed by the Spanish Government in Decree no. 3118/1976, dated November 26th (BOE no. 18 of January 21st, 1977). This Decree is still in force.

2.1.1.3.3.- Designation of an Official Institution with Linguistic Normative Authority

Article 6.2 of the Language Policy Act assigns all normative authority to the Institute of Catalan Studies (*Institut d’Estudis Catalans*), an autonomous academic body founded in 1907 and devoted to scientific research into Catalan culture.

2.1.2.- Implementation

2.1.2.1.- General Considerations

As has already been pointed out in the Introduction, this section will include three main aspects: the creation of bodies responsible for all language planning coordination; the

general means applied by these language planning coordination bodies in order to achieve the planned goals; and the monitoring and evaluation of language planning activities.

2.1.2.1.1.- Language Planning Executive Body

The Directorate General for Language Policy (*Direcció General de Política Lingüística*), created in 1980 and dependent on the Department of Culture of the *Generalitat*, has always been the responsible body for language planning activities in Catalonia. It is an autonomous section with broad powers, located at a high hierarchical level within the Department of Culture. Its single function has always been in the area of language planning.

It is composed of three main services, each one responsible for a particular area in the coordination of the language planning process: Language Normalization Service (*Servei de Normalització Lingüística*), in the field of status planning; Language Advisory Service (*Servei d'Assessorament Lingüístic*), in the field of corpus planning; and Institute of Catalan Sociolinguistics (*Institut de Sociolingüística Catalana*), for the monitoring and evaluation stage¹¹.

Some figures concerning the evolution of the budget of the Directorate General for Language Policy are found in Table 1. They illustrate the importance of the language planning process in Catalonia.

Table 1. Evolution of the Budget of the Directorate General for Language Policy (1981-1999)

Years	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Absolute budget (in ptas)	94,560,804	331,840,966	422,630,884	463,767,579	572,703,109
Relative budget - I (in relation to the budget of the <i>Generalitat</i>)	0.08%	0.135%	0.132%	0.144%	0.148%
Relative budget - II (expenditure per person in the	15.876	55,71	70.95	77.86	96.15

¹¹ Regulations: Decree no. 220/1980, dated October 3rd); Decree no. 379/1983, dated September 8th).

language planning process -in ptas)					
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Years	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Absolute budget (in ptas)	629,253,696	882,423,722	900,252,766	1,134,359,011	1,514,952,430
Relative budget -I (in relation to the budget of the <i>Generalitat</i>)	0.146%	0.182%	0.135%	0.139%	0.153%
Relative budget -II (expenditure per person in the language planning process -in ptas)	105.28	147.63	150.61	189.78	253.46

Years	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Absolute budget (in ptas)	1,877,700,000	1,915,639,000	1,917,004,000	1,984,596,445	1,969,807,523
Relative budget - I (in relation to the budget of the <i>Generalitat</i>)	0.168%	0.146%	0.132%	0.129%	0.121%
Relative budget - II (expenditure per person in the language planning process -in ptas)	310	316.16	316.38	327	325

Years	1996	1997	1998	1999
Absolute budget (in ptas)	1,453,028,312	1,439,028,312	1,889,028,312	2,077,931,143
Relative budget - I (in relation to the budget of the <i>Generalitat</i>)	0.089%	0.085%	0.106%	0.108%
Relative budget - II (expenditure per person in the language planning process -in ptas)	238.6	235.13	308.66	340

Note: All financial figures refer to non-executed budgets.

Sources for financial data: Departament d'Economia i Finances (1981 to 1999).

Sources for population data: Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya [n.d.].

Own preparation.

As is reflected in the previous table, considerable financial help has been assigned to the Directorate for Language Policy between 1981 and 1999. The support represented 0.182% of the overall budget of the *Generalitat* in 1987 (current levels are around

0.1%). Maximum expenditure per person in the support to the Directorate General for Language Policy was reached in 1999 (340 pesetas).

2.1.2.1.2.- Means

The analysis of the general means used by the Directorate General for Language Policy in order to implement its language planning activities will focus on three main aspects: Language planning plans, Catalan examinations board, and European Union Linguistic Recognition.

2.1.2.1.2.1.- Language Planning Plans

On 7 March 1995, fifteen years after the approval of the Language Normalization Act for Catalonia, the *Generalitat* passed the General Plan of Language Normalization (*Pla general de normalització lingüística*). It is a very ambitious plan whose general goal is to make Catalan 'the usual language of all public and private institutions' of society (Departament de Cultura 1995, 12). Seven major sectors are targeted in the Plan: official use and linguistic rights; education, research and youth; mass media and cultural industries; socioeconomic activities; health and social institutions; cultural and territorial relations; language standardization and sociolinguistic research.

2.1.2.1.2.2.- Catalan Examinations Board

The *Junta Permanent de Català* was created in 1981. It is an official examinations board, the main function of which is to test competence in Catalan and to award certificates in the language. Its testing activities started in 1982.

Table 2 contains some figures concerning the significance of the *Junta Permanent de Català* in the whole language planning process in Catalonia. Two main data are indicated: the relative number of registrations, and the degree of difficulty of the exams.

Table 2. Evolution of Exams Registered, Sat and Passed in the *Junta Permanent de Català* and Degree of Difficulty of the Exams (1982-1998)

Years	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Registered	6,270	9,789	11,855	15,429	12,824
Sat	5,224	8,247	10,320	11,718	9,842
Passed	2,992	5,060	5,709	5,674	4,675
Relative number of people registered (in relation to the overall population of Catalonia)	0.1%	0.16%	0.19%	0.25%	0.21%
Relative number of passes (in relation to the total registrations)	47.7%	51.6%	48.1%	36.7%	36.4%

Years	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Registered	9,794	9,799	8,706	9,116	10,372
Sat	7,844	7,689	6,462	6,720	7,181
Passed	3,797	3,752	3,309	3,028	3,319
Relative number of people registered (in relation to the overall population of Catalonia)	0.16%	0.16%	0.14%	0.15%	0.17%
Relative number of passes (in relation to the total registrations)	38.7%	38.2%	38%	33.2%	31.9%

Years	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Registered	24,342	36,621	43,630	36,453	35,498
Sat	16,276	24,480	34,819	30,767	29,588
Passed	6,330	8,584	15,103	14,212	12,757
Relative number of people registered (in relation to the overall population of Catalonia)	0.4%	0.61%	0.72%	0.6%	0.58%
Relative number of passes (in relation to the total registrations)	26%	23.4%	34.6%	38.9%	35.9%

Years	1997	1998	TOTAL
Registered	32,100	26,170	338,598

Sat	26,848	19,611	263,636
Passed	12,747	8,824	119,869
Relative number of people registered (in relation to the overall population of Catalonia)	0.52%	0.42%	5.64%
Relative number of passes (in relation to the total registrations)	39.7%	33.7%	35.4%

Note: The number of people registered does not exactly square with the number of participants (the same person can be registered in different exams), or the number of exams (a single registration allows for participation in more than one exam).

Sources for *Junta Permanent de Català* data: Departament de Cultura (1980 to 1998).

Sources for population data: Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya [n.d.].

Own preparation.

Table 3, for its part, contains the relative registrations at the four main levels of the *Junta Permanent de Català* between 1994 and 1998: A (oral), B (basic), C (medium) and D (proficient).

Table 3. Relative Registrations in Levels A (Oral), B (Basic), C (Medium) and D (Proficient) of the *Junta Permanent de Català* (1994-1998)

Levels	A	B	C	D
Relative registrations (in relation to the total registrations)	1.4%	32.3%	56.2%	7.3%

Source: Departament de Cultura (1980 to 1998)

Own preparation.

At this point it is necessary to make some observations:

1. Almost 6% of the total population in Catalonia were registered to sit exams in the *Junta Permanent de Català* between 1982 and 1998.

2. B and C levels of the *Junta Permanent de Català* are equivalent to the primary (EGB and ESO) and secondary (BUP and LOGSE) education qualifications, respectively, whenever obtained after 1992 (*Junta Permanent de Català* [n.d.]).

3. As a consequence of the official validity of the *Junta Qualificadora de Coneixements de Valencià* certificates in Catalonia and the lower difficulty of the

Valencian examinations, a considerable number of Catalan residents sit the exams in Valencia.

4. Almost 60% of all demand corresponds to the medium (C) level. The next level of demand is the basic (B) exam, with more than 30% of the overall demand. The oral (A) level demand is almost negligible.

2.1.2.1.2.3.- European Union Linguistic Recognition

Following Recognition Request no. 113/1988 of the Parliament of Catalonia and resulting Resolution no. 1235/1990 of the European Council, Catalan is officially recognized in certain EU domains (Montserrat 1992).

2.1.2.1.3.- Language Planning Monitoring and Evaluation

Most of the legally projected monitoring and evaluation instruments of the language planning process in Catalonia have been implemented by the *Generalitat*.

The Institute of Catalan Sociolinguistics was founded in 1980 (Decree no. 296/1980, dated December 4th). It is an organism dependent on the Directorate General for Language Policy, the main function of which is to carry out sociolinguistic research in the area of Catalan, so that it is possible to provide the *Generalitat* with useful advice in all their language planning activities.

Following Decree no. 28/1991, dated February 13th, the creation of the Social Council of the Catalan Language (*Consell Social de la Llengua Catalana*) made possible the participation of all main institutions of civil society in the language planning process. The principal function of this consultative body is to promote and to monitor the evolution of language planning in Catalonia, especially in relation to the implementation of the General Plan of Language Normalization. Its role in the elaboration of this Plan was absolutely central.

A written global report on the *Generalitat*'s implementation of the Language Policy Act during 1998 was presented to the Catalan Parliament in 1999 (BOPC no. 386 of March 31st, 1999). Oral reports on language planning to the Catalan Parliament had, nonetheless, been quite common throughout the previous years (Bauzà Sastre unp.(b)).

It is important to remark, however, that the *Generalitat* has allocated no budget to create a sociolinguistic map of Catalonia, as it is legally required to do. This situation contrasts with that found in the Basque Country and Galicia, where the elaboration of various sociolinguistic maps has been an important instrument for the successful implementation of the language planning process (Departamento de Cultura 1989 and 1997; Rodríguez Neira unp.)¹².

2.1.2.2.- Status Planning

All status planning activities have been coordinated since 1980 by the Language Normalization Service (*Servei de Normalització Lingüística*) of the Directorate General for Language Policy (Decree no. 220/1980, dated October 3rd).

2.1.2.2.1.- Administration

The analysis of the administrative section includes four main aspects: the creation of bodies responsible for the language planning coordination activities in this field; the passing of general regulations concerning the administrative area; the requirement of the knowledge of Catalan for the *Generalitat*'s civil servants; and the actual levels of use of Catalan in the Autonomous Administration.

2.1.2.2.1.1.- Language Planning Coordinating Bodies

Two main bodies dependent on the Language Normalization Service are responsible for the coordination of language planning activities in the administration field:

1. The Language Normalization Commission (*Comissió per a la Normalització Lingüística*), created in 1983 (Decree no. 396/1983, dated September 8th -DOGC no. 368 of September 30th). It was replaced by the Language Policy Technical Commission

¹² Decree no. 240/1998, dated August 27th (DOGC no. 2731 of September 25th), is the only legal provision on this aspect. It simply validates the sociolinguistic data of the 1996 population census and integrates them in what would be a provisional sociolinguistic map for Catalonia.

(*Comissió Tècnica de Política Lingüística*) in 1998 (article 1 of Decree no. 36/1998, dated February 4th -DOGC no. 2580 of February 17th).

2. The Language Normalization Technical Net (*Xarxa Tècnica de Normalització Lingüística*), created in 1986 (Decree no. 41/1986, dated February 13th -DOGC no. 661 of March 14th) as an auxiliary organ of the Language Normalization Commission. It was replaced by the Language Policy Technical Net (*Xarxa Tècnica de Política Lingüística*) in 1998 (article 3 of Decree no. 36/1998, dated February 4th -DOGC no. 2580 of February 17th).

Both monitor the implementation of language planning regulations concerning the spread of the official use of Catalan in all departments of the Generalitat.

2.1.2.2.1.2.- General Regulations

Two main regulations are concerned with the spread of the use of Catalan in the administration of the *Generalitat* and its dependent entities: Decree no. 90/1980, dated June 27th (DOGC no. 74 of July 16th), and Decree no. 107/1987, dated March 13th (DOGC no. 887 of April 10th). Their scope involves the following areas: internal use; institutional relations; relations with the general public; notices, publications and public activities; registers; and in-service training (*reciclatge*).

Articles 5, 7 and 16 of the 1987 Decree were eventually modified by the Spanish Government¹³.

2.1.2.2.1.3.- Requirement of the Knowledge of Catalan

It is important to highlight the fact that, since the very beginning, the *Generalitat* has tried to apply the knowledge of Catalan as a qualifying requirement to accede to the Autonomous Administration.

Here is a brief summary of the evolution in this area:

¹³ Decree no. 254/1987, dated August 4th (DOGC no. 885 of September 2nd), contains the final version of the text.

1. Even though no general regulation is found in this sense yet, the knowledge of Catalan was actually required for entry to the *Generalitat*'s Administration until 1985. The requirement had a qualifying nature.

2. First general provision in this area: requirement of the knowledge of Catalan in the selection processes on transfer of personnel from other administrations (*concurso de traslado*) and in the recruitment (*selecció*) (articles 30 and 34, respectively, of Act no. 17/1985, dated July 23rd). This requirement had a qualifying nature.

3. Unconstitutional charge of the Spanish Government to article 34 of the 1985 Act.

4. In spite of the provisional suspension of article 34, a certain level of competence in Catalan had to be proved between 1985 and 1991 (Catalan had to be used by all candidates who wished to accede to the Autonomous Administration in one of the exams). All the same, this specific measure was not always implemented. In the case of implementation, Catalan would just be valued as a merit.

5. Ruling of the Constitutional Court acknowledging the competence in Catalan as a qualifying requirement for entry to the *Generalitat* (Ruling of the Constitutional Court no. 46/1991, dated February 28th -BOE no. 74, supplement, of March 27th).

6. The Language Normalization Commission's agreements of June 19th, 1991 (Guitart i Agell 1992), and 1992, adopt a series of legal measures to implement this favourable ruling. The knowledge of Catalan now had a qualifying nature in the transfer of personnel from other administrations, the recruitment, the filling of leadership posts (*provisió de càrrecs de comandament*) and, finally, the appointment without having to sit competitive exams (*llocs de lliure designació*) to the Autonomous Administration. Required levels of Catalan for entrance in the different labour categories were set up in the following way: C level is necessary in 80% of the cases (in A, B, C and D labour categories), and B level in 20% (only in E labour category).

7. All previous qualifying requirements in the knowledge of Catalan, except for the case of appointment without having to sit competitive exams, were explicitly regulated in article 54 of Decree-Law no. 1/1997, dated October 31st (DOGC no. 2509, annex, of November 3rd)¹⁴.

2.1.2.2.1.4.- The Situation of Catalan: its Use

The analysis of the use of Catalan in the administration field is concerned with two main areas:

1. Internal Use

Tables 4 to 8 reflect the actual levels of internal use of Catalan in the administrative field of the *Generalitat*.

Table 4. (Subjective) Knowledge of Catalan (1990)

Understands	Speaks	Reads	Writes
96%	86%	92%	73%

Source: Tudela i Penya (1994, 9, 14-15).

Table 5. Use of Catalan at Work - I (1990)

Use of Catalan at Work	Personnel
0%	4.3%
1-20%	0.6%
21-40%	4.7%
41-60%	8.3%
61-80%	19.4%
81-90%	13.2%
91-99%	5.2%
100%	44.3%

Source: Tudela i Penya (1994, 20).

Table 6. Use of Catalan at Work - II (1990)

With Catalan-speaking workmates	With Castilian-speaking workmates	With the general public/ civil servants
91.5%	42.1%	78.6%

¹⁴ Sources: Bauzà Sastre un.p.(a); Direcció General de Política Lingüística (1998); Duarte and Solé (1989); Vernet i Llobet (1992).

Source: Tudela i Peña (1994, 25-6).

Table 7. Habitual Language of Use (1990)

Catalan	75%
Castilian	14.7%
Catalan and Castilian	9.9%

Source: Tudela i Peña (1994, 21).

Table 8. Linguistic Behaviour at Work (1990)

	Catalan	Castilian
Reads	81%	19%
Writes	86.1%	13.9%
Speaks	78.9%	19.9%
Listens	78.9%	21.1%

Source: Tudela i Peña (1994, 22-3).

As far as Catalan in-service training is concerned, 71.3% of all civil servants have attended courses of Catalan (whether in the *Generalitat* or in some other official organism), and 49.1% have sat Catalan examinations. 85.9% of the exams have been passed (Tudela i Peña 1994, 16-7).

As is reflected in these different tables, the internal use of Catalan in the Autonomous Administration of the *Generalitat* is quite normal in all cases. Catalan is the most widely used language in this domain. Levels of competence in Catalan are also high.

2. External Use

Table 9 shows the evolution of the use of Catalan by the *Generalitat* in the press.

Table 9. Use of Catalan in Public Advertisements and Notices of the *Generalitat* and its Autonomous Entities in the Press (*La Vanguardia*, 1982-1998)

	1982	1986	1990	1994	1998
Catalan	45%	90%	97%	100%	100%

Castilian	50%	6.5%	3%	0%	0%
Bilingual	5%	3.5%	0%	0%	0%

Source: *La Vanguardia*, months of February 1982, 1986, 1990, 1994 and 1998.
Own preparation.

It can be observed that the introduction of the use of Catalan in this area is clear enough. The use of Catalan reaches its maximum level (100%) from 1990 onwards.

2.1.2.2.2.- Education

The analysis of the education sector includes five main aspects: the transfer of authority on educational issues from the Central Government; the creation of bodies responsible for the coordination of language planning activities in this field; the introduction of Catalan in the education system, both as a subject and a medium of instruction; the requirement of the knowledge of Catalan for the teaching staff; and the teaching of Catalan abroad.

2.1.2.2.2.1.- Transfer of Authority on Educational Issues

Transfer of complete authority on educational issues to the Government of Catalonia took place in 1980 (Decree no. 2809/1980, dated October 3rd).

2.1.2.2.2.1.- Language Planning Coordinating Bodies

The main coordinating body of the language planning process in the education system is the SEDEC, or Catalan Teaching Service (*Servei d'Ensenyament del Català*). It was created in 1978 within the Department of Teaching and Culture of the *Generalitat* (Decree dated May 22nd, 1978). Its principal function is to promote and coordinate the spread of the use of Catalan in the whole education system of Catalonia.

The Technical Commission for the Teaching of the Catalan Language (*Comissió Tècnica Reguladora de l'Ensenyament del Català*) was set up one year later as an auxiliary body of the SEDEC (Order dated May 28th, 1981). Its main functions are to

grant exemptions in the area of Catalan to students with temporary residence in Catalonia and to validate Catalan education qualifications.

2.1.2.2.2.3.- Catalan as a Subject and a Medium of Instruction

A very resolute policy of introduction of Catalan, both as a subject and a medium of instruction, has been applied by the *Generalitat* since a very early stage.

Here is a brief summary of the evolution of the introduction of Catalan in the education system of Catalonia:

1. 1978

Introduction of Catalan as a compulsory subject in the education system (kindergarten, primary -EGB- and secondary education -BUP-, and 1st level of professional training -FP1).

Voluntary Catalan-medium teaching is also allowed¹⁵.

2. 1980

Extension of Catalan as a subject to all non-university education levels (2nd level of professional training -FP2- and pre-university course -COU).

Voluntary Catalan-medium teaching is easier than before.

The introduction of Catalan as a subject is completed around 1983. According to Arenas (1986, 83), by this time more than 90% of the pupils in kindergarten (3-5 years) and primary education (6-11 years) had Catalan as a subject for at least 4 hours per week¹⁶.

3. 1982

Although the combined use of Catalan and Castilian as a medium of teaching is the most usual formula, exclusive teaching in Catalan and Castilian are also allowed in exceptional circumstances. Teaching in Catalan and Castilian must cover at least one subject, apart from language subjects, at the medium level (*cicle mitjà*) of primary education (EGB)¹⁷.

4. August 1983

¹⁵ Regulation: Royal Decree no. 2092/1978, dated June 23rd.

¹⁶ Regulations: Decree no. 142/1980, dated August 8th; Decree no. 153/1980, dated September 12th.

¹⁷ Regulation: Decree no. 270/1982, dated August 5th.

The long-term objective is to make Catalan the only teaching medium at all non-university education levels in Catalonia. Two main aims are established:

a) A minimum of teaching in Catalan is guaranteed in all Education Centres from the Medium Level (*cicle mitjà*) in Primary Education

While Castilian-speaking pupils have the right to be initially taught in Castilian (kindergarten and *cicle inicial*), a minimum of one area, apart from the language subject, must be compulsorily taught in Catalan at the medium level (*cicle mitjà*), and a minimum of two, apart from the language subject, at the superior level (*cicle superior*) in primary education. This latter linguistic requirement (a minimum of two subjects in Catalan, apart from the language subject) would also be applied in secondary education, professional training and the pre-university course (BUP, FP and COU, respectively).

b) At the same time, the use of Catalan should be progressively extended in the successive courses to other subjects since the Medium Level at Primary Education

However, no regulation concerning a minimum of teaching in Castilian was established. There were no exceptions, so that exclusive teaching in this language was not possible¹⁸.

5. December 1983

At the request of the Spanish Government, a second section is added to article 9 of Decree no. 362/1983, which established the minimum levels of use of Catalan. Exclusive teaching in Catalan is now prohibited: teaching in Castilian must be applied at least to one subject or area, apart from the language subject, at non-university education levels. Articles 8 and 9 of Order dated September 8th, 1983, are also modified.

All the same, previous minimum levels of use of Catalan and the progressivity criterion in the introduction of this language are still maintained.

With the exception of initial levels (kindergarten and *cicle inicial* in primary education), an integral model based on the combined use of Catalan and Castilian as media of instruction is therefore established in non-university education in Catalonia.

¹⁸ Regulations: Decree no. 362/1983, dated August 30th (DOGC no. 359 of August 31st), and implementing Order dated September 8th, 1983 (DOGC no. 362 of September 9th).

The decision about what language to use in those subjects the linguistic medium of which is not regulated by the law rests with the school board of each centre¹⁹.

From this decree on, the *Generalitat*'s language planning activities in the education system are characterized by the progressive extension of Catalan as a medium of instruction, so that a firm Catalanization policy will be implemented to the full. This is specially true in kindergarten and primary education. According to the main language of instruction, three types of schools will be officially possible at these levels: schools with predominantly Catalan-medium instruction (an important number of which will apply Catalan immersion programs), schools with bilingual instruction, and schools with predominantly Castilian-medium instruction. As has already been observed, the final decision rested with the parents' associations and the teaching team of each school.

Because of the particular characteristics of this field, the Catalanization of secondary education has been, nonetheless, much slower²⁰.

6. 1992

Maximization of the Catalanization process at the compulsory levels of the education system: Catalan as the normal medium of instruction in kindergarten, primary (EGB) and compulsory secondary education (ESO)²¹.

In this sense, officialy beginning with the 1993-1994 school year, but in practice from the date of the Constitutional Court's decision of December 23rd, 1994, the three optional models of the earlier period were eliminated and a single model (the predominantly Catalan-medium instruction type) was introduced in compulsory education.

On the other hand, no new requirements were placed on secondary schools. Apart from the obligation to use Catalan in a minimum of two subjects, the situation in this domain remains open and dependent on individual teachers²².

Tables 10 to 13 reflect the evolution of Catalanization in the non-university education system in Catalonia.

¹⁹ Regulations: The final text is regulated by Decree no. 576/1983, dated December 6th (DOGC no. 415 of March 9th, 1984), and implementing Order dated December 6th, 1983.

²⁰ Four main orders regulate the introduction of Catalan in this level: Order dated July 9th, 1985; Order dated November 11th, 1988; and, finally, Order dated September 12th, 1989 (later modified by Order dated October 21st, 1993).

²¹ Regulation: Decree no. 75/1992, dated March 9th (DOGC no. 1578 of April 3rd).

²² Sources: Arenas (1986); Argelaguet i Argemí (1998; 1999, 107-18); Artigal (1997); Departament d'Ensenyament (1998, 9-16, 52-4); Vila i Mendiburu and Siguan i Soler (1998, 74-7).

Table 10. Evolution of the Linguistic-Medium Type of Instruction in Primary Education (1986-1996)

Course	In Catalan	In Catalan and Castilian	In Castilian	Total
1986-1987	42.46%	33.03%	24.51%	945,771
1989-1990	56.45%	33.64%	9.91%	827,974
1992-1993	72.94%	23.62%	3.43%	767,117
1995-1996	81.45%	18.01%	0.54%	681,811

Source: Departament d'Ensenyament (1998, 49-50)

Table 11. Absolute and Relative Number of Students following the Catalan Immersion Program in Primary Education (1986-1996)

Course	%	Total
1986-1987	-	37,251
1989-1990	-	51,433
1992-1993	62.03%	133,080
1995-1996	88.98%	91,024

Note: Percentages are calculated in relation to the potential number of students which could follow the Catalan Immersion Program (that is, whenever more than 70% of the overall students are non-Catalan speakers).

Source: Departament d'Ensenyament (1998, 30)

Table 12. Absolute and Relative Number of Centres following the Catalan Immersion Program in Primary Education (1984-1996)

Course	%	Total
1984-1985	-	408
1986-1987	-	527
1989-1990	-	684
1992-1993	85.56%	1,280

1995-1996	93.56%	1,046
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Note: Percentages in Tables 10 and 11 are calculated in relation to the potential number of centres which could follow the Catalan Immersion Program (that is, whenever more than 70% of the overall students are non-Catalan speakers).

Source: Departament d'Ensenyament (1998, 30).

Table 13. Evolution of the Linguistic-Medium Type of Instruction in Secondary Education (1990-1996)

Course	In Catalan	In Catalan and Castilian	In Castilian	Total
1990-1991	30.85%	26.38%	42.78%	298,648
1992-1993	44.64%	24.98%	30.38%	323,046
1995-1996	50.52%	25.11%	24.36%	379,716

Source: Departament d'Ensenyament (1998, 68)

In conclusion, it can be stated that the introduction of Catalan in the education system is on the basis of the language planning process in Catalonia. The different regulations were passed quickly, so that language planning activities in this area were implemented before the passing of the Language Normalization Act for Catalonia (see, for example, the early creation of the SEDEC, in 1978, and also the regulation of Catalan as a medium of instruction in 1982). In spite of the continuous vetoes from the Spanish Government and so the impossibility of achieving total Catalanization, the Catalan education system has reached an important level of use of Catalan, especially in compulsory schooling, from the voluntary implementation of a single education model. The positive attitudes of the vast majority of Catalan society, and the teaching staff in particular, to the Catalan language have been of the utmost importance.

2.1.2.2.2.4-Requirement of the Knowledge of Catalan for the Teaching Staff

This section includes two main aspects: the evolution of the requirement of the knowledge of Catalan in the recruitment of teaching personnel; and the design and implementation of special Catalan in-service training courses for teaching staff.

2.1.2.2.2.4.1.- Recruitment

It is important to highlight the fact that, since a very early stage, the *Generalitat* has tried to apply the knowledge of Catalan as a requirement to join the teaching corps in Catalonia. Here is a brief summary of the evolution in this area:

1. 1981-1985

Following Royal Decree no. 229/1981, dated February 5th, all teachers must pass a specific examination in Catalan language and culture in order to obtain a post in non-university education in Catalonia. This stage is divided into three main periods:

a) 1981-1982

Teachers who, not having opted for a destination outside Catalonia, do not pass the specific test in Catalan within two years cannot join the teaching corps.

b) 1983

All teachers can join the teaching corps. However, they will be obliged to participate in the selection processes on transfer out of Catalonia if the specific test in Catalan is not passed within two years, and

c) 1984-1985

All teachers can join the teaching corps. Passing of the specific test in Catalan is, nonetheless, a *sine qua non* for getting a permanent post in this region. Participation in the selection processes on transfer to other parts of Catalonia cannot be applied in the case of failure of the exam so that a permanent post in this region is impossible²³.

2. 1986-1988

Following the appeal lodged by some teachers and the ruling of the High Court of December 16th, 1985, the *Generalitat* passed Decree no. 18/1986, dated January 30th

²³ Permanent posts in the education system can only be achieved from participation in selection processes on transfer.

(DOGC no. 647 of February 10th). The Decree meant an important reduction of the previous linguistic requirements, since it allows teachers to get a permanent post in Catalonia without the need to pass the specific exam in Catalan language and culture. Participation in the selection processes on transfer to other parts of Catalonia could not apply in the case of failure of the exam without this having any other sort of consequences²⁴.

3. From 1989 on

Following Ministerial Order dated April 14th, 1989 (BOE no. 90 of April 15th), the requirement of the knowledge of Catalan at all non-university education levels was reintroduced by the *Generalitat* (Decree no. 244/1991, dated October 1991 -DOGC no. 1524 of November 29th). It is important to note that this language requirement, which affects all ways of entrance to non-university teaching, has a qualifying nature for the first time: no accession to the teaching corps is possible in the case of failure of the specific Catalan exam or the non-presentation of accreditation in the language²⁵.

2.1.2.2.4.2.- Catalan In-Service Training

The generalized spread of Catalan as a subject and a medium of instruction involves the adequate linguistic preparation of all teaching staff. In-service training is therefore directed to complete the training of the teaching staff, be they or not in active service, in the Catalan language. Since most of the teachers were initially not linguistically qualified, this has been a fundamental policy in the language planning process concerning the education system.

The policy of Catalan in-service training in non-university education goes through two main stages:

1. 1978-1979 to 1985-1986

Regulations: Ministerial Order dated December 14th, 1978; Order dated October 19th, 1981.

It is important to observe how, once again, the *Generalitat*'s first regulation in this area is previous to the passing of the Language Normalization Act.

²⁴ The condition to participate in selection processes on transfer in order to get a permanent post is not applicable in this particular case.

²⁵ Source: Argelaguet i Argemí (1999, 130-9); Departament d'Ensenyament (1998, 55).

The unsatisfactory linguistic level demanded in the different Catalan in-service training courses received many criticisms, so the system was changed in 1985.

2. From 1985-1986 on

Order dated July 9th, 1985 (DOGC no. 583 of September 2nd), introduces a complete renewal and an improvement to many aspects of the previous Catalan in-service training.

In spite of its voluntary nature, the participation of the teaching staff in Catalan in-service training programs has been quite substantial. This success has been mainly due to the existence of indirect coercive measures deriving from the general Catalanization of non-university education in Catalonia, especially at compulsory levels (competence in Catalan is a requirement for entry to the teaching corps in Catalonia, and a certain level of training is required to teach in Catalan in an education system, the normal and proper language of which is Catalan)²⁶.

Some data concerning the evolution of accreditation in Catalan in the education system is found in Tables 14 and 15.

Table 14. Evolution of the Teaching Staff with Accreditation in Catalan in Primary Education (1986-1996)

Course	With Accreditation	Without Accreditation	Total
1986-1987	64.91%	35.09%	36,128
1989-1990	73.58%	26.42%	30,884
1992-1993	88.03%	11.97%	31,327
1995-1996	93.29%	6.71%	40,636

Note: According to Direcció General de Política Lingüística (1997 and 1998, 12 and 27, respectively), 97% (21,076 teachers) of the teaching staff in primary education held accreditation in Catalan during the year 1995-1996; only 3% (701 teachers) were not linguistically competent.
Source: Departament d'Ensenyament (1998, 50).

Table 15. Evolution of the Teaching Staff with Accreditation in Catalan in Secondary Education (1992-1996)

Course	With accreditation	Without accreditation	No answer	Total
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²⁶ Source: Argelaguet i Argemí (1999, 139-45).

1992-1993	37.64%	12.93%	49.43%	31,327
1995-1996	56.05%	6.27%	37.68%	40,636

Note: According to Direcció General de Política Lingüística (1997 and 1998, 12 and 27, respectively), 77% (18,901 teachers) of the teaching staff in secondary education held accreditation in Catalan during the year 1995-1996; 23% (5,655 teachers) were not linguistically competent. Globally (primary plus secondary education), 86% (39,977 teachers) of the teaching staff held accreditation in Catalan, while only 14% (6,356 teachers) were not linguistically competent.
Source: Departament d'Ensenyament (1998, 69).

As is reflected in the previous tables, the vast majority of the teaching staff in Catalonia, especially in primary education, are already competent in the language.

2.1.2.2.2.5.- The Teaching of Catalan Abroad

Catalan has been taught abroad with support from the *Generalitat* since the 1987-1988 academic year.

This sort of teaching is regulated by Order dated January 20th, 1988 (DOGC no. 948 of February 5th), which set up the Commission for the Promotion of the Teaching of Catalan Abroad (*Comissió de Promoció de l'Ensenyament del Català a les Universitats de fora de l'Àmbit Territorial de Catalunya*).

According to Leprêtre (1992, 28-30), the Catalan language was taught in 83 universities throughout the world in 1991. Twenty-five of these Catalan assistantships were financially supported by the *Generalitat*. Five years later, during the year 1997-1998, figures had risen quite a lot. By this time, Catalan was taught in 164 universities; 70 of the assistantships received some funding from the Catalan Government (Leprêtre unp.).

2.1.2.2.3.- Mass Media and Culture Industries

2.1.2.2.3.1.- Mass Media

The analysis of language planning activities in the mass media focuses on the use of Catalan in two main areas: television and radio, and periodicals (especially the press)²⁷.

2.1.2.2.3.1.1- Television and Radio

The analysis of language planning implementation in the area of television and radio in Catalonia can be divided into three main aspects:

1. Following Act no. 6/1981, dated June 19th, the Television and Radio Advisory Council (*Consell Assessor de Ràdio i Televisió*) was created. It introduced the first programmes in Catalan language.

The Act was vetoed by the Spanish Government in 1981 (Charge of Unconstitutionality no. 242/1981; Ruling of the Constitutional Court no. 10/1982, dated March 23rd -BOE no. 95, supplement, of April 21st).

2. The creation of the Catalan Television and Radio Corporation (*Corporació Catalana de Ràdio i Televisió*) in 1983. It allowed for the establishment of an autonomous television and radio network, comprising two television channels (TV3 in 1983, and *Canal 33* in 1989) and five radio stations (*Catalunya Ràdio* in 1983; RAC 105 in 1984 -this station has been privatized; *Catalunya Música* in 1987; *Catalunya Informació* in 1992; and *Catalunya Cultura* in 1999).

All these television channels and radio stations broadcast entirely in Catalan. 85% of the total advertisements in the television channels are also in this language (Leprêtre unp.).

3. There have also been a series of acts and decrees regulating the use of Catalan in private radio stations, local televisions and transmitted-by-cable audiovisual programs. The main points of these regulations are the following: establishment of a minimum quota in the use of Catalan; creation of an inspection and penalty mechanism in the case of failure of compliance; and establishment of a deadline for complete adaptation to these new legal requirements²⁸.

²⁷ General source for legal texts in the mass media domain: Direcció General de Política Lingüística (1998).

²⁸ Regulations: a) On Radio Stations
Decree no. 80/1989, dated April 4th (DOGC no.1130 of April 12th), and Decree no. 269/1998, dated October 21st (DOGC no. 2756 of November 2nd).

b) On Local Television

It is important to note that the *Generalitat* has supported the reception of TV3 and *Canal 33* in Valencia and the Balearic Islands since 1992. The budget assigned to this activity was around 17 million ptas in 1992 and 1993, 13 million ptas in 1994, and 11 million ptas from 1995 onwards (Departament d'Economia i Finances, 1981 to 1999).

2.1.2.2.3.1.2.- Newspapers and Magazines

An important subsidizing policy for the promotion of the use of Catalan in periodicals, particularly the press, has been applied by the Catalan Government since 1981 (see Table 16).

Table 16. Subsidies to Newspapers and Magazines in Catalan (1981-1997)

Year	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Absolute subsidy (in ptas)	1,500,000	20,958,400	100,000,000	102,680,000	-
Relative subsidy - I (in relation to the total budget of the Press Area - <i>Àrea de Premsa</i>)	-	-	-	89.5%	-
Relative subsidy - II (expenditure per person in the subsidy to periodicals in Catalan -in ptas)	0.25	3.4	16.6	17.1	-

Year	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Absolute subsidy (in ptas)	109,215,006	108,191,471	132,115,881	131,218,254	1,099.454,958
Relative subsidy - I (in relation to the total budget of the Press Area - <i>Àrea de Premsa</i>)	57.5%	21.6%	22.6%	22%	95.94%
Relative subsidy - II (expenditure per	18.2	18	22	21.8	183.3

Decree no. 320/1996, dated October 1st (DOGC no. 2268 of October 14th).

c) On Transmitted-by-Cable Audiovisual Programs

Act no. 8/1996, dated July 5th (DOGC no. 2232 of July 19th).

person in the subsidy to periodicals in Catalan)					
--	--	--	--	--	--

Year	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Absolute subsidy (in ptas)	322,310,326	754,137,368	770,685,929	660,416,789	583,954,109
Relative subsidy - I (in relation to the total budget of the Press Area - <i>Àrea de Premsa</i>)	98.7%	97.8%	98.3%	97.3%	108.2%
Relative subsidy - II (expenditure per person in the subsidy to periodicals in Catalan -in ptas)	53.7	125.6	128.4	110	97.3

Year	1996	1997
Absolute subsidy (in ptas)	572,308,161	488,095,821
Relative subsidy - I (in relation to the total budget of the Press Area - <i>Àrea de Premsa</i>)	95.8%	98.8%
Relative subsidy - II (expenditure per person in the subsidy to periodicals in Catalan -in ptas)	95.3	81.3

Notes: 1) These subsidies were directed exclusively to the press between 1981 and 1989. From 1990 onwards, figures also include funding for other periodical publications in this language; 2) High percentual figures since 1990 are mainly due to the concession of extraordinary subsidies which may not be included in the overall budget of the Press Area (*Àrea de Premsa*); 3) The total budget of the Press Area does not include personnel salaries.

Sources for financial data: Departament de Cultura (1980 to 1998).

Sources for population data: Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya [n.d.].

Own preparation.

2.1.2.2.3.2.- Culture Industries

The study of the cultural promotion of Catalan focuses on three main areas: the literary production, the book publishing activities, and the film industry. A final analysis of other cultural fields will nonetheless also be considered.

2.1.2.2.3.2.1.- Literary Production

Act no. 20/1987, dated November 12th (DOGC no. 922 of December 2nd), creates the Institution of Catalan Arts (*Institució de les Lletres Catalanes*) with the aim of promoting literary production in Catalan, as well as its generalized diffusion in Catalonia and abroad (see Table 17).

Table 17. Budget of the Institution of Catalan Arts (1988-1999)

Year	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
Absolute budget (in ptas)	59,201,000	62,000,000	100,000,000	150,000,000	155,000,000
Relative budget (expenditure per person in the budget of the Institution of the Catalan Arts -in ptas)	9.8	10.3	16.6	25	25.8

Year	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Absolute budget (in ptas)	174,000,000	176,000,000	167,000,000	150,000,000	187,000,000
Relative budget (expenditure per person in the budget of the Institution of the Catalan Arts -in ptas)	29	29.3	27.8	25	31.1

Year	1998	1999
Absolute budget (in ptas)	237,000,000	209,000,000
Relative budget (expenditure per person in the budget of the Institution of the Catalan Arts -in ptas)	39.5	34.3

Sources for financial data: Departament d'Economia i Finances (1981 to 1999).

Sources for population data: Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya [n.d.].

Own preparation.

2.1.2.2.3.2.2.- Book Publishing

The spread of the use of Catalan in the book publishing industry has also been supported by an important subsidizing policy since 1980 (see Table 18).

Table 18. Subsidies for Book Publishing in Catalan (1980-1999)

Years	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Absolute subsidy (in ptas)	1,000,000	16,160,000	20,996,250	52,903,250	66,962,050
Relative subsidy - I (in relation to the total budget of the Book Area - <i>Àrea del Llibre</i>)	-	-	-	-	49.6%
Relative subsidy - II (expenditure per person in the subsidies to book publishing in Catalan -in ptas)	0.16	2.69	3.49	8.8	11.1

Years	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Absolute subsidy (in ptas)	39,873,000	138,374,632	115,977,407	99,404,129	196,968,921
Relative subsidy - I (in relation to the total budget of the Book Area - <i>Àrea del Llibre</i>)	21.1%	52.2%	52.5%	59.8%	81.4%
Relative subsidy - II (expenditure per person in the subsidies to book publishing in Catalan -in ptas)	6.6	23	19.3	16.5	32.8

Years	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Absolute subsidy (in ptas)	174,906,241	209,991,375	205,997,864	221,151,105	181,324,118
Relative subsidy - I	54.7%	50.8%	60%	59.5%	63.3%

(in relation to the total budget of the Book Area - <i>Àrea del Llibre</i>)					
Relative subsidy - II (expenditure per person in the subsidies to book publishing in Catalan -in ptas)	29.1	35	34.3	36.8	30.2

Years	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Absolute subsidy (in ptas)	187,907,018	154,714,872	193,010,116	190,000,000	190,000,000
Relative subsidy - I (in relation to the total budget of the Book Area - <i>Àrea del Llibre</i>)	79.4%	64.5%	82.5%	-	-
Relative subsidy - II (expenditure per person in the subsidies to book publishing in Catalan -in ptas)	31.3	25.7	32.1	31.6	31.6

Note: The total budget of the Book Area (*Àrea del Llibre*) does not include personnel salaries.
Sources for financial data concerning the periods 1980-1981 and 1998-1999: Departament d'Economia i Finances (1981 to 1999).
Sources for financial data concerning the period 1982-1997: Departament de Cultura (1980 to 1998).
Sources for population data: Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya [n.d.].
Own preparation.

2.1.2.2.3.2.3.- The Film Industry

The most important regulation in the area of the film industry is Decree no. 237/1998, dated September 8th (DOGC no. 2725 of September 16th). It establishes Catalan linguistic quotas of screen time and distribution for all dubbed or subtitled cinematic works which are distributed and screened in Catalonia. It also sets up an inspection and penalty mechanism, and establishes strict deadlines for full conformity with the law.

It is important to note that, even though no veto from the Central Government has been lodged, articles 14 and 15 of the Decree have been temporarily suspended following the appeals of some civic and business organizations (Resolution dated March 12th, 1999 -DOGC no. 2859 of March 31st).

The *Generalitat* has again implemented an effective and uninterrupted subsidizing policy for the promotion of the use of Catalan in the video and film industry since 1981. As is reflected in Table 19, subsidies for the promotion of the use of Catalan in this field have been quite considerable throughout the years.

Table 19. Subsidies for the Promotion of the Use of Catalan in the Film Industry (1981-1997)

Years	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Absolute subsidy (in ptas)	13,710,391	37,862,468	44,707,600	12,868,625	23,750,552
Relative subsidy - I (in relation to the total budget of the Cinema and Video Area - <i>Àrea de Cinematografia i Vídeo</i>)	-	-	-	13.9%	24.7%
Relative subsidy - II (expenditure per person in the subsidy to the cinema in Catalan -in ptas)	2.2	6.3	7.4	2.1	3.9

Years	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Absolute subsidy (in ptas)	140,860,000	193,351,195	242,590,546	355,236,357	302,007,588
Relative subsidy - I (in relation to the total budget of the Cinema and Video Area - <i>Àrea de Cinematografia i Vídeo</i>)	60.2%	54.7%	70.8%	77%	66.2%
Relative subsidy - II (expenditure per person in the subsidy to the cinema in Catalan -in ptas)	23.4	32.2	40.4	59.2	50.3

Years	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Absolute subsidy (in ptas)	237,328,250	308,067,309	233,550,780	150,053,512	97,467,800
Relative subsidy - I (in relation to the total budget of the Cinema and Video	69.3%	71.5%	63.3%	68.7%	19.4%

Area -Àrea de Cinematografia i Vídeo)					
Relative subsidy - II (expenditure per person in the subsidy to the cinema in Catalan -in ptas)	39.5	51.3	38.9	25	16.2

Years	1996	1997
Absolute subsidy (in ptas)	82,723,391	102,062,395
Relative subsidy - I (in relation to the total budget of the Cinema and Video Area -Àrea de Cinematografia i Vídeo)	15%	26.2%
Relative subsidy - II (expenditure per person in the subsidy to the cinema in Catalan -in ptas)	13.7	17

Notes: 1) Financial figures also include subsidies for prizes and competitions in the area of cinema as well as the support of the *Direcció General de Política Lingüística* since 1991; 2) The total budget of the Cinema and Video Area (*Àrea de Cinematografia i Vídeo*) does not include personnel salaries; 3) Subsidies for the promotion of the use of Catalan in the video industry are not included.

Sources for financial data: Departament de Cultura (1980 to 1998).

Sources for population data: Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya [n.d.].

Own preparation.

2.1.2.2.3.2.4.- Others

Finally, the *Generalitat* has also contributed to the spread of the use of Catalan in the theatre and the recording industry with an active policy of economic support (*Direcció General de Política Lingüística* 1997 and 1998).

2.1.2.2.4.- Socioeconomic Activity

The analysis of language planning activities in this section includes three main aspects: the creation of general coordination bodies; the passing of different regulations concerning the introduction of Catalan in the socioeconomic world; and the

Generalitat's actual implementation of these various regulations, as well as the use of Catalan in various socioeconomic activities.

2.1.2.2.4.1.- Language Planning Coordinating Bodies

The promotion of the use of Catalan in the socioeconomic sphere has gone through three main stages:

1. 1980-1983

Creation of Catalan Municipal Services (*Serveis Municipals de Català*) in different local councils of Catalonia.

2. 1984-1988

Progressive integration of the Catalan Municipal Services in the Language Normalization Centres (*Centres de Normalització Lingüística*), which were created following article 26 of the Language Normalization Act for Catalonia.

Both bodies were directly dependent on the Directorate General for Language Policy.

3. From 1988 onwards

On 15 December 1988 the Directorate General for Language Policy was relieved of direct pressure to oversee the spread of the use of Catalan in the socioeconomic world thanks to the creation of the Consortium for Language Normalization (*Consorti per a la Normalització Lingüística*). This autonomous body has been responsible for the entire coordination of the introduction of Catalan in this domain since then. Its action extends to five main activities: Catalan courses for adults, linguistic advice to the general public, teaching services and linguistic advice for business companies, non-profit-making organizations, and local institutions. Nowadays, the Consortium is made up of the *Generalitat*, 81 city councils, 37 regional councils (*consells comarcals*) and the provincial councils (*diputacions*) of Girona, Lleida and Tarragona. Its various services are offered in a decentralized way through a territorial network comprising 22 Language Normalization Centres and various Catalan language services. It is important to highlight that, even though only 8.5% of all 944 city councils of Catalonia are part of the

Consortium, its language planning activities have a significant impact on the whole Catalan territory²⁹.

2.1.2.2.4.2.- Regulations

Regulations in this field affect three main areas: labeling, companies, and names of places and signs.

2.1.2.2.4.2.1.- Labeling

Two main stages can be distinguished:

1. 1983-1998

The use of Catalan in the labeling of products which are distributed in Catalonia is possible³⁰.

It is important to observe that this Decree was vetoed by the Spanish Government on the grounds of a Conflict of Competence in 1984 (Conflict of Competence no. 66/1984, and Ruling of the Constitutional Court no. 69/1988, dated April 19th -BOE no. 108, supplement, dated May 5th, 1988).

2. From 1998 onwards

The labeling of those traditional products which are distributed in Catalonia must be, at least, in Catalan³¹.

2.1.2.2.4.2.2.- Companies

²⁹ The following reasons could be adduced: 1) Those city councils with an unfavorable Catalan sociolinguistic profile, those with more than 10,000 inhabitants, as well as all regional capitals, have been given priority; 2) In the case of small towns and villages of the same area, one Catalan service is commonly shared; 3) Many of the non-integrant city councils have an indirect participation in the Consortium; and, finally, 4) 90% of all regional councils and 100% of all provincial councils in Catalonia are represented (the provincial council of Barcelona has an indirect participation in the Consortium).

Sources: Departament de Cultura (1980 to 1998); Direcció General de Política Lingüística [n.d.](a).

³⁰ Regulation: Decree no. 389/1983, dated September 15th (DOGC no. 368 of September 30th).

³¹ Regulations: Article 34.2 of Act no. 1/1998, dated January 7th, has been ratified by two Spanish regulations: article 2 of Royal Decree no. 1268/1997, dated July 24th (BOE no. 77 of July 25th), and article 18 of Royal Decree no. 1334/1999, dated July 31st (BOE no. 202 of August 24th).

All regulations in this area were passed between 1992 and 1995. No regulation is found after Act no. 1/1998, dated January 7th.

All those documents used at work (such as invoices, delivery notes, contracts, etc.), signs and other sorts of information (publicity on prices and available services, etc.) must be written, at least, in Catalan.

The affected domains are the following: 1) travellers' road transport services; 2) consumers' statute; 3) industrial activity and garages; 4) tourist accommodation establishments; 5) travel agencies; 6) catering services; and 7) home delivery services³².

2.1.2.2.4.2.3.- Names of Places and Signs

All regulations in this area correspond to the period stretching between 1982 and 1993.

All signposting and signs, and information to the user (price signs, timetables, etc.) must be, at least, in Catalan. Names of places must also be, at least, in Catalan.

The affected domains are the following: 1) Roads, railway, bus, and coach stations, and public services; 2) industrial machinery and installations; 3) breakdown vehicles transport services; 4) general names of places; 5) roads; and 6) garages³³.

2.1.2.2.4.3.- Actual Data

Actual data on the introduction of Catalan in the socioeconomic world is studied in three main areas: financial support, language normalization agreements, and the levels of use of Catalan.

2.1.2.2.4.3.1.- Financial Support

³² Regulations (matching the affected domains' order): 1) articles 2.1, 3.3 and 24.2 of Order dated June 25th, 1992 (DOGC no. 1660 of October 23rd); 2) articles 26 and 27 of Act no. 3/1993, dated March 5th (DOGC no. 1719 of March 12th); 3) article 12 of Decree no. 298/1993, dated October 8th (DOGC no. 1832 of December 15th); 4) articles 1 and 10 of Decree no. 53/1994, dated February 8th (DOGC no. 1876 of March, 23rd); 5) articles 2, 15 and 16 of Decree no. 168/1994, dated May 30th (DOGC no. 1924 of July 22nd); 6) articles 15 and 18 of Decree no. 317/1994, dated November 4th (DOGC no. 1994 of December 9th); 7) articles 2, 3 and 4 of Decree no. 290/1995, dated September 28th (DOGC no. 2126 of November 10th).

³³ Regulations (matching the affected domains' order): 1) article 1 of Decree no. 106/1982, dated April 16th (DOGC no. 226 of May 26th); 2) Order dated February 18th, 1986 (DOGC no. 655 of February 28th); 3) article 3 of Decree no. 166/1990, dated June 20th (DOGC no. 1319 of July 18th); 4) Decree no. 78/1991, dated April 8th (DOGC no. 1434 of April 24th); 5) 2nd Additional Provision of Act no. 7/1993, dated September 30th (DOGC no. 1807 of October 11th); 6) article 12 of Decree no. 298/1993, dated October 8th (DOGC no. 1832 of December 15th).

Source: Direcció General de Política Lingüística (1998).

Table 20 reflects the importance of the *Generalitat*'s financial support for the promotion of the social use of Catalan in different fields: Consortium, non-profit-making organizations (trade unions, employers' organizations, professional associations, sport and cultural organizations, etc.), companies, universities, local institutions, etc.

Table 20. Evolution of Financial Support for the Promotion of the Use of Catalan in the Socioeconomic World (1990-1997)

Years	Consortium for Language Normalization (budget -in ptas)	Other entities (subsidies -in ptas): 1) Non-profit-making organ.	2) Companies	3) Universities	4) Local Institutions
1990	751,087,430	-	-	-	-
1991	1,041,550,000	119,566,820	116,065,868	37,918,039	239,159,488
1992	1,155,480,000	141,951,435	133,165,426	32,957,704	-
1993	1,200,254,000	159,911,970	93,895,788	50,240,000	-
1994	1,246,119,491	111,966,749	89,334,124	37,382,134	-
1995	819,171,024	47,088,025	61,702,718	17,268,931	-
1996	970,143,734	101,329,076	41,726,265	21,040,305	-
1997	1,134,214,578	44,514,125	16,599,949	10,647,871	-

Years	5) Others	Total	TOTAL (absolute economic support -in ptas)	Relative economic support (in relation to the budget of the Directorate General for Language Policy)
1990	-	436,345,904	1,187,433,334	78.38%
1991	4,819,043	517,529,258	1,559,079,258	83%
1992	402,115	308,476,680	1,463,956,680	76.4%
1993	-	304,047,758	1,504,301,758	78.4%
1994	8,487,981	247,170,988	1,493,290,479	75.2%
1995	4,394,021	130,453,695	949,624,719	48.2%
1996	2,537,043	166,632,689	1,136,776,423	78.2%
1997	-	71,761,945	1,205,976,523	83.8%

Years	5) Others	Total	TOTAL (absolute economic support -in ptas)	Relative economic support (in relation to the budget of the Directorate General for Language Policy)

Note: Subsidies to companies include financial support for the film and video industries.

Sources for general financial data: Departament de Cultura (1980 to 1998).

Complementary source for financial data concerning 1993: Departament d'Economia i Finances (1981 to 1999).

Sources for financial data concerning the Directorate General for Language Policy: Departament d'Economia i Finances (1981 to 1999).

Own preparation.

As is clearly reflected in the previous table, the promotion of the use of Catalan in the socioeconomic field has been of paramount importance for the *Generalitat*.

2.1.2.2.4.3.2.- Language Agreements

Specific agreements for the promotion of the use of Catalan in the socioeconomic world have been continuously signed since 1980.

Tables 21 and 22 show the number of linguistic agreements with different socioeconomic entities during 1996 and 1997.

Table 21. Number of Linguistic Agreements for the Promotion of the Use of Catalan in the Socioeconomic World (1996)

	Mass media	Non-profit-making organizations	Shops and companies	Others	TOTAL
Consortium for Language Normalization	10	91	16	-	117
Dept. of Broadcasting and Television	24	-	-	-	24

Directorate General for Language Policy	-	3	12	4	19
Other Depts.	-	1	-	-	1
TOTAL	34	95	28	4	161

Notes: 1) Agreements concerning corpus planning activities are not included; 2) Agreements with non-profit-making organizations include the health sector.

Source: Direcció General de Política Lingüística (1997 and 1998).

Own preparation.

Table 22. Number of Agreements for the Promotion of the Use of Catalan in the Socioeconomic World (1997)

	Mass media	Non-profit-making organizations	Shops and companies	Local institutions	Others	TOTAL
Consortium for Language Normalization	12	109	33	7	2	163
Other Depts.	6	21	3	18	6	54
TOTAL	18	130	36	25	8	217

Notes: 1) Agreements concerning corpus planning activities are not included; 2) Agreements with non-profit-making organizations include the health sector; 3) The total number of agreements which were signed by the Consortium for Language Normalization in 1998 stood at 170 (Consorti per a la Normalització Lingüística 1999, 23-7).

Source: Direcció General de Política Lingüística (1997 and 1998).

Own preparation.

Once more, these large numbers provide evidence of the strategic significance of the socioeconomic field for the *Generalitat's* policy of reintroduction of Catalan.

2.1.2.2.4.3.3.- Actual Use of Catalan

The use of Catalan will be studied in two main areas:

1. Personnel of Business Companies

Some figures concerning the linguistic competence and use of Catalan in companies which, being established in Catalonia, have an annual turnover above 1,000 million ptas, are illustrated in Tables 23 and 24. All data refer to 1992.

Table 23. Competence in Catalan in Companies with an Annual Turnover above 1,000 Million Pesetas (1992)

Speaks	approximately 90%
Understands	approximately 90%
Reads	approximately 90%
Writes	40%

Source: Direcció General de Política Lingüística [n.d.](b).

Table 24. Use of Catalan in Companies with an Annual Turnover above 1,000 Million Pesetas (1992)

Speaks frequently	72%
Reads frequently	40%
Writes frequently	12.3%

Source: Direcció General de Política Lingüística [n.d.](b).

It is important to observe that oral knowledge of Catalan is an entry requirement in 47% of these companies; writing competence is required in 30% of the cases.

Taking 100 as the average value, it is possible to establish a rate in the use of Catalan which varies according to the sector involved: 89 in industrial companies; 101 in trading; 109 in the transport and service sectors; and 147 in insurance, estate agents and banking companies. Another interesting observation is that increments in the size and annual turnover of the companies correspond to parallel increases in the use of Catalan³⁴.

Table 25 shows the use of Catalan in companies which signed contracts with the Catalan Health Institute (*Institut Català de la Salut*) in 1997. Note that these contracts included specific linguistic clauses.

³⁴ Source: Direcció General de Política Lingüística [n.d.](b).

Table 25. Use of Catalan in Companies Which Have Signed Contracts with the Catalan Health Institute (1997)

	State companies	Foreign companies	Global figures
Work	87%	83%	86%
Documents	79%	33%	73%
Invoices	63%	17%	57%

Source: Direcció General de Política Lingüística (1997 and 1998, 78-9).

2. External Signs (see Table 26)

Table 26. Use of Catalan in External Signs in Various Cities (1997)

	Catalan	Castilian	Ambivalent	Other languages
Barcelona	33%	31%	24%	12%
Tarragona	43%	41%	11%	3%
Santa Coloma de Gramenet	21%	66%	9%	2%

Source: Direcció General de Política Lingüística [unp.].

As is reflected in the previous tables, actual levels of competence and use of Catalan in the socioeconomic field are generally important.

2.1.2.3- Corpus Planning

The analysis of the actual implementation of corpus planning activities in relation to Catalan is concerned with two main aspects: the recognition of the unity of the Catalan language, and the creation of specific corpus planning bodies.

2.1.2.3.1.- Recognition of the Unity of the Catalan Language

The recognition of the unity of Catalan will be studied in two areas: language certificates and other qualifications from Valencia and the Balearics, and the *Generalitat*'s collaboration with other Catalan-speaking territories.

2.1.2.3.1.1.- Recognition of Linguistic Certificates and Qualifications from Other Catalan-Speaking Territories

There has been official recognition of linguistic certificates and qualifications from Valencia and the Balearic Islands in two main fields:

1. Administration (Agreement of the Language Normalization Commission dated June 19th, of recognition of all linguistic certificates from the Valencian and Balearic governments), and

2. Non-University Education (Order dated February 15th, 1988 - DOGC no. 956 of February 23rd)³⁵.

2.1.2.3.1.2.- Collaboration with Other Catalan-Speaking Territories

One of the most important proofs of the acceptance of the unity of the language has been the *Generalitat*'s implementation of common cultural and linguistic projects with the Governments of Valencia and, especially, the Balearic Islands (see, for example, the creation of the Ramon Llull Commission -*Comissió Ramon Llull*- in 1988 as an example of collaboration in the cultural field, especially in the area of literary publishing (Bauzà Sastre unp.(c)); some collaboration agreements to achieve normalization in companies were signed with the Balearic Government in 1999 (see section 2.3.2.2.4.3.2, point 2); the signing of an agreement with the Balearic Government both for the promotion of Balearic cultural products in Catalan in Catalonia and the common promotion of culture abroad on March 10th, 2000, is also quite significant, in this sense (El Temps, 14-20 March 2000, 28 March-3 April 2000).

2.1.2.3.2.- Language Planning Bodies

³⁵ Source: Esteve and others [n.d.].

The creation of specific corpus planning bodies will be analyzed in two fields: codification and elaboration, and implementation.

2.1.2.3.2.1.- Codification and Elaboration

Two main areas should be considered:

1. Codification

The official recognition of the Institute of Catalan Studies as the codification body of the Catalan language is contained in the following regulations: Decree no. 3118/1976, dated November 26th, of the Spanish Government (BOE no. 18 of January 21st, 1977); Decree no. 90/1980, dated June 27th (DOGC no. 74 of July 16th); and Act no. 8/1991, dated May 3rd (DOGC no. 1440 of May 8th).

It is interesting to remark that all Catalan-speaking territories are represented in the Philological Section of the Institute of Catalan Studies according to the following proportions: Catalonia, 18 members; Valencia, 5 members; Balearic Islands, 4 members; Aragon strip, 1 member; and Northern Catalonia, 1 member (Direcció General de Política Lingüística, [n.d.](a)).

2. Elaboration

Following an agreement between the *Generalitat* and the Institute of Catalan Studies, the Catalan Terminological Centre TERMCAT (*Centre de Terminologia Catalana*) was created on 13 May 1985. Its principal function is to achieve the elaboration of Catalan in the area of terminology³⁶.

2.1.2.3.2.2.- Implementation

The responsibility of the Directorate General for Language Policy in the correct implementation of the dictates of the codification and elaboration bodies is regulated by Order dated July 2nd, 1986 (DOGC no. 726 of August 11th), and article 2 of Decree no. 36/1998, dated February 4th (DOGC no. 2580 of February 17th).

³⁶ Decree no. 47/1994, dated February 22nd (DOGC no. 1871 of March 11th), and Decree no. 217/1997, dated July 30th (DOGC no. 2449 of August 6th), are the main regulations on the TERMCAT.

This responsibility has been covered through the creation of three main bodies:

1. The Language Advisory Service (*Servei d'Assessorament Lingüístic*) in 1980 (Decree no. 220/1980, dated October 3rd). As already pointed out, it is a section directly dependent on the Directorate General for Language Policy, which provides general language advice to both public and private institutions.

2. The Advisory Commission for Administrative Language (*Comissió Assessora de Llenguatge Administratiu*) and the Language Planning Technical Network (*Xarxa Tècnica de Política Lingüística*) in 1986 and 1998, respectively (Decree no. 41/1986, dated February 13th -DOGC no. 661 of March 14th-, and article 3.1 of Decree no. 36/1998, dated February 4th -DOGC no. 2580 of February 17th). They both operate in the area of public administration.

Other regulations on the Advisory Commission for Administrative Language are Decree no. 29/1990 (DOGC no. 1253 of February 9th) and article 4 of Decree no. 36/1998, dated February 14th.

2.1.3.- Language Planning and Nationalism

Language planning policies in Catalonia have departed from the consideration of Catalan as the single proper language of the region. This superior legal status in relation to Castilian has allowed for the implementation of a set language planning (or 'normalization') process at both status and corpus levels.

The process can be characterized as follows:

1. An Early and Lengthy Process

The language planning process in Catalonia started much earlier than the passing of the first general act in 1983. Many of the planning activities already began in 1980 (some even before).

2. A Clear Definition of Goals

Since the very beginning, objectives have been clearly defined. The principal aim has been to modernize the Catalan language and to spread its use in all social domains.

3. A Highly Coordinated Process

There has been a rapid creation of the necessary means to achieve all previously planned objectives, and also a considerable level of coordination in the different planning activities.

4. A Complex Process

As has been said, the process has been aimed at the whole of society, so that many sectors and agents have been targeted. An important corps of orders and decrees has developed the two general planning acts.

5. Social Involvement

All social agents have participated in the language planning process via the Social Council of the Catalan Language.

6. A Policy of Legal Requirements

The prevailing social consensus has allowed for the implementation of a policy of legal requirements in the knowledge and use of Catalan. Complete voluntariness has been rejected, at least in the last stages.

7. Determined Implementation

Regulations have been resolutely implemented through an uninterrupted policy of subsidies and other economic support.

8. An Evolutionary Process

As already mentioned, the 1998 Language Policy Act substitutes and improves the old 1983 Language Normalization Act, especially in the socioeconomic, and the mass media and cultural fields.

9. An Effective Process

Actual levels of use of Catalan in the different fields are important, as can be ascertained from the previous pages.

10. A Continuously Vetoed Process

The Central Government of Madrid has continuously charged with unconstitutionality many of the *Generalitat's* language planning regulations. The whole process has been slowed down but never completely interrupted.

11. Defence of the Unity of the (Catalan) Language

Finally, it should also be mentioned that the Government of the *Generalitat* has firmly recognized Catalan as the common language of Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands.

In conclusion, it could be stated that the language planning process in Catalonia reflects a clear nationalist ideology. This nationalist ideology focuses on a cultural Catalanism which takes the Catalan language as one of its most basic components (Catalan is seen by the governing party as a fundamental marker of identity for the ruled group: more particularly, it is an essential part of CiU's political definition of Catalan society)³⁷.

It is nonetheless necessary to note that planning activities have not only been due to the governing of a single Catalanist political coalition (CiU) for nearly two decades. The existence of a Catalanism with deep roots in the civil society (Termes 1999), and so of a population fully supporting the policy of spread of Catalan, is a major factor which also needs to be taken into account.

2.2.- Valencia

2.2.1.- Formulation

2.2.1.1.- General Considerations

Valencia obtained its autonomous status in 1982 through the slow route of article 143 of the Spanish Constitution.

Its language planning activities in relation to Catalan are based on two general regulations:

1. Articles 7, 34.4 and 35 of the Autonomy Statute for the Valencian Community (*Estatut d'autonomia de la Comunitat Valenciana*) (Organic Law no. 5/1982, dated July 1st), and
2. Act for the Use and Teaching of Valencian (*Llei d'ús i ensenyament del valencià*) (Act no. 4/1983, dated November 23rd -DOGV no. 133 of December 1st).

³⁷ For general accounts on the politics of ethnicity in Catalonia, see Balcells (1996), Woolard (1989), Conversi (1997), and Keating (1996), among others.

Four general characteristics are common to these legal texts:

1. The use of ‘Valencian’ as the official name for the Catalan variety of Valencia (from now on we will use this name to refer to the Catalan of Valencia in the present work).
2. The officiality of Valencian and Castilian in Valencia.
3. The highly ambiguous and confusing expression of the idea of ‘own’ or ‘proper’ language (*llengua pròpia*) in relation to Valencian. The wording of the law in this respect seems to imply that Valencian is not the only proper language of the Valencian Community (this condition would be commonly shared with Castilian).
4. The non-application of the concept of ‘normalization’ (*normalització*) (see section 2.1.1.1, point 3).

It is necessary to remark that a major failure of the Act for the Use and Teaching of Valencian lies in the non-provision of any evaluation or monitoring mechanism of the language planning implementation process.

The existence of two different historical linguistic areas in the Valencian Community is regulated by Section V of the Act for the Use and Teaching of Valencian (articles 35 to 37). This section lists the predominantly Castilian and predominantly Valencian-speaking municipalities in the whole Valencian territory. As will be seen, this particularity will have important language planning implications³⁸.

2.2.1.2.- Status Planning

2.2.1.2.1.- Administration

The reintroduction of the use of Valencian in the autonomous administration of the Valencian *Generalitat* is regulated by Sections I and IV (articles 7 to 14, and 27 to 32, excepting article 30.1), and 1st Temporary Provision of the Act for the Use and Teaching of Valencian.

³⁸ Sources: Generalitat Valenciana (1994); Pitarch (1984); Polanco (1983).

Valencian being *a* proper and *an* official language in the Valencian Community, it is also *a* proper and *an* official language in the administration field. Its use in this area will be according to the law.

Basically, seven main areas are targeted: publication of legal texts, official documentation, administrative proceedings and activities, justice, relations with the public, public documents, and public registers. The level of exigency in the use of Valencian in these various domains is much lower than the corresponding Catalan case (see Pitarch 1984 for more precise information).

All the same, the Act for the Use and Teaching of Valencian considers the knowledge of Valencian as an important point in the selection processes of the *Generalitat*. According to articles 30.2 and 30.3, competence in Valencian will be valued for entry to the public administration service. In this sense, the *Generalitat* shall indicate those positions which require a compulsory knowledge of Valencian. At the same time, a special linguistic in-service training scheme will be applied to the *Generalitat's* civil servants according to principles of voluntariness and progressiveness.

Finally, a period of three years is established for the full adaptation of the Valencian administration to these linguistic requirements.

2.2.1.2.2.- Education

The reintroduction of the use of Valencian in the education system is regulated by Section III (articles 18 to 24) and 2nd and 3rd Temporary Provisions of the Act for the Use and Teaching of Valencian.

Six main goals are stated: teaching of Valencian will be compulsory at all undergraduate levels (all the same, the introduction of the teaching of Valencian will be only progressively made in the Castilian-speaking territories; in this region, a total exemption of the teaching of Valencian can be obtained via a formal request by the parents or guardians); *as far as possible*, children should be initially taught in their mother tongue; all children in Valencia must be able to use Valencian on an equal footing with Castilian by the end of their basic education; the necessary means to avoid discrimination on linguistic grounds should be adopted; all teachers must have an adequate knowledge of Valencian; and a special Valencian in-service training scheme will be applied to the teaching personnel *according to principles of progressiveness and*

voluntariness. The teaching and use of Valencian in adult and specialist training centres are also regulated. No provision is made regarding the spread of Valencian at university levels.

The Second Temporary Provision guarantees the teaching of Valencian in all teacher-training centres until their curricula are definitely drawn up and fully adapted to these regulations.

2.2.1.2.3.- Mass Media and Culture Industries

The reintroduction of the use of Valencian in this field is regulated by Sections III and IV (articles 25, 26 and 30.1) of the Act for the Use and Teaching of Valencian.

In spite of the strategic importance of the mass media and cultural field in any language planning process, this area is poorly regulated by three very general and ambiguous articles. They establish the following goals: first, the use of Valencian should have an adequate presence in the *Generalitat's* mass media (its use should also be promoted in all TV and broadcasting stations); second, all cultural and artistic productions in both Valencian and Castilian, as well as the book publishing industry in general, should be stimulated (all the same, special attention should be given to those acts based on the use of Valencian); and, third, all activities on the promotion and extension of Valencian culture in general could be exempted from the payment of tax duties (though, special attention should be given to those implying the use of Valencian).

2.2.1.2.4.- Socioeconomic Activity

The reintroduction of the use of Valencian in the socioeconomic world is regulated by Sections I and IV (articles 15 to 17, and 33) of the Act for the Use and Teaching of Valencian.

Once again, linguistic regulation in this field is absolutely poor, general and ambiguous. Four main aspects are considered: bilingual forms (both in Castilian and Valencian) should be officially used for names of places whenever possible; all public firms' personnel who are in direct contact with the general public should have an adequate knowledge of Valencian; all citizens have the right of expression and work in

Valencian in their professional, mercantile, labour, trade unionist, political, recreational, artistic and associative activities; the use of Valencian in these different activities will be promoted by the *Generalitat* (nonetheless no particular means by which this promotion is going to be achieved is established). No provision for the creation of subsidized centres dedicated to the teaching, use and spread of Valencian is found.

No temporary provisions are established in the area of signs. No reference to the execution of special campaigns to increase public awareness on the necessity to spread the use of Valencian is made either³⁹.

2.2.1.3.- Corpus Planning

The analysis of corpus planning activities in Valencia will consider the three following aspects: the name of the language, the recognition of the unity of the language and the collaboration with other Catalan-speaking territories, and, finally, the designation of a normative official institution.

2.2.1.3.1.- Name of the Language

As already pointed out, the language is referred to as ‘Valencian’ (article 7.1 of the Autonomy Statute for the Valencian Community; article 2 of the Act for the Use and Teaching of Valencian).

2.2.1.3.2.- Unity of the Catalan Language and Collaboration with Other Catalan-Speaking Territories

There is no recognition of the unity of the language spoken in Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearics, nor is any wish to collaborate with other Catalan-speaking territories expressed⁴⁰.

³⁹ Sources: Generalitat Valenciana (1994); Pitarch (1984).

⁴⁰ Interesting to note, in this sense, is article 13.2 of the Act for the Use and Teaching of Valencian. According to it, public documents in Valencian will only be valid within the Valencian Community (compare it with article 10 of the Language Normalization Act for Catalonia, which establishes the validity of these documents throughout the Catalan-speaking territories (Pitarch 1984, 29)).

2.2.1.3.3.- Designation of an Official Institution with Linguistic Normative Authority

No designation of an official institution with linguistic normative authority in the whole Valencian territory is found in the Act for the Use and Teaching of Valencian. This important aspect creates a legal vacuum.

In conclusion, it can be stated that the legal foundations for the future promotion of Valencian as a differentiated language from Catalan are already laid down in these early regulations.

2.2.2.- Implementation

2.2.2.1.- General Considerations

As already pointed out in the Introduction, the analysis of this section includes three main aspects: the creation of bodies responsible for all language planning coordination; the general means applied by these language planning coordinating bodies in order to achieve the planned goals; and the monitoring and evaluation of language planning activities.

2.2.2.1.1.- Language Planning Executive Body

The design and execution of language planning activities in the Valencian Community shares two main characteristics:

1. The Heterogeneity of General Language Planning Bodies

Five main bodies have been responsible for the language planning process in Valencia over the years:

a) Language Normalization Service (*Servei de Normalització Lingüística*), created in November 1982.

b) Department for the Use and Teaching of Valencian (*Gabinet d'Ús i Ensenyament del Valencià*), created in 1983 (Decree no. 120/1983, dated October 10th - DOGV no. 126 of October 20th).

c) Department for the Use of Valencian (*Gabinet d'Ús del Valencià*), created in 1987 (Decree no. 95/1987, dated August 17th -DOGV no. 649 of August 27th).

d) Directorate General for Language Policy (*Direcció General de Política Lingüística*), created in 1991 (Decree no. 50/1991, dated March 27th -DOGV no. 1517 of April 9th), and, finally,

e) Directorate General for the Organization and Innovation of the Education System and Language Policy (*Direcció General d'Ordenació i Innovació Educativa i Política Lingüística*), created in 1995 (Decree no. 261/1995, dated August 29th).

2. Integration in the Department of Culture

All of them have been located within the Department of Culture, Education and Science of the *Generalitat*. The type of integration has varied over the years according to the three following models:

a) 1982-1991 (Socialist Government)

Designation of a language planning body with limited powers at a low hierarchical level within the Department of Culture, Education and Science.

b) 1991-1995 (Socialist Government)

Designation of a language planning body with broad powers at a high hierarchical level within the Department of Culture, Education and Science.

c) From 1995 Onwards (Conservative Government)

Language planning responsibilities fall on a body with broad powers and at high hierarchical level within the Department of Culture, Education and Science, but which is, nonetheless, responsible for other matters too.

Since 1992, the language planning executive bodies have been divided into 4 main services (article 25 of Decree no. 115/1992, dated July 20th -DOGV no. 1833). Each one of them is responsible for a particular area in the language planning process: Service for the Accreditation of Competence in and Official Use of Valencian (*Servei d'Ús Oficial i Acreditació de Coneixements del Valencià*), and Service for the Social

Promotion of Valencian (*Servei de Promoció Social del Valencià*), in the field of status planning; Translation and Language Advisory Service (*Servei d'Assessorament Lingüístic i Traducció*), in the field of corpus planning; and, finally, Sociolinguistic Studies and Research Service (*Servei d'Investigació i Estudis Sociolingüístics*), for the evaluation and monitoring stage.

Some figures concerning the evolution of the budget of these different language planning executive bodies are found in Table 27. They illustrate the significance of the language planning process in Valencia.

Table 27. Evolution of the Budget of the Language Planning Executive Bodies (1984-2000)

Years	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Absolute budget (in ptas)	158,590,000	201,032,000	236,230,000	345,217,000	296,448,000
Relative budget budget - I (in relation to the budget of the <i>Generalitat</i>)	0.162%	0.152%	0.142%	0.161%	0.079%
Relative budget - II (expenditure per person in the language planning process -in ptas)	42.48	53.85	63.28	92.48	79.42

Years	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
Absolute budget (in ptas)	412,537,000	474,922,000	549,484,000	541,280,000	577,295,000
Relative budget - I (in relation to the budget of the <i>Generalitat</i>)	0.089%	0.083%	0.086%	0.073%	0.073%
Relative budget - II (expenditure per person in the language planning process -in ptas)	110.52	127.23	142.45	140.32	149.66

Years	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Absolute budget (in ptas)	574,513,000	639,565,000	596,534,000	649,634,000	724,697,000

ptas)					
Relative budget - I (in relation to the budget of the <i>Generalitat</i>)	0.067%	0.074%	0.065%	0.061%	0.069%
Relative budget - II (expenditure per person in the language planning process -in ptas)	148.94	165.8	148.81	160.78	180.75

Years	1999	2000
Absolute budget (in ptas)	784,301,000	813,224,000
Relative budget - I (in relation to the budget of the <i>Generalitat</i>)	0.069%	0.066%
Relative budget - II (expenditure per person in the language planning process -in ptas)	195.61	202.83

Note: All financial figures are referred to non-executed budgets.
Sources for financial data: Conselleria d'Economia (1984 to 2000).
Sources for population data: Institut Valencià d'Estadística [n.d.].
Own preparation.

As is reflected in the previous table, poor financial help has been assigned to the various language planning executive bodies in Valencia. The support has represented between 0.06% and 0.09% of the overall budget of the *Generalitat* between 1988 and 2000 (current levels are only around 0.066%). Maximum expenditure per person in the support to the various language planning executive bodies was reached in 2000 (202 pesetas).

2.2.2.1.2.- Means

The analysis of the general means used by these different language planning executive bodies in order to implement their language planning activities will focus on three main aspects: language planning plans, Valencian examinations board, and European Union linguistic recognition.

2.2.2.1.2.1.- Language Planning Plans

Language planning activities in Valencia have been based on three main plans:

1. Triennial Plan for Language Dynamization (*Pla triennial de dinamització lingüística*), between 1988 and 1991.
2. Triennial Plan for the Promotion of the Use of Valencian in the Valencian Community (*Pla triennial per a la promoció de l'ús del valencià a la Comunitat Valenciana*), passed on March 12th, 1990, and implemented between 1990 and 1993, and
3. General Plan for the Promotion of the Use of Valencian (*Pla general de promoció de l'ús del valencià*), passed on November 23rd, 1993, and implemented between 1994 and 1999.

While the first was a very specific project which focused on the contracting of linguistically qualified personnel (*dinamitzadors lingüístics*) in the different public administrations, the other two had a much broader scope. Four main areas were targeted by these two latter plans: official use, social use, promotion of the knowledge of Valencian, and, finally, research on the sociolinguistic situation of the language and evaluation and monitoring of the language planning activities.

However, the implementation of these plans (specially the two latter) has been highly unsatisfactory. As observed by Izquierdo and Minguet (1998, 19), both the Triennial Plan for the Promotion of the Use of Valencian and the General Plan have simply been a 'declaration of good intentions, and a list of goals and actions which have neither been provided with a sufficient budget, nor have even been minimally implemented in the concerned social and official domains'⁴¹.

2.2.2.1.2.2.- Valencian Examinations Board

The *Junta Qualificadora de Coneixements de Valencià* was created in 1985 (Decree no. 173/1985, dated October 28th -DOGV no. 313 of December 4th). It is an official

⁴¹ General source: Izquierdo and Minguet (1998, 16-9).

examinations board, the main function of which is to test competence in Valencian and to award the corresponding linguistic certificates. Its testing activities started in 1986.

Table 28 contains some figures concerning the significance of the *Junta Qualificadora de Coneixements de Valencià* in the whole language planning process in Valencia. Two main data are inferred: the relative number of registrations and the degree of difficulty of the exams.

Table 28. Evolution of Exams Registered, Sat and Passed in the *Junta Qualificadora de Coneixements de Valencià* and Degree of Difficulty of the Exams (1986-1997)

Years	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
Registered	3,685	7,399	9,404	9,013	11,313	35,984	58,461	56,861
Sat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Passed	2,180	3,480	3,393	2,979	4,841	16,114	24,747	26,580
Relative no. of people registered (in relation to the overall population of Valencia)	0.09%	0.19%	0.25%	0.24%	0.30%	0.93%	1.51%	1.47%
Relative no. of passes (in relation to the total registrations)	59.1%	47%	33.9%	33%	42.8%	44.7%	42.3%	46.7%

Years	1994	1995	1996	1997	TOTAL
Registered	70,856	62,530	49,145	56,338	262,976
Sat	-	-	-	-	-
Passed	35,019	-	-	-	119,333
Relative no. of people registered (in relation to the overall population of Valencia)	1.83%	1.62%	1.22%	1.4%	6.5%
Relative no. of passes (in relation to the total registrations)	49.4%	-	-	-	45.3%

Note: The number of people registered does not exactly square with the number of participants (the same person can be registered in different exams) or the number of exams (a single registration allows for participation in more than one exam).

Sources for *Junta Qualificadora de Coneixements de Valencià* data: Hernández i Dobon (1998, 34-5).

Sources for population data: Institut Valencià d'Estadística [n.d.].

Own preparation.

Table 29 contains the relative registrations at the four main levels of the *Junta Qualificadora de Coneixements de Valencià* between 1986 and 1995: A (oral), B (basic), C (medium), and D (proficient).

Table 29. Relative Registrations in Levels A (Oral), B (Basic), C (Medium), and D (Proficient) of the *Junta Qualificadora de Coneixements de Valencià* (1986-1995)

Levels	A	B	C	D
Relative registrations (in relation to the total registrations)	28.1%	37.6%	27.5%	5.4%

Source: Hernández i Dobon (1998, 34).
Own preparation.

Some important observations can be made:

1. A number equivalent to 6.5% of the overall population of Valencia was registered for examination in the *Junta Qualificadora de Coneixements de Valencià* between 1986 and 1997.

2. This high figure could be explained by the important social movement for Valencian which is found in the region.

3. All the same, it also has to be stressed that a considerable number of Catalan and Balearic residents sit exams in Valencia. This is due both to the official validity of the *Junta Qualificadora de Coneixements de Valencià* certificates in these areas and the lower difficulty of the *Junta Qualificadora de Coneixements de Valencià* exams.

4. B level of the *Junta Qualificadora de Coneixements de Valencià* is equivalent to the primary (EGB and ESO) education qualifications (Order dated August 16th, 1994 -DOGV no. 2331 of August 24th).

5. Most of the demand corresponds to the lowest levels, A and B (28.1% and 37.6% of the overall demand, respectively). The next levels of demand are the medium (27.5%) and the proficient (5.4%).

2.2.2.1.2.3.- European Union Linguistic Recognition

Valencian is not officially recognized in any EU domain. This non-recognition reflects the poor interest on the side of the *Generalitat* for the promotion of the use of the vernacular abroad.

2.2.2.1.3.- Language Planning Monitoring and Evaluation

Although the Act for the Use and Teaching of Valencian makes no reference to this aspect, the *Generalitat* created a Sociolinguistic Studies and Research Service within the Directorate General for Language Policy in 1992, which is still active. Its main function has been to carry out sociolinguistic research concerning Valencian so that it is possible to obtain effective evaluation and monitoring of language planning activities. It is also worth noting that the 1993 General Plan for the Promotion of the Use of Valencian included some specific measures in this area.

No body representing the main social sectors and institutions has ever been created to monitor language planning activities in Valencia.

2.2.2.2.- Status Planning

2.2.2.2.1.- Administration

The analysis of the administrative sector includes four main aspects: the creation of bodies responsible for language planning coordination in this field; the passing of general regulations concerning the administrative area; the requirement of the knowledge of Valencian for the *Generalitat*'s civil servants; and the actual levels of use of Valencian in the Autonomous Administration.

2.2.2.2.1.1.- Language Planning Coordinating Bodies

The main coordinating body of the language planning process in the administration domain is the Interdepartmental Commission for the Implementation of the Use of Valencian (*Comissió Interdepartamental per a l'Aplicació de l'Ús del Valencià*). Although its creation dates back to 1984 (Decree no. 44/1984, dated April 16th -DOGV

no. 160 of May 3rd), its composition and functions were not established until 1988 (Decree no. 178/1988, dated November 15th -DOGV no. 954 of November 30th). Its main goal has been to coordinate and to promote the spread of the use of Valencian in all departments of the *Generalitat* and dependent public administrations. A series of minimum levels of use of Valencian in the public administration was agreed in the Interdepartmental Commission's session of October 8th, 1991 (Generalitat Valenciana 1995(a), 165).

It is necessary to note, however, that the Interdepartmental Commission has been quite ineffective. According to Izquierdo and Minguet (1998, 20), 'it can actually be stated that both the rare and irregular meetings of this Commission, and the generalized failure to comply with the established requirements, have turned the initiative into a simple declaration of intentions'.

Another linguistic coordinating body in the administration field is the Technical Network for the Promotion of the use of Valencian (*Xarxa Tècnica per a la Promoció de l'Ús del Valencià*). It was created in 1990, following the Triennial Plan for the Promotion of the Use of Valencian.

Finally, as already stated, the 1992 reorganization of the Directorate General for Language Policy created the Service for the Accreditation of Competence in and Official Use of Valencian, which is also relevant to this domain⁴².

2.2.2.2.1.2.- General Regulations

No general regulations are concerned with the spread of the use of Valencian in the *Generalitat*'s administration and its dependent entities. This legal vacuum reflects a poor interest on the side of the *Generalitat* for the promotion of the vernacular in this field.

2.2.2.2.1.3.- Requirement of the Knowledge of Valencian

Competence in Valencian has never been required for entry to the Public Administration of the *Generalitat*. It is only valued as a merit, according to the following scale: oral, 0.75 points; basic, 1.25 points; medium, 2.50 points; and proficient, 3 points. All the

⁴² Sources: Generalitat Valenciana (1995(a)); Izquierdo and Minguet (1998, 16-21).

same, a special exam in Valencian has been compulsory in all selection processes since 1992. The non-accreditation of Valencian competence, or failing the previous examination, has made it a requirement to follow linguistic in-service training since 1995⁴³.

2.2.2.2.1.4.- The Actual Situation of Valencian: its Use

The analysis of the use of Valencian in the administration field refers to two main areas:

1. Internal use

Tables 30 to 34 reflect actual levels of internal use of Valencian in the administrative field of the *Generalitat*.

Table 30. Knowledge of Valencian (1993)

	Quite well	A little	None	No answer
Understands	84.9%	13.9%	1.2%	0.5%
Speaks	46.7%	29.6%	23.5%	0.2%
Reads	58.7%	26.5%	14.5%	0.3%
Writes	19.6%	32.5%	47.3%	0.7%

Source: Generalitat Valenciana (1995(a), 151-7).

Table 31. Number of Personnel with *Junta Qualificadora de Coneixements de Valencià's* Linguistic Certificate (1993)

Total number of personnel	A (oral)	%	B (basic)	%	C (medium)	%
7,104	1,323	18.6%	1,095	15.41%	343	4.82%

D (proficient)	%	Number of personnel with certificate	%	Number of personnel with no certificate	%

⁴³ The main regulations in this domain are the following: article 9.3 of Act no. 10/1985, dated July 31st (DOGV no. 279 of August 12th), modified on June 6th, 1990; Resolution dated July 5th, 1990 (DOGV no. 1345 of July 12th); Decree no. 117/1991, dated June 26th; and Decree-law dated October 24th, 1995 (DOGV of November 30th).

Source: Generalitat Valenciana (1995(a)).

104	1.46%	2,865	40.31%	4,239	59.69%
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Source: Generalitat Valenciana (1995(a), 149).

Table 32. Use of Valencian at Work (1993)

	Spoken	Used in documents
None	14.8%	24.1%
A little	62.7%	51.1%
A lot	22.1%	24.1%
No answer	0.4%	0.7%

Source: Generalitat Valenciana (1995(a), 169).

Table 33. Habitual Language of Use at Work - I (1993)

	With other workmates	With the general public
Always in Valencian	6.7%	3.6%
More in Valencian than Castilian	8.7%	7.7%
In Valencian and Castilian	17.1%	25.9%
More in Castilian than Valencian	16.3%	17.2%
Always in Castilian	51%	44.3%
No answer	0.2%	1.3%

Source: Generalitat (1995(a), 167).

Table 34. Habitual Language of Use at Work - II (1993)

	(Direct or telephone) Personal conversations	Mail and communications with private companies	Mail and communications with the general public	Answers to the general public applications
Always in Castilian	16.5%	49%	29%	34%
More in Castilian than Valencian	-	25%	26%	21%

In both languages without distinction	67%	15%	26%	32%
Exclusively or preferently in Valencian	16.5%	6%	9%	6%

Source: Generalitat Valenciana (1995(a), 169-71).

According to the Institut de Sociolingüística Catalana (1996(b), 4):

Low levels of use of Catalan by the Valencian *Generalitat* have caused many formal complaints on the part of some political parties and organizations for the promotion of the use of Valencian. For instance, there were only 11 official actions in Catalan out of 7,064 during the first nine months of 1993.

As is reflected in these different tables, levels of competence in the vernacular and the internal use of Valencian in the public administration of the *Generalitat* is quite low and poor in all cases. Castilian is the most widely used language in this domain.

2. External use

Table 35 illustrates the evolution of the use of Valencian by the *Generalitat* in the press.

Table 35. Use of Valencian in Public Advertisements and Notices of the *Generalitat* and its Autonomous Entities in the Press (*Las Provincias*, 1986-1998)

	1986	1990	1994	1998
Valencian	11%	30%	50%	24%
Castilian	89%	70%	47%	76%
Bilingual	0%	0%	3%	9%

Source: *Las Provincias*, months of February 1986, 1990, 1994 and 1998.
Own preparation.

Two main periods can be distinguished:

1. 1986-1994 (Socialist Government)

There is a continuous increase in the use of Valencian; its maximum level of use is about 50% (Castilian, 47%), and

2. 1994-1998 (Conservative Government -since 1995)

There is a decrease in the use of Valencian; its level of use is only around 24% in 1998 (Castilian, 76%).

It is important to note, then, how the 1994 sociolinguistic inflection coincides with an important political change in the Valencian Community.

2.2.2.2.2.- Education

The analysis of the education sector includes five main aspects: the transfer of authority on educational issues from the Central Government; the creation of bodies responsible for the coordination of language planning activities in this field; the introduction of Valencian in the education system, both as a subject and a medium of instruction; the requirement of the knowledge of Valencian to the teaching staff; and the teaching of Valencian abroad.

2.2.2.2.2.1.- Transfer of Authority on Educational Issues

The transfer of complete authority on educational issues to the Valencian *Generalitat* took place in 1983 (Royal Decree no. 2093/1983, dated July, 28th -DOGV no. 121 of September 15th).

2.2.2.2.2.2.- Language Planning Coordinating Bodies

The coordination of the introduction of the use of Valencian in the education system follows three different periods:

1. 1982-1987

Article 6 of Decree dated December 3rd, 1982 (DOGV no. 86 of December 18th), created the Technical Commission for the Teaching of Valencian (*Comissió Tècnica per a l'Ensenyament del Valencià*). It was the first consultative body for the spread of Valencian in non-university education.

Other regulations concerning this body are Order dated February 3rd, 1983 (DOGV no. 93 of February 5th), and article 7 of Decree no. 79/1984 (DOGV no. 186 of August 23rd).

The Advisory Service for Teaching in Valencian (*Assessoria Didàctica per a l'Ensenyament en Valencià*) is also created in 1986 (Order dated June 6th, 1986 -DOGV no. 393 of June 18th). Its main functions are to orientate, to monitor and to help with technical support those teachers using Valencian as a medium of instruction.

2. 1987-1992

The Technical Commission for the Teaching of Valencian is substituted by the Service for the Teaching of Valencian (*Servei d'Ensenyament del Valencià*) in 1987 (Decree no. 95/1987, dated August 17th -DOGV no. 649 of August 27th).

3. From 1992 onwards

Five years later, the Service for the Teaching in Valencian (*Servei d'Ensenyament en Valencià*) replaces the Service for the Teaching of Valencian (Decree no. 115/1992, dated July 20th -DOGV no. 1833). The principal function of this organism is to study and to propose various plans for the spread of the use of Valencian in the education field. It is composed of three main sections: In-Service Training (*Reciclatge*), Teaching Resources (*Recursos Didàctics*), and Valencian-Medium Teaching (*Ensenyament en Valencià*).

2.2.2.2.2.3.- Valencian as a Subject and a Medium of Instruction

It can be stated that, even though there has been a minimal attempt to introduce Valencian in primary education, in general many doubts, uncertainties and exceptions in the requirement of the use of the vernacular characterize the *Generalitat's* language planning activities in the whole non-university education system.

The introduction of Valencian in this area has been as follows:

1. Valencian as a Subject

The regulation of Valencian as a compulsory subject in all predominantly Valencian-speaking territories starts in 1979 and ends in 1985, when it is also extended to the pre-university course (COU). The generalization of Valencian as a subject in this

region is late: it does not take place until the 1986-1987 academic year (Generalitat Valenciana 1995(a), 29).

On the other hand, the teaching of Valencian in predominantly Castilian-speaking territories is completely voluntary: it actually depends on the parents' or guardians' preference. Valencian was introduced in this region between 1983 and 1988 (Generalitat Valenciana 1995(a)), but exemption has been applied in so many cases that it could be stated that, actually, Valencian has not a co-official status in the whole Valencian Community (Esteve unp.)⁴⁴.

2. Valencian as a Medium of Instruction

The introduction of Valencian as a teaching medium has gone through the following stages:

a) July to October 1984

Valencian is a compulsory medium of instruction in a minimum of one subject, apart from the language subject, in primary education, and in a minimum of two subjects, apart from the language subject, in secondary education in predominantly Valencian-speaking territories.

The whole primary education system in this region is organized according to two main programs:

1st) The Progressive Incorporation Program (*Programa d'incorporació progressiva*) (article 10 of Decree no. 79/1984)

This is designed for mainly Valencian-speaking students who reside in predominantly Valencian-speaking territories. It is defined by a predominant use of Castilian at initial levels and a 'progressive introduction' (*extensió progressiva*) of Valencian. It is nonetheless necessary to observe two facts: first, no definition of the word 'progressive' is provided; and second, the potential possibilities for the introduction of the use of Catalan that the progressiveness principle could imply have never been implemented by any subsequent regulation.

2nd) The Program of Teaching in Valencian (*Programa d'ensenyament en valencià*) (article 9 of Decree no. 79/1984)

⁴⁴ Regulations: Royal Decree no. 2003/1979, dated August 3rd, and implementing Order dated July 7th, 1980; article 1 of Decree no. 79/1984, dated July 30th (DOGV no. 186 of August 23rd); Order dated July 23rd, 1985 (DOGV no. 280 of August 22nd).

This is designed for mainly Valencian-speaking students whose residence is in predominantly Valencian-speaking territories. All subjects are taught in Valencian.

Both programs are of voluntary application in predominantly Castilian-speaking territories.

The requirement for the use of Valencian is also extended to the administrative field of all education centres in predominantly Valencian-speaking territories⁴⁵.

b) November 1984

There is an important reduction in the previous requirement for the use of Valencian in two main areas: the administrative field of education centres, where the use of Valencian will only be optional from now on; and secondary education, where the use of Valencian in a minimum of two subjects, apart from the language subject, will only be *progressively* introduced according to the possibilities of each one of the education centres⁴⁶.

c) January 1987

Minimum levels of use of Valencian in secondary education are not compulsory any more. Previous minimum levels of use of Valencian in primary education are still maintained. All the same, all primary education subjects, apart from the language subject, can be taught in Castilian whenever there is an express wish of the parents in this sense⁴⁷.

d) August 1987

Programs of Teaching in Valencian (*Línies d'ensenyament en valencià*) are voluntarily applied in secondary education in predominantly Valencian-speaking territories. All subjects are taught in Valencian.

Their application can also be extended to the predominantly Castilian-speaking region⁴⁸.

e) 1990

Language Immersion Programs (*Programes d'immersió lingüística*) are voluntarily applied to Castilian-speaking students in primary education.

⁴⁵ Regulations: Decree no. 79/1984, dated July 30th (DOGV no. 186 of August 23rd), and implementing Order dated September 1st, 1984 (DOGV no. 191 of September 25th); Decree no. 107/1984, dated October 1st (DOGV no. 199 of October 29th).

⁴⁶ Regulation: Order dated November 7th, 1984 (DOGV no. 205 of November 22nd).

⁴⁷ Regulation: Order dated January 31st, 1987 (DOGV no. 531 of February 20th).

⁴⁸ Regulation: Order dated August 17th, 1987 (DOGV no. 641 of September 1st).

Their application can also be extended to the predominantly Castilian-speaking region⁴⁹.

In conclusion, an integration model in the education system of the whole Valencian Community has finally been rejected by the *Generalitat*. The applied model is one of linguistic discrimination or separatism, according to two main factors:

a) The Region

On the one hand, a monolingual model which takes Castilian as the medium of instruction and Valencian as a voluntary subject is applied in predominantly Castilian-speaking territories. On the other, predominantly Valencian-speaking territories follow a bilingual model which takes Valencian and Castilian as media of instruction, and Valencian as a compulsory subject.

b) The Use of Valencian in the Predominantly Valencian-Speaking Territories

An integration model in relation to the use of Valencian in the predominantly Valencian-speaking region has also been rejected. Instead the applied model is one of linguistic discrimination or separatism whereby the use of Valencian as a teaching medium in different areas from the language subject is actually possible, but not completely compulsory (this is true both at primary and secondary education levels)⁵⁰.

Tables 36 and 37 illustrate the evolution of the use of Valencian in non-university education.

Table 36. Integral Teaching in Valencian in Primary Education (1983-2000)

Course	Total no. of students in primary educat.	1) Progr. of Teach. in Valenc.: No. of centres	No. of stud.	2) Lang. Immers. Program No. of centres	No. of stud.	TOTAL (1 plus 2): No. of centres	No. of stud.	Relative no. of students with integral teaching in Valencian
1983-84	550,517	10	1,432	-	-	10	1,432	0.26%

⁴⁹ Regulations: Order dated November 23rd, 1990 (DOGV no. 1496 of March 4th, 1991); Order dated May 12th, 1994 (DOGV no. 2313 of July 19th).

⁵⁰ Sources: Argelaguet i Argemí (1998); Esteve (unp.); Generalitat Valenciana (1995(a)); Hernández i Dobon (1998, 12-3); Pascual and Sala (1991, 1996).

										Valen.
1983-84	162,860	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	1,280	0.78%
1984-85	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	3,160	-
1985-86	168,226	-	-	-	-	-	-	84	11,640	6.92%
1986-87	182,756	-	-	-	-	-	-	93	12,485	6.83%
1987-88	188,364	18	-	-	81	-	-	99	31,047	-
1988-89	-	23	-	-	87	-	-	110	33,848	-
1989-90	202,746	30	-	-	88	-	-	118	33,947	-
1990-91	219,705	40	2,876	1.3%	91	41,466	18.8%	131	44,342	20.2%
1991-92	228,687	43	3,035	1.3%	102	51,247	22.4%	145	54,282	23.7%
1992-93	240,079	58	4,823	2%	111	74,685	31.1%	169	79,508	33.1%
1993-94	238,839	71	7,001	2.9%	119	75,056	31.4%	190	82,057	34.3%
1994-95	228,122	86	8,546	3.7%	123	-	-	209	-	-
1995-96	249,341	99	10,487	4.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-
1996-97	287,120	118	14,013	4.87%	-	-	-	-	-	-
1997-98	-	138	17,113	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1998-99	-	177	21,747	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1999-00	-	193	25,247	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Sources: Ducajú (3 February 2000); Hernández i Dobon (1998, unp.(a), unp.(b)).

As can be deduced from the previous tables, there has been steady progress in the introduction of Valencian, especially in primary education. All the same, and broadly speaking, it can be stated that the Valencian education system has reached quite poor levels of use of the vernacular. Consequently, an important Castilianization of the education domain has occurred (Hernández i Dobon 1998, 13): significant numbers of students with Valencian mother tongue are actually taught in Castilian (while the levels of use of Valencian as an integral medium of instruction in primary and secondary education during the 1995-1996 course were about 16% and 4%, respectively, the percentages of people whose most usual 'language' was Valencian for the same period was between 43% and 54% in the predominantly Valencian-speaking territories).

It is also important to observe that only 27 out of the 647 kindergarten and primary education centres with integral teaching in Valencian correspond to private schools during the 1999-2000 school year, so that the creation of a double education network (public education in Valencian, and private education in Castilian) is actually happening in the Valencian Community. Significant consequences for the use of Valencian follow from this fact: 40% of the overall students in primary education come from the private domain; at the same time, a much higher percentage of students in private education centres is found in the larger cities, such as Valencia (Esteve unp.; Reyes 25 January 1999, 45).

Both the hostile attitudes to the full recovery of Valencian found in certain sectors of Valencian society and the governing of different political parties with a clear Spanish ideological profile are important factors explaining such a situation. As is pointed out by Pascual and Sala (1996, 215-6):

[All *Generalitat's* actions in this field are characterized by many] hesitations and incoherences, an important lack of energy and conviction in the implementation stage of current legislation [and so] a complete lack of political will to transform the cultural and linguistic particularities of the education system into the foundations of a truly national education policy.

Most of the little progress in the use of Valencian has been a direct consequence of the resolute action of a small but significant part of Valencian civil society (Hernández i Dobon 1998, 12).

2.2.2.2.2.4.- Requirement of the Knowledge of Valencian for the Teaching Staff

The analysis of this section includes two main aspects: the evolution of the requirement of the knowledge of Valencian in the recruitment of teaching personnel; and the design and implementation of special Valencian in-service training courses for the teaching staff.

2.2.2.2.2.4.1.- Recruitment

Knowledge of Valencian has never been a requirement for entry to the teaching corps in Valencia. Competence in Valencian has always only been valued as a merit.

Two main areas should be noted here:

1. Kindergarten and Primary Education

The evolution of the requirement of the knowledge of Valencian in this area goes through two periods:

a) 1983-1996 (Socialist Government): Partial Bilingual Classing

No competence in Valencian is required for entry to the teaching corps.

However, some education posts are classed as bilingual (that is, teachers holding one of these posts must know both Valencian and Castilian). This classing is both non-systematic and circumstantial: it varies every year according to the social demand for Valencian which is found in each of the educational centres. Competence in Valencian is a requirement in the selection processes only on transfer to one of these bilingual posts.

b) From 1996 Onwards (Conservative Government): Total Bilingual Classing

All posts in primary education are classed as bilingual (that is, teachers holding these posts must know both Valencian and Castilian). The classing affects the whole territory of the Valencian Community⁵¹.

This classing is characterized by the three following aspects:

1st) Even though this constitutes a sort of paradox, the knowledge of Valencian in the selection processes involving competitive examinations and interviews is not a requirement: entry to the teaching corps is possible with no knowledge of Valencian. All the same, as no participation in the selection processes on transfer to other parts of Valencia is possible in the case of the non-accreditation of competence in Valencian, permanent posts cannot be assigned in this particular instance⁵².

⁵¹ Note that, rather than the PP's language planning ideology, this classing is a direct consequence of the LOGSE's reforms of the education system: with the exception of Music, Physical Education and Foreign Languages, all other subjects, including Valencian, must be known by all tutors, so that no creation of specialists in Valencian is possible.

⁵² This has recently been changed: teachers with no competence in Valencian can now participate in those selection processes involving transfer to centres with no bilingual education programs which are located in predominantly Castilian-speaking territories from 2000. Consequently, they can get a permanent post in this region.

The negative impact of this policy on the spread of the use of Valencian in the primary education system is clear enough. Specially if one takes into account the considerable number of Castilian-speaking teachers with no knowledge of Valencian in the education system (according to Pinter (7 December 1998, 60), more than 80% of all successful candidates in the last 1995 selection process were of Castilian-speaking background).

2nd) Following the reorganization of the whole education system in Valencia in 1996, all teachers holding permanent posts during that year (75% of the overall teaching staff) could assign themselves to any of the available posts at the time. The assignment was made without any sort of linguistic requirement and involved the whole primary education system (even those education centres with exclusive Programs of Teaching in Valencian).

Long moratoria for the fulfillment of the requirement of the knowledge of Valencian were also granted to this personnel: 10 years (up to 2006) in the case of the predominantly Valencian-speaking region, and 15 (up to 2011) in the Castilian-speaking one⁵³. No provisions for the consequences of the non-fulfillment of these temporary requirements have been made.

3rd) Knowledge of Valencian will only be required in two instances: the attachment of teachers to temporary posts (teachers with temporary posts and substitute teachers *-interins*: that is, 25% of the overall teaching staff); and, as already stated, selection processes on transfer (excepting the particular case of teaching staff whose attachment dates back to 1996).

2. Secondary Education

No requirement for the knowledge of Valencian has ever been applied in secondary education. Education posts are not classed yet.

This situation has often made it impossible to meet the demand for the teaching in Valencian which is found in some secondary education centres (Esteve unp.)⁵⁴.

2.2.2.2.4.2.- Valencian In-Service Training

The spread of the use of Valencian as a subject and a medium of instruction involves the proper training of the teaching staff. In-service training is therefore designed to complete the training of teachers in Valencian.

The policy of Valencian in-service training has gone through three main stages:

⁵³ It is significant that moratoria for personnel who had to follow in-service training courses in other subjects such as Music, English, French and Physical Education during that time referred only to a period of three years (Milian 9 June 1997, 36).

⁵⁴ Regulations: Decree no. 79/1984; Decree-Law dated October 24th, 1995; Order dated February 5th, 1997; Order dated May 14th, 1997 (DOGV of May 16th).

General sources: Bauzà Sastre (unp.(j)); El Temps (18 May 1998); Esteve (unp.); Pinter (7 December 1998); Giménez (22 June 1998, 53); Milian (9 June 1997, 36).

1. 1983-1992

In-Service Training Plan for the Teaching of Valencian as a Subject and a Medium of Instruction (*Pla de reciclatge del professorat per a impartir classes de valencià i en valencià*)⁵⁵.

2. 1992-1997

Plan for Technical and Linguistic Training in Valencian of Non-University Teachers (*Pla de formació lingüísticotècnica en valencià del professorat no universitari*)⁵⁶.

3. From 1997 Onwards

Order dated February 5th, 1997 (DOGV no. 2968 of April 10th), regulating the previous Plan⁵⁷.

According to some recent statements to the press by the *Generalitat's* Minister of Education, Manuel Tarancón, around 86% of the teaching staff in primary education had an adequate competence in Valencian during the course 1999-2000 (Ducajú 3 February 2000).

No figures about levels of competence in Valencian are known for secondary education.

2.2.2.2.2.5.- The Teaching of Valencian Abroad

No Valencian assistantships abroad have ever been financially supported by the *Generalitat*.

2.2.2.2.3.- Mass Media and Culture Industries

2.2.2.2.3.1.- Mass Media

The analysis of language planning activities in the mass media focuses on the use of Valencian in two main areas: television and radio, and periodicals (specially, the press).

⁵⁵ Regulation: Order dated May 21st, 1985 (DOGV no. 257 of June 3rd).

⁵⁶ Regulation: Order dated June 15th, 1994 (DOGV no. 2302 of July 4th).

⁵⁷ Sources: *Generalitat Valenciana* (1995(a)); for a critical vision, see Brotons (1996).

2.2.2.2.3.1.1.- Television and Radio

The Valencian Television and Radio Corporation (*Radiotelevisió Valenciana*, or RTVV) was created by the *Generalitat* in 1984 (Act no. 7/1984, dated July 4th -DOGV no. 176 of July 9th). It allowed for the establishment of an autonomous television and radio network comprising two television channels (*Canal 9 TVV* in 1989, and *Punt 2* in 1997-1998), and one radio station (*Canal 9 Ràdio* in 1988).

While all *Canal 9 Ràdio* and *Punt 2* broadcasting is in Valencian, the use of Valencian in *Canal 9 TVV* is only around 59%. Valencian is specially used in news, children's and youth programs, and documentaries. Castilian, on the other hand, is mainly present in films.

The exclusive use of Valencian in *Punt 2* requires four main observations: first, the broadcasting activities of this TV channel began quite late; second, the territory of the Valencian Community is not yet entirely covered by this channel; third, its broadcasting hours are still very limited; and, fourth, its audience levels are quite low⁵⁸.

Some financial support for the promotion of the use of Valencian in the mass media, especially in radio and television, was given between 1992 and 1995, during the last period of the socialist government. The subsidy amounted to 25,000,000 pesetas in 1992, and to 30,000,000 pesetas between 1993 and 1995. No more funding in this field is found from 1996 onwards (conservative government)⁵⁹.

2.2.2.2.3.1.2.- Newspapers and Magazines

The evolution of subsidies in this field has been as follows:

1. 1986-1991 (Socialist Government)

Subsidies are directed to non-daily periodicals⁶⁰.

⁵⁸ Sources: Acció Cultural del País Valencià (16 March 1998, 49); Institut de Sociolingüística Catalana (1996(b), 4-5); Generalitat Valenciana (1984).

⁵⁹ Regulations: Decree no. 10/1992, dated September 10th (DOGV no. 1865 of September 18th); Decree no. 5/1993, dated May 6th (DOGV no. 2023 of May 13th); Decree no. 2/1994, dated July 4th (DOGV no. 2306 of July 8th); Decree no. 10/1995, dated May 9th (DOGV no. 2506 of May 12th).

Sources: DOGV; Generalitat Valenciana (1995(a)).

⁶⁰ Regulations: Decree no. 39/1986, dated December 12th (DOGV no. 493 of December 24th); Resolution dated March 8th, 1988 (DOGV no. 780 of March 9th); Decree no. 4/1989, dated July 28th

2. 1992-1995 (Socialist Government)

Subsidies are directed to the mass media, in general (especially television and radio)⁶¹.

3. From 1995 Onwards (Conservative Government)

No more subsidies are given to the mass media.

As can be deduced from the previous lines, no specific financial support has ever been created for the promotion of the use of Valencian in the press. Financial support to the press, if ever existed, was very low (see section 2.2.2.2.3.1.1.) and short-lived (1992 to 1995)⁶².

2.2.2.2.3.2.- Culture Industries

The study of the cultural promotion of Valencian focuses on three main areas: literary production, book publishing activities, and the film industry. An analysis of other cultural fields will nonetheless also be considered.

2.2.2.2.3.2.1.- Literary Production

No official institution with the firm aim of promoting literary production in Valencian has ever been created.

Broadly speaking, the *Generalitat's* actions in this field have been limited to the granting of some subsidies for the publishing of literary works in Valencian, and translation from and into Valencian.

All the same, subsidies have been very poor. They amounted to 2,000,000 pesetas in 1991; to 3,000,000 pesetas between 1992 and 1996; and to 4,000,000 pesetas in 1997 and 1999⁶³.

(DOGV no. 1121 of August 7th); Resolution dated December 7th, 1990 (DOGV no. 1452 of December 28th); Resolution dated December 4th, 1991 (DOGV no. 1686 of December 12th).

⁶¹ Regulations: see point 2.2.2.2.3.1.1.

⁶² Sources: DOGV; Generalitat Valenciana (1995(a)).

⁶³ Regulations: Resolution dated January 27th, 1987 (DOGV no. 547 of March 16th); Order dated February 10th, 1988 (DOGV no. 796 of April 5th); Order dated November 8th, 1988 (DOGV no. 947 of November 21st); Order dated April 5th, 1989 (DOGV no. 1056 of May 3rd); Order dated June 6th, 1990 (DOGV no. 1338 of July 3rd); Order dated May 15th, 1991 (DOGV no. 1579 of July 4th); Order dated July 6th, 1992 (DOGV no. 1833 of July 24th); Order dated January 8th, 1993 (DOGV no. 1960 of February 9th); Order dated February 7th, 1994 (DOGV no. 2212 of February 22nd); Order dated March

2.2.2.2.3.2.2.- Book Publishing

Specific financial support for the promotion of the use of Valencian in the book publishing industry (*producció editorial en valencià*) was created in 1985. This funding was regularly granted between 1985 and 1995, during the socialist government.

Some data concerning this specific subsidy between 1990 and 1995 are found in Table 38.

Table 38. Subsidies for Book Publishing in Valencian (1990-1995)

Years	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Absolute subsidy (in ptas)	11,554,762	13,000,000	23,347,810	28,000,000	30,000,000	30,000,000
Relative subsidy (expenditure per person in the subsidies to book publishing in Valencian -in ptas)	2.8	3.25	5.83	7	7.5	7.5

Sources for financial data between 1990 and 1993: Generalitat Valenciana (1995(a), 197).

Sources for financial data between 1994 and 1995: Order dated February 17th, 1994 (DOGV no. 2216 of February 28th) and Order dated January 27th, 1995 (DOGV no. 2450 of February 15th).

Source for population data: Institut Valencià d'Estadística [n.d.].

Own preparation.

These specific subsidies for book publishing in Valencian were integrated into more global subsidies to the whole book publishing industry (*producció editorial valenciana*) from 1996 onwards, under the conservative government. These global subsidies had already been created by the previous government in 1990. They target publications in Valencian and Castilian, as well as musics. Their implementation has been quite irregular (no official announcements on the support were made in 1996 and 1998). 41,560,000 pesetas were assigned to this global subsidy in 1999⁶⁴.

6th, 1995 (DOGV no. 2486 of April 7th); Order dated April 2nd, 1996 (DOGV no. 2738 of April 30th); Order dated March 21st, 1997 (DOGV no. 2979 of April 25th); Order dated July 12th, 1999 (DOGV no. 3556 of August 9th).

Source: DOGV; Generalitat Valenciana (1995(a)).

⁶⁴ Regulations: a) On the Specific Support (*producció editorial en valencià*)

Order dated November 23rd, 1984 (DOGV no. 209 of December 6th); Order dated December 23rd, 1985 (DOGV no. 352 of March 12th, 1986); Order dated December 30th, 1987 (DOGV no. 751 of January 28th, 1988); Order dated December 20th, 1988 (DOGV no. 982 of January

2.2.2.2.3.2.3.- The Film Industry

Broadly speaking, there has been no economic support for the promotion of the use of Valencian in the film industry⁶⁵.

2.2.2.2.3.2.4.- Others

Specific financial support was allocated to the promotion of the use of Valencian in the theatre (*teatre en valencià*) in 1985 and 1986. All the same, this specific support was integrated into more global subsidies to the theatre world (*teatre valencià*) between 1987 and 1993. No official announcements on this global support have been made from 1994 onwards⁶⁶.

Many of the subsidies for the promotion of the use of Valencian in the cultural field have been given to traditional and folk festivals since 1993 (especially to the *Falles*, and the festivals of *Santa Magdalena* and *Sant Joan*)⁶⁷.

12th, 1989); Order dated December 29th, 1989 (DOGV no. 1256 of March 2nd, 1990); Order dated December 21st, 1990 (DOGV no. 1473 of January 30th, 1991); Order dated November 25th, 1991 (DOGV no. 1714 of January 31st, 1992); Order dated December 4th, 1992 (DOGV no. 1957 of February 4th, 1993); Order dated February 17th, 1994 (DOGV no. 2216 of February 28th); Order dated January 27th, 1995 (DOGV no. 2450 of February 15th).

b) On the Global Support (*producció editorial valenciana*)

Order dated June 6th, 1990 (DOGV no. 1338 of July 3rd); Order dated May 14th, 1991 (DOGV no. 1579 of July 4th); Order dated February 18th, 1993 (DOGV no. 1996 of April 1st); Order dated January 27th, 1995 (DOGV no. 2450 of February 15th); Order dated May 9th, 1997 (DOGV no. 3002 of May 29th); Order dated March 30th, 1999 (DOGV no. 3509 of June 3rd).

⁶⁵ The only subsidy in this area is found in 1985. During that year 7,500,000 pesetas were allocated to the dubbing of films into Valencian (Order dated November 23rd, 1984 -DOGV no. 209 of December 6th). This particular support will not have any continuity in the future.

⁶⁶ Regulations: a) On the Specific Support (*teatre en valencià*)

Order dated November 23rd, 1984 (DOGV no. 209 of December 6th); Order dated March 25th, 1986 (DOGV no. 371 of May 2nd).

b) On the Global Support (*teatre valencià*)

Resolution dated March 2nd, 1987 (DOGV no. 572 of April 23rd); Resolution dated March 2nd, 1987 (DOGV no. 582 of May 8th); Order dated February 24th, 1993 (DOGV no. 1988 of March 22nd).

⁶⁷ Regulations: Order dated January 2nd, 1993 (DOGV no. 1949 of January 25th) (3 -that is, this Order concerns all three previous festivals); Error Amendment of Order dated January 2nd, 1993 (DOGV no. 1950 of January 26th) (3); Order dated January 11th, 1994 (DOGV no. 2188 of January 19th) (3); Error Amendment of Order dated January 11th, 1994 (DOGV no. 2212 of February 22nd) (3); Order dated January 13th, 1995 (DOGV no. 2443 of February 6th) (3); Order dated December 22nd, 1995 (DOGV no. 2668 of January 16th, 1996) (3); Order dated January 9th, 1997 (DOGV no. 2918 of January 29th) (3); Error Amendment of Order dated January 9th, 1997 (DOGV no. 2931 of February 17th); Order dated December 26th, 1997 (DOGV no. 3166 of January 21st, 1998) (3); Order dated December 28th,

2.2.2.2.4.- Socioeconomic Activity

The analysis of language planning activities in this sector includes three main aspects: the creation of general coordination bodies; the passing of various regulations concerning the introduction of Valencian in the socioeconomic world; and the *Generalitat's* actual implementation of these various regulations, as well as the use of Valencian in different socioeconomic activities.

2.2.2.2.4.1.- Language Planning Coordinating Bodies

The promotion of Valencian in socioeconomic activity has gone through two main stages:

1. 1988-1992

Creation of the first Municipal Services for the Promotion of the Use of Valencian (*Oficines Municipals de Promoció de l'Ús del Valencià*) (Order dated December 26th, 1988).

The two first language planning plans (1988 and 1990), especially the latter, include specific actions in the social domain.

2. From 1992 Onwards

As has already been observed, the Service for the Social Promotion of Valencian is created within the Directorate General for Language Policy in 1992. This service has been responsible for the coordination of the promotion of the use of Valencian in the social domain since then.

The last language planning plan (1993) also includes specific actions in the social world.

Three general areas have been targeted: local sector, non-profit-making organizations, and commercial companies⁶⁸.

1998 (DOGV no. 3418 of January 22nd, 1999); Order dated December 28th, 1998 (DOGV no. 3417 of January 21st, 1999) (2); Order dated January 12th, 2000 (DOGV no. 3670 of January 20th) (3).

2.2.2.2.4.2.- Regulations

Regulations in this field will be studied in three main areas: labeling, companies, and names of places and signs.

2.2.2.2.4.2.1.- Labeling

No regulations exist in the area of labeling.

2.2.2.2.4.2.2.- Companies

No regulations exist in the area of companies.

2.2.2.2.4.2.3.- Names of Places and Signs

All regulations concerning this area correspond to the period stretching between 1984 and 1993.

All signposting, signs and names of places will be in Valencian in the predominantly Valencian-speaking territories, and in Castilian in the predominantly Castilian-speaking territories.

The affected fields are the following: names of municipalities; local thoroughfares and public services; continental fishing, hunting and livestock land and thoroughfares; names of places, names of municipalities, public administration of the *Generalitat* and local entities⁶⁹.

2.2.2.2.4.3.- Actual Data

Actual data on the introduction of Valencian in the socioeconomic world are studied in three main areas: financial support, language normalization agreements, and the levels of use of Valencian.

⁶⁸ Source: Generalitat Valenciana (1995(a)).

⁶⁹ Regulations: Decree no. 74/1984 and Decree no. 58/1992; Decree no. 145/1986, dated November 24th (DOGV no. 509 of January 20th, 1987); Resolution dated April 26th, 1988 (DOGV no. 824 of May 13th); Order dated December 1st, 1993 (DOGV no. 2227 of March 18th, 1994).

2.2.2.2.4.3.1.- Financial Support

As has already been pointed out, three main fields have been subsidized: local administration, commercial companies, and non-profit-making organizations. Let us analyze each one of them separately:

1. Local Administration

Continuous financial support has been assigned to the promotion of the use of Valencian in the local administration since 1985 (see Table 39).

Table 39. Subsidies for the Promotion of the Use of Valencian in the Local Administration (1985-1999)

Year	(I) Creation and consolidation of Municipal Services for the Promotion of the Use of Valencian: 1) Subsidies (in ptas)	2) Absolute and relative no. of subsidized municipalities (in relation to the overall no. of munic.in Valencia)	(II) Subsidies to other activities - courses, signs, documentation , campaigns, etc. (in ptas)	TOTAL (I+II): 1)Overall subsidies (in ptas)	2) Absolute and relative no. of subsidized municipalities (in relation to the overall no. of munic. in Valencia)
1985	-	-	3,000,000	3,000,000	15 (3.8%)
1986	-	-	15,839,247	15,839,247	57 (14.4%)
1987	-	-	10,039,600	10,039,600	70 (17.7%)
1988	-	-	8,000,000	8,000,000	55 (14%)
1989	-	-	15,000,000	15,000,000	60 (15.23%)
1990	7,000,000	8 (2%)	27,000,000	34,000,000	94 (23.85%)
1991	7,000,000	10 (2.5%)	27,000,000	34,000,000	98 (24.87%)
1992	24,000,000	28 (7%)	41,000,000	65,000,000	259 (65.48%)
1993	34,500,000	31 (7.8%)	30,500,000	65,000,000	229 (58.10%)

Sources: DOGV; Generalitat Valenciana (1995(a)).

1994	-	-	-	-	-
1995	-	-	-	-	-
1996	-	-	-	-	-
1997	-	-	-	-	-
1998	-	-	-	-	-
1999	-	-	-	79,800,000	-

Notes: 1) The overall number of municipalities in the Valencian Community is 396; 2) No data is available between 1994 and 1998.

Sources for 1985-1993 data: Generalitat Valenciana (1995(a), 172-5).

Sources for 1999 data: Regulation dated June 26th, 1999 (DOGV no. 3534 of July 8th).

Own preparation.

Two important facts are reflected in the table:

a) The late creation of the first Municipal Services for the Promotion of the Use of Valencian (1990), and

b) The slow progress made between 1993 and 1999, which forces us to conclude that both the current number of Municipal Services for the Promotion of the Use of Valencian and subsidized companies are roughly the same than 1993.

Official announcements on this support follow three main stages:

a) 1988

Specific subsidy to the local administration.

b) 1989-1997

Global subsidy for the promotion of Valencian in the social field. Companies and all sorts of non-profit-making organizations (professional associations, sport and cultural associations, etc.) are also targeted.

Global subsidies amount to 80,000,000 pesetas in 1991; 85,000,000 pesetas in 1992; 86,000,000 pesetas in 1993; 115,000,000 pesetas in 1994; 135,000,000 pesetas in 1995; 130,000,000 pesetas in 1996; and 150,000,000 pesetas in 1997.

c) 1999

Specific subsidy to the local administration (see Table 39)⁷⁰.

⁷⁰ Regulations: a) On the Specific Subsidy

2. Companies

The financial support for the promotion of the use of Valencian in business activities follows three main stages:

a) 1986-1988

Specific subsidy to companies ('Marketing and Provision of Services': *Comercialització de productes i prestació de serveis*).

b) 1989-1997

Global subsidy for the promotion of Valencian in the social field. Local institutions and non-profit-making organizations are also beneficiaries (see local administration section for more information).

c) From 1998 onwards

Companies are no longer subsidized⁷¹.

Table 40 reflects some figures concerning subsidies in this field between 1990 and 1993.

Table 40. Subsidies for the Promotion of the Use of Valencian in Companies (1990-1993)

Year	No. of subsidized companies	Subsidies (in ptas):				TOTAL (1+2+3+4) (in ptas)
		1) Courses	2) Signs	3) Naming of compan.	4) Other	
1990	145	140,000	8,993,314	412,000	568,875	10,114,189
1991	278	1,400,000	14,200,309	4,384,780	1,961,720	22,016,709

Order dated June 13th, 1988 (DOGV no. 857 of June 30th); Regulation dated June 26th, 1999 (DOGV no. 3534 of July 8th).

b) On the Global Subsidy

Order dated April 25th, 1989 (DOGV no. 1068 of May 19th); Order dated May 17th, 1990 (DOGV no. 1323 of June 12th); Order dated February 4th, 1991 (DOGV no. 1482 of February 12th); Order dated February 14th, 1992 (DOGV no. 1732 of February 26th); Order dated January 7th, 1993 (DOGV no. 1960 of February 9th); Order dated February 8th, 1994 (DOGV no. 2212 of February 22nd); Order dated March 29th, 1995 (DOGV no. 2485 of April 6th); Order dated April 19th, 1996 (DOGV no. 2735 of April 25th); Order dated May 20th, 1997 (DOGV no. 3000 of May 27th).

Source: DOGV.

⁷¹ Regulations: a) On the Specific Subsidy

Order dated August 5th, 1986 (DOGV no. 433 of September 26th); Order dated February 11th, 1987 (DOGV no. 571 of April 22nd); Order dated April 13th, 1988 (DOGV no. 815 of May 2nd).

b) On the Global Subsidy (see local administration section)

Source: DOGV.

1992	309	616,000	11,520,911	1,702,245	941,844	14,781,000
1993	403	-	11,252,513	5,323,597	-	16,576,110

Note: No data are available since 1993.

Source: Generalitat Valenciana (1995(a), 195).

3. Non-Profit-Making Organizations

Continuous financial support has been given by the *Generalitat* to the promotion of the use of Valencian in non-profit-making organizations (see Table 41).

Table 41. Subsidies for the Promotion of the Use of Valencian to Non-Profit-Making Organizations (1990-1999)

Year	No. of subsidized organizat.	Subsidies (in ptas):					TOTAL (1+2+3+4+5) (in ptas)
		1)Promotion Services	2) Courses	3) Signs	4) Naming of organiz.	5) Other	
1990	94	800,000	8,560,000	1,611,000	45,000	4,030,836	15,046,836
1991	164	-	10,460,000	2,906,740	650,000	9,053,556	23,070,296
1992	233	-	10,353,000	2,078,000	115,000	6,996,924	19,543,901
1993	373	-	18,420,000	863,601	-	12,699,160	31,982,761
1994	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1995	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1996	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1997	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1998	-	-	-	-	-	-	44,000,000
1999	-	-	-	-	-	-	44,000,000

Note: No data are available between 1994 and 1997.

Source for 1990-1993 data: Generalitat Valenciana (1995(a), 196).

Sources for 1998-1999 data: Order dated May 14th, 1998 (DOGV no. 3253 of May 29th); Order dated April 27th, 1999 (DOGV no. 3495 of May 14th).

Own preparation.

Subsidies for the promotion of the use of Valencian in this field go through three main stages:

a) 1987-1988

Specific subsidy to non-profit-making organizations (which are not related to education activities).

b) 1989-1997

Global subsidy for the promotion of Valencian in the social field. Local institutions and companies are also beneficiaries (see local administration section for more information).

A specific subsidy for organizations promoting activities in the education area is created by the Socialists between 1991 and 1995. It amounts to 5,000,000 pesetas in 1991 and 1992; 10,000,000 pesetas in 1993; 6,000,000 pesetas in 1994; and 12,000,000 pesetas in 1995. This specific subsidy was abolished after 1995, under the conservative government.

c) From 1998 onwards

A specific subsidy to non-profit-making organizations is again created. It is important to note, nonetheless, that most of this financial support is assigned to radical anti-Catalanist organizations, such as *Lo Rat Penat* and the *Real Academia Valenciana de Cultura* (Sales 2 March 1998; Giménez 22 June 1998, 52; Viadel 19 October 1998)⁷².

2.2.2.2.4.3.2.- Language Agreements

No data have been found in this area.

2.2.2.2.4.3.3.- Actual Use of Valencian

No data have been found in this area.

⁷² Regulations: a) On the Specific Subsidy

Order dated November 17th, 1987 (DOGV no. 716 of December 30th); Order dated June 13th, 1988 (DOGV no. 857 of June 30th); Order dated May 14th, 1998 (DOGV no. 3253 of May 29th); Order dated April 27th, 1999 (DOGV no. 3495 of May 14th).

b) On the Specific Subsidy for Organizations Promoting Activities in the Education Area

Order dated April 18th, 1991 (DOGV no. 1530 of April 26th); Order dated February 17th, 1992 (DOGV no. 1732 of February 26th); Order dated January 7th, 1993 (DOGV no. 1965 of February 16th); Order dated February 4th, 1994 (DOGV no. 2212 of February 22nd); Order dated March 6th, 1995 (DOGV no. 2480 of March 30th).

c) On the Global Subsidy (see local administration section)

Source: DOGV.

2.2.2.3.- Corpus Planning

The analysis of the actual implementation of corpus planning activities is concerned with two main aspects: the recognition of the unity of the Catalan language, and the creation of specific corpus planning bodies.

2.2.2.3.1.- Recognition of the Unity of the Catalan Language

The recognition of the unity of Catalan will be mainly studied in three specific areas: language certificates and other qualifications from Catalonia and the Balearics; the *Generalitat's* collaboration with other Catalan-speaking territories; and the *Generalitat's* censorship activities in relation to Catalan.

2.2.2.3.1.1.- Recognition of Language Certificates and Qualifications from Other Catalan-Speaking Territories

Broadly speaking, the *Generalitat's* language policy in this field goes through two main stages:

1. 1988-1995 (Socialist Government)

Recognition of certificates and qualifications from Catalonia and the Balearics. However, this recognition is quite late, especially in the administrative and university education fields.

2. From 1995 Onwards (Conservative Government)

Non-recognition of certificates and qualifications from the other Catalan-speaking territories.

Three main fields are involved:

a) Administration

The Order dated August 16th, 1994 (DOGV no. 2331 of August 24th), recognizing all linguistic certificates from the Catalan and the Balearic governments,

was abolished by Order dated December 22nd, 1995 (DOGV no. 2651 of December 22nd).

b) Non-University Education

The Order dated December 11th, 1991, recognizes that teachers with Catalan Language and Literature (*Llengua i Literatura Catalana*) and Language and Literature: Valencian (*Llengua i Literatura: Valencià*) qualifications, will be able to participate in secondary education selection processes to fill the vacancies (*concurrs a les places vacants*) in Valencia in exactly the same terms and conditions.

c) University Education

The Resolution dated July 22nd, 1993 (DOGV no. 2082 of August 6th), authorizes the University of Valencia to use the term ‘Catalan’ in its statutes when referring to the language spoken in the Valencian Community.

The Order dated May 24th, 1995 (DOGV no. 2530 of June 15th), recognizes Catalan and Valencian degrees (*títol de llicenciat en Filologia Catalana*, and *títols de llicenciat en Filologia, Secció Hispànica -Valenciana-* and *Filosofia i Lletres, Divisió Filologia -Filologia Valenciana-*, respectively) as equivalent. This regulation was, however, rescinded in 1996 (Gil 1 January 1996).

Following the Ruling of the Constitutional Court no. 74/1997, dated March 21st (BOE no. 121 of May 21st), of recognition of the use of the term ‘Catalan’ by the University of Valencia, a Resolution confirming the independence of the ‘Valencian language’ and explicitly ignoring ‘academic and scientific criteria’ against it, was passed by the Valencian Parliament (El Temps 21 April 1997, 12 May 1997).

At the same time, on February 1998, the Valencian Parliament demanded that the Central Government abolish its recognition of Catalan degrees as equivalent to Valencian ones (Acció Cultural del País Valencià 16 March 1998)⁷³.

2.2.2.3.1.2.- Collaboration with Other Catalan-Speaking Territories

The Valencian Government participated in common cultural projects with the other Catalan-speaking territories via the Ramon Llull Commission until 1997. No funds have been allocated to this collaboration by the Conservatives since then (El Temps 27 July 1998).

⁷³ Source: Esteve and others [n.d.].

No more collaboration agreements with other Catalan-speaking territories have been signed.

2.2.2.3.1.3.- Censorship

Two main areas are affected by the *Generalitat*'s censorship:

1. Education

Censorship activities in the education field have been mainly applied under the conservative government since 28 May, 1995.

Two main types of censorship can be distinguished within the education system:

a) Linguistic Censorship in Textbooks

The approval of textbooks depends on the compliance of certain linguistic requirements on the part of publishing companies. The most broadly used Catalan standard forms are banned. Instead particular forms from the Southern Valencian dialect are chosen as the linguistic model⁷⁴.

b) Censorship on Naming and Contents

In September 1997, the regional Minister of Culture announced that special measures would be taken to guarantee that the official name of the language and territory of Valencia is 'Valencian language' and 'Valencian Community', respectively. Any other names, such as 'Catalan' and 'Valencian Nation/Country' (*País Valencià*), would be prosecuted. All references to the cultural and linguistic unity of Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearics were also prohibited. Textbooks and non-university teaching activities would be specially targeted. A motion urging the *Generalitat*'s government to observe all teachers in this respect was finally passed⁷⁵.

2. Mass Media

The mass media have also been affected by the Conservative government's linguistic censorship activities. A well-known list containing 593 prohibited words was one of the internal working documents in the public Valencian TV (*Canal 9*) under the

⁷⁴ Source: Royo i Gil (27 July 1998).

⁷⁵ Sources: El Temps (21 December 1998); Giménez (14 September 1998); Royo i Gil (27 July 1998).

Socialist Amadeu Fabregat. Southern Valencian dialectal forms were favoured. More broadly spread Catalan standard forms were explicitly rejected⁷⁶.

2.2.2.3.1.4.- Others

Recognition of Valencian in the ISBN agency has been achieved by the radical anti-Catalanist party UV (*Unió Valenciana*) since 1995-1996.

It is important to observe that the non recognition of the unity of the Catalan language by the *Generalitat* from 1995 onwards goes against the policy of the three following bodies:

1. The Spanish Government, which has asserted this recognition in two main levels at the education field:

a) Non-University Education

The Order dated October 21st, 1988 (BOE no. 257 of October 26th), recognizes that teachers with either Catalan Language and Literature, or Valencian Language and Literature qualifications, will be able to apply for secondary education posts all over Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearics under the same conditions.

b) University Education

Royal Decree no. 1888/1984, dated September 26th, recognizes the full equivalence of Catalan and Valencian degrees in university education selection processes involving competitive examinations.

Order dated November 29th, 1995, recognizes Catalan and Valencian degrees as equivalent.

2. The University of Valencia (see section 2.2.2.3.1.1, point c)

3. The Royal Academy of the Spanish Language (*Real Academia de la Lengua Española*)

⁷⁶ Sources: Dolç (1998); RTVV (unp.(a); unp.(b)).

The use of the name ‘Valencian language’ plainly contradicts the authority of the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, which is the only competent body to resolve problems of lexical interpretation in Spanish jurisprudence.

2.2.2.3.2.- Language Planning Bodies

The creation of specific corpus planning bodies will be analyzed in two fields: codification and elaboration, and implementation.

2.2.2.3.2.1.- Codification and Elaboration

Two main areas should be considered:

1. Codification

The codification process in Valencia goes through two main stages:

a) 1984

In spite of the Act for the Use and Teaching of Valencian’s legal vacuum in this sense, article 7.2 of Order dated September 1st, 1984 (DOGV no. 191 of September 25th), recognizes the Institute of Valencian Philology (*Institut de Filologia Valenciana*) as the only body with normative authority in all textbooks and other teaching material to be used in the education field⁷⁷. This authority was transferred to the Inter-University Institute of Valencian Philology (*Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana*), created in 1994 by Decree no. 238/1994, dated November 22nd⁷⁸.

A Resolution urging the Executive Council of the *Generalitat* to abolish the Inter-University Institute of Valencian Philology’s authority was passed by the Valencian Parliament on 8 October, 1997 (Associació Cultural del País Valencià 16 March 1998, 39, 49).

b) 1998

⁷⁷ The Institute of Valencian Philology was created in 1978 by the eminent philologist Sanchis Guarner. It was an academic body, the main function of which was to promote research on Catalan language and literature.

⁷⁸ The Inter-University Institute of Valencian Philology is also an academic body. It represents all Valencian universities teaching philological studies.

The most explicit act of recognition of Valencian as a language independent from Catalan is the creation of the Academy of the Valencian Language (*Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua*), in 1998 (Act no. 7/1998, dated September 16th -DOGV no. 3334 of September 21st). This Academy is officially the only body with normative authority in Valencian -according to the Generalitat Valenciana (1999, 14), ‘the Valencian Academy of the Language is the institution the main function of which is to determine and elaborate all linguistic norms in connection with the *Valencian language*’ (my stress).

2. Elaboration

No elaboration bodies have been created. The only activities in this field have been limited to the publishing of some terminological dictionaries.

Contrary to what has happened with some Valencian universities, no official collaboration agreements with the TERMCAT have ever been signed by the *Generalitat*.

2.2.2.3.2.2.- Implementation

Language advisory activities have been implemented in two fields:

1. The *Generalitat*'s Administration

A special Translation and Language Advisory Service was created within the Directorate General for Language Policy in 1992. Even though advice can also be granted to external organizations and entities, its main activities are internal.

2. Local Administration

One of the functions of the Municipal Services for the Promotion of the Use of Valencian has been in the area of language advice (Izquierdo and Minguet 1998).

2.2.3.- Language Planning and Nationalism

Language planning policies in the Valencian Community have started out from the treatment of Castilian and Valencian as proper and official languages of the region. This equality of legal status has prevented the implementation of a determined language

planning process, in the status and corpus levels, which could have aimed at a complete reintroduction and recovery of Valencian. The process has not been integral but highly discriminatory. Actually, two absolutely different language planning processes have been applied, according to the territorial area concerned: one in the predominantly Castilian-speaking territories; the other in the predominantly Valencian-speaking ones. On the whole, neither a clear normativization nor a significant spread of Valencian in the various societal fields has been achieved (Pitarch 1996). Broadly speaking (I follow now Hernández i Dobon's idea (1998, 15)), language planning activities in relation to Valencian have not been done. And, as a popular German saying has it, *Keine Antwort ist auch eine Antwort* (no answer is also an answer). This has been exactly the case in Valencia.

Language planning activities in this region are not a homogeneous process, but one which goes through two different periods, each one corresponding to the government by a particular political party. These two stages can be characterized as follows:

1. Socialist Government (1983-1995): Ambiguity and Doubts

This first stage is characterized by the tension between two contrasting tendencies:

a) On one side, some specific actions in the language planning process are directed to the determined promotion of Valencian. This is the case with the creation of important language planning bodies, such as the Language Normalization Service and the Technical Commission for the Teaching of Valencian. Both of them anticipate the passing of the Act for the Use and Teaching of Valencian in 1983. Different language planning plans have also been designed since 1988. The requirement of some minimum levels of use of Valencian as a medium of instruction in non-university education in 1984, and the special subsidies for the promotion of the use of Valencian in strategic fields, such as the film industry and the companies, are also illustrative.

b) On the other, important failings and weak points are more the rule than the exception.

In general terms, the process is characterized as follows:

1st) The Unclear Goals and Incompleteness of the Act for the Use and Teaching of Valencian

An unclear definition of objectives, and important legal vacuums, are found in the wording of the 1983 Act.

2nd) The Late Creation of Language Planning Strategic Means

In general, the creation of the necessary means to achieve a successful coordination of language planning activities has been late, both at their initial and their later stages (note, in this sense, that three different bodies precede the creation of the Directorate General for Language Policy in 1992; a special service responsible for the evaluation and monitoring is not created until 1992).

3rd) Lack of Social Involvement

Even though the process is theoretically aimed at the whole of society, no involvement of the most important social sectors has ever been applied.

4th) Basically, a Policy of Voluntariness

Broadly speaking, language planning activities in connection with the knowledge and use of Valencian are based on principles of voluntariness. As previously stated, competence in Valencian in the primary education system is only partially required at a stage following the recruitment of teaching staff. Minimum levels of use of Valencian in primary education are also limited and poor.

5th) Non-Determined Implementation

Language planning policies and plans have been poorly implemented, if implemented at all. A very limited and irregular policy of subsidies and other economic support has been applied to the cultural, mass media and socioeconomic fields. Continuous doubts and uncertainties are also found here (note, for instance, the short-lived existence of specific subsidies in the area of cinema and commercial companies). Strategic fields, such as the film industry and the press, are not targeted at all; others, such as the local administration's linguistic promotion, have received insufficient funding.

6th) Implicit Defence of the Unity of the Catalan Language

Even though the ideal legal basis for the future promotion of Valencian as an independent language is already set up during this period, there is an implicit recognition of the unity of the Catalan language. All the same, this recognition generally

came in late. It was mainly used by the Socialists as a strategic political device during the 1994-1995 election campaign.

2. Conservatives' Government (From 1995 Onwards): Anti-Catalanism

In spite of some specific differences in the general coordination process and the cultural and socioeconomic fields, it can be stated that, in general terms, the Conservative period is characterized by a continuation of the previous language planning policies in the area of status planning, so that points 3 to 5 in the preceding list are still relevant.

Where the differences are most remarkable is in the corpus planning policy. A determined explicit defence of Valencian as a different language from Catalan is now applied. Many legal actions have been taken to guarantee this anti-Catalanist policy.

Three more characteristics could be added to the previous list:

7th) A Non-Evolutionary Process

No new general act has been passed by the Conservative government. The 1983 Act for the Use and Teaching of Valencian is still the only general linguistic regulation.

8th) An Ineffective Process

As can be ascertained from the previous pages, actual levels of use of Valencian in the different fields are quite low.

9th) A Non-Vetoed Process

No single language planning activity of the *Generalitat* has ever been charged with unconstitutionality by the Spanish Government. This is certainly one of the most convincing proofs of the low intensity of the process.

In conclusion, it can be stated that the language planning process in Valencia reflects an important degree of Spanishness. Valencianness is compulsorily defined in terms of Spanishness. An unbalanced linguistic 'dual loyalty'⁷⁹ has allowed for the emergence of a partially diglossic political mind⁸⁰. Spanish is seen by both governing

⁷⁹ The concept of 'dual loyalty' refers to the convergence in the same individual of two different identities: the one provided by the 'region' and the other provided by the State. This concept is fully applicable to the Spanish case (Smith 1991, 59).

⁸⁰ A diglossic community, as defined by Ferguson (1959), is characterized by the stable presence of two related languages, which exist side by side in the repertoire of members of the community for

parties as a more fundamental marker of identity for the ruled group than Valencian (that is, it is an essential part of the Socialists and Conservatives' political definition of Valencian society). On the other hand, Valencian is also a part of this definition, even though its role is completely different. It is mainly seen as a traditional and folk variety. Being so, it should be particularly promoted in this area. Its use in other fields, if it ever happened, should be unequally shared with Spanish, the most appropriate variety for higher functions.

It is important to remark that, together with Spanishness, anti-Catalanness has been an important part of the definition of Valencianness during the Conservative era. This anti-Catalanness finds its most direct expression in the political attempt to transform Valencian into a completely different language from Catalan.

It is finally necessary to observe two facts:

1st) Language planning activities in Valencia have not only been due to government action by two ideologically Spanish political parties (PSPV-PSOE and PP(-UV)) for nearly two decades. The existence of a civil society in which Valencian nationalism is a relatively new and minority phenomenon, together with the anti-Catalanist (or *blavero*) ideology of a not inconsiderable sector of society, and the fact that Castilian is a historical language for 11% of the overall population, are major factors which also need to be taken into account.

2nd) The language planning process has generally ignored a significant sector of the civil society who are promoting the spread of the use of Catalan in this region.

2.3.- The Balearic Islands

2.3.1.- Formulation

2.3.1.1.- General Considerations

The Balearic Islands obtained their autonomous status in 1983 via the slow route of article 143 of the Spanish Constitution.

communication within the group. One language is standardized and used for literary, scholarly, liturgical, and other formal purposes. The other language is used for ordinary, everyday interaction.

Their language planning activities in relation to Catalan are based on two general regulations:

1. Articles 3, 10, 13, 14, 2nd Additional Provision and Temporary Provision 5.4 of the Autonomy Statute for the Balearic Islands (*Estatut d'autonomia per a les Illes Balears*) (Organic Law no. 2/1983, dated February 25th)⁸¹, and

2. Language Normalization Act for the Balearic Islands (*Llei de normalització lingüística a les Illes Balears*) (Act no. 3/1986, dated April 29th -BOCAIB no. 15 of May 20th).

Three main characteristics are common to these texts:

1. The officiality of Catalan and Castilian in the Balearic Islands.
2. The idea of Catalan as the only 'own' or 'proper' language (*llengua pròpia*) of the Balearic Islands, and

3. The concept of 'normalization' (*normalització*: see section 2.1.1.1, point 3). According to the Language Normalization Act for the Balearic Islands, language planning activities in the Balearics should be aimed at a full 'normalization' of the Catalan language.

At least within the specific legal context, the last two features reflect a clear nationalist ideology which is framed on the basis of language.

It is important to note that articles 5.2, 7.1 (last paragraph), 10.1 (second paragraph), 13 and 20.2 of the Language Normalization Act for the Balearic Islands were charged with unconstitutionality by the Spanish Government in 1986 (Unconstitutional Appeal no. 955/1986). With the exception of article 10.1 (second paragraph), all charges were reaffirmed by the Constitutional Tribunal (Ruling of the Constitutional Court no. 123/1988, dated June 23rd -BOE, supplement, no. 166 of July 12th).

⁸¹ Organic Law no. 3/1999, dated January 8th, modifying the Autonomy Statute for the Balearic Islands, has added a 3rd section to article 3, which now reads as follows:

The institutions of the Balearic Islands will guarantee the normal and official use of both languages, will take the necessary measures to guarantee their knowledge, and will create the necessary conditions to achieve a full equality of both languages, in relation to the rights of the citizens of the Balearic Islands (Reynés Vives, 13: my own translation).

Three instruments should be applied in the evaluation stage or monitoring of the whole language planning process (articles 39, 40.2 and 40.3 of the Language Normalization Act for the Balearic Islands): the elaboration of a sociolinguistic map and various surveys on the situation of the use of Catalan in the Balearics, which should be regularly updated; and the annual presentation of a report on all language planning activities to the Balearic Parliament⁸².

2.3.1.2.- Status Planning

2.3.1.2.1- Administration

The reintroduction of Catalan in the autonomous administration of the Balearics is regulated by Sections I and IV (articles 6 to 12, 16, 34 and 35), 1st Additional Provision, 1st and 2nd Temporary Provisions of the Language Normalization Act for the Balearic Islands.

Catalan being the proper language of the Community of the Balearic Islands, it is also the proper language of the administration field. As one of the two official languages, it is also official in this area, where it should be compulsorily used according to the law.

Basically, seven main areas are targeted: the publication of legal texts, official documentation, administrative proceedings and activities, justice, relations with the general public, public documents, and public registers.

As established by articles 16, 34.3 and 35, the knowledge of Catalan by all civil servants should be guaranteed in two different ways: first, special Catalan in-service training will be applied; and, second, competence in Catalan will be valued as a merit in the selection processes for entry to the public administration service. Official announcements on the conditions of entry which are required in the selection processes to fill any places in the public administration will include an explicit reference to the knowledge of Catalan.

⁸² Sources: Colom i Pastor (1987); Direcció General de Política Lingüística (1999, 9-28); Prefectura de l'Estat (1995).

The Language Normalization Act for the Balearic Islands establishes a transitional period of three years for the full adaptation of the Balearic administration to all linguistic requirements contained in this law.

2.3.1.2.2.- Education

The reintroduction of Catalan in the education system of the Balearics is regulated by Section II (articles 17 to 26), 4th, 6th, 7th and 8th Additional Provisions, and 3rd and 5th Temporary Provisions of the Language Normalization Act for the Balearic Islands.

Catalan being the proper language of the Community of the Balearic Islands, it is also official at all education levels.

Seven main goals are stated: the teaching of Catalan language and literature will be compulsory in all undergraduate levels (this teaching should, nonetheless, pay special attention to Balearic particularities); children have the right to be taught in their own language (nonetheless, they should not be separated into different centres for linguistic reasons); the normal use of Catalan as the usual medium of instruction should be guaranteed in all education centres; Catalan should be progressively used so that its use as a normal medium of expression is guaranteed in all internal and external activities of education centres; all children in the Balearics must be able to use Catalan normally and correctly by the end of their compulsory education; special Catalan in-service training should be applied to the teaching staff; in accordance with the demands of their teaching duties, all teachers must master both Catalan and Castilian. The teaching and use of Catalan in university, adult, specialist and special education centres for mentally or sensorially handicapped children are also regulated.

It is important to note the remarkable level of complexity of the Language Normalization Act for the Balearic Islands in the education field, especially in the Additional and Temporary Provisions' sections. In this sense, many other questions are also regulated. Here are some of them: special Catalan classes may be optionally offered to Castilian-speaking students; teachers are obliged to pass the first two Catalan in-service training levels within three years (though, an extension of two years may be granted exceptionally); all teacher-training centres must guarantee the teaching of Catalan until their curricula are definitely drawn up and adapted to the regulations; and all teacher-training centres must draw up adequate curricula so that the teaching of

Catalan language and literature (paying special attention to the Balearic particularities) is made effective within a maximum period of four years.

2.3.1.2.3.- Mass Media and Culture Industries

The reintroduction of the use of Catalan in this field is regulated by Section III (articles 27 to 32) of the Language Normalization Act for the Balearic Islands.

Two main goals are stated: Catalan must be the language normally used in the Government of the Balearic Islands' own communication media, and the Autonomous Government will promote the normalization of Catalan in this field (especially in TV and radio, cinema and video, the recording industry, shows and theatre, all kinds of publications -the book publishing industry, in particular- and any other cultural expressions) through an active policy of subsidies.

It is important to note again that the introduction of Catalan language and culture in the mass media and the cultural field must pay special attention to the Balearic particularities.

2.3.1.2.4.- Socioeconomic Activity

The reintroduction of the use of Catalan in the socioeconomic world is regulated by Sections I and IV (articles 14, 15, 33, 36 to 38, and 40.1), and 2nd Temporary Provision of the Language Normalization Act for the Balearic Islands.

Four main objectives are established: names of places are officially only in Catalan; forms, notices and communications to the general public in all public transport services must be both in Catalan and Castilian; the creation and promotion, wherever the sociolinguistic situation demands, of subsidized centres dedicated to the teaching, use and spread of the Catalan language; the use of Catalan will be particularly promoted in advertising and signing activities in social, cultural, recreational and mercantile organizations. Special tax reductions and exemptions for acts related to the spread of the use of Catalan may also be granted⁸³.

⁸³ Article 2.1 in the Preliminary Section recognizes the citizens' right of expression in Catalan at all meetings, and to carry out professional, labour, political, trade-union, religious and artistic activities in this language. According to article 3 in the same Section, legal entities working in the Balearics must respect this right.

The Catalanization of all public signs should be achieved within a maximum period of three years. A special provision for the execution of normalization campaigns is found in article 40.1. Advice should be asked at the University of the Balearic Islands for the elaboration of these linguistic campaigns.

However, regulations in this area are quite general and poor.

2.3.1.3.- Corpus Planning

The analysis of corpus planning activities in the Balearic Islands will consider the three following aspects: the name of the language; the recognition of the unity of the language and the collaboration with other Catalan-speaking territories; and the designation of a normative official institution.

2.3.1.3.1.- Name of the Language

The language is referred to as 'Catalan' (article 3 of the Autonomy Statute for the Balearic Islands; article 2.1 of the Language Normalization Act for the Balearic Islands).

However, it is important to note that the Balearic linguistic varieties (*modalitats insulars*) are to be specially studied and protected; this study and protection should nevertheless not affect the unity of the Catalan language (article 14 of the Autonomy Statute; article 2.5 of the Language Normalization Act).

2.3.1.3.2.- Unity of the Catalan Language and Collaboration with Other Catalan-Speaking Territories

There is also a clear recognition of the unity of the language and a firm wish to collaborate with other Catalan-speaking territories in the area of language planning (2nd Additional Provision of the Autonomy Statute; articles 30.1, 30.2 and 31.4, and 2nd and 3rd Additional Provisions of the Language Normalization Act).

2.3.1.3.3.- Designation of an Official Institution with Linguistic Normative Authority

The 2nd Additional Provision of the Autonomy Statute and the 3rd Additional Provision of the Language Normalization Act recognize the University of the Balearic Islands as the official advisory body in all linguistic matters.

2.3.2.- Implementation

2.3.2.1.- General Considerations

As already pointed out in the Introduction, the analysis of this section includes three main aspects: the creation of bodies responsible for all language planning coordination; the general means applied by these language planning coordinating bodies in order to achieve the planned goals; and the monitoring and evaluation of language planning activities.

2.3.2.1.1.- Language Planning Executive Body

The design and execution of language planning activities in the Balearic Islands shares two main characteristics:

1. The Heterogeneity of General Language Planning Bodies

Five main bodies have been responsible for the language planning process in the Balearic Islands over the years:

a) The Language Normalization Section (*Àrea de Normalització Lingüística*), created after the passing of the Language Normalization Act in 1986. It was not exactly a body, but a functional area or section.

b) The Language Normalization Service (*Servei de Normalització Lingüística*), created in 1990.

c) The Directorate General for Language Policy (*Direcció General de Política Lingüística*), created following Cristófol Soler i Cladera's appointment as President of the Balearic Government in 1995.

d) The Directorate General for Culture and Language Policy (*Direcció General de Cultura i Política Lingüística*), created following Cristófol Soler i Cladera's dismissal from the presidential post in 1996.

e) The Directorate General for Language Policy (*Direcció General de Cultura i Política Lingüística*), created following the removal of the Conservatives from power in 1999.

2. All of them have always been located within the Department of Culture, Education and Sports of the Autonomous Government of the Balearic Islands. The type of integration has varied along the years according to five different models:

a) 1986-1990

Designation of a language planning section with reduced powers and at a low hierarchical level within the Department of Culture, Education and Sports. It is important to note that, strictly speaking, no specific body responsible for the language planning activities was created during this first period.

b) 1991-1995

Designation of a language planning body with reduced powers and at a low hierarchical level within the Department of Culture, Education and Sports. It was directly dependent on the Directorate General for Culture (*Direcció General de Cultura*).

c) 1995-1996

Designation of a language planning body with broad powers and at a high hierarchical level within the Department of Culture, Education and Sports.

d) 1996-1999

Language planning responsibilities fall on a body with broad powers and at a high hierarchical level within the Department of Culture, Education and Sports, but which is nonetheless also responsible for other cultural matters.

e) From 1999 Onwards

Designation of a language planning body with broad powers and at a high hierarchical level within the Department of Education and Culture.

It is important to note that none of the previous bodies has ever been provided with an organic structure. Services with specific functions within the general language planning executive bodies have never been created.

Some figures concerning the development of the budget of these different language planning executive bodies are found in Table 42. They illustrate the significance of the language planning process in the Balearics.

Table 42. Evolution of the Budget of the Language Planning Executive Bodies (1988-2000)

Years	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
Absolute budget (in ptas)	56,800,000	78,358,477	84,876,924	110,626,558	99,259,261
Relative budget-I (in relation to the budget of the Balearic Government)	0.34%	0.38%	0.34%	0.35%	0.21%
Relative budget-II (expenditure per person in the language planning process -in ptas)	83.53	115.23	124.82	156	139.97

Years	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Absolute budget (in ptas)	86,640,842	103,225,375	81,005,335	407,534,757	409,563,852
Relative budget-I (in relation to the budget of the Balearic Government)	0.17%	0.22%	0.15%	0.72%	0.56%
Relative budget-II (expenditure per person in the language planning process -in ptas)	122.17	145.56	114.22	536	538.63

ptas)					
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Years	1998	1999	2000
Absolute budget (in ptas)	528,707,570	373,836,461	374,261,082
Relative budget-I (in relation to the budget of the Balearic Government)	0.43%	0.27%	0.25%
Relative budget-II (expenditure per person in the language planning process -in ptas)	664	469.35	469.56

Note: All financial figures are referred to non-executed budgets.
Sources for financial data: Conselleria d'Economia i Hisenda (1988 to 2000).
Source for population data: Institut Balear d'Estadística [n.d.].
Own preparation.

It is important to take into account that the high budget assigned to the language planning process between 1997 and 1999 is totally fictitious. The consequences of President Soler's failed attempt to start a determined language policy between 1995 and 1996 were directly inherited by the new Conservative leaders. They continued with exactly the same language policy which had characterized the pre-Soler period. The excess budget (around 80% of the overall funding) was then simply allocated to cultural activities which had absolutely nothing to do with language planning. During these years, the Balearic Government's cultural policy was actually nourished by a very significant part of the language planning budget (Canals 18 August 1999, 29 August 1999; Bauzà Sastre unp.(d))⁸⁴.

⁸⁴ Information supporting these statements is found in the account book (*llibre major*) of the Department of Culture, Education and Sports (Bauzà Sastre unp.(d)). The following budgets were allocated to activities which were registered under the 'Language Normalization' entry until July 29th, 1999 (when the non-Conservatives take possession of power in the Balearic Government):

1. Advertising in Catalan: 135,000,000 ptas

It is very likely that this high figure may have been assigned to the promotion of the Conservatives' political campaign slogan *Ho tenim tot per fer-ho tot* -'We have got everything to do everything' (the payment was made on June 26th, just after the last regional elections).

2.3.2.1.2.-Means

The analysis of the general means used by these different language planning executive bodies in order to implement their language planning activities will focus on four main aspects: language planning plans, Catalan examinations board, European Union linguistic recognition, and other means.

2.3.2.1.2.1.- Language Planning Plans

No general language planning plan has ever been designed by the Balearic Government.

2.3.2.1.2.2.- Catalan Examinations Board

The *Junta Avaluadora de Català* was created in 1989 (Decree no. 62/1989, dated June 8th -BOCAIB no. 76 of June 22nd). It is an official examinations board the main function of which is to test competence in Catalan and to award the corresponding linguistic certificates. Its testing activities did not start until February 1992.

Table 43 contains some figures concerning the significance of the *Junta Avaluadora de Català* in the whole language planning process in the Balearic Islands. Two main data are shown: the relative number of registrations and the degree of difficulty of the exams.

Table 43. Evolution of Exams Registered, Sat and Passed in the *Junta Avaluadora de Català* and Degree of Difficulty of the Exams (1992-1999)

Years	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
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2. Cultural Activity *Festa 99* (a sort of Majorcan local fair): 10,000,000 ptas.

3. Cultural trip to Cuba: 2,000,000 ptas.

It is important to note that this payment was also made very close to the 1999 regional elections.

4. Rent for the auditorium of the Theatre: 2,000,000 ptas

etc.

Other activities under the 'Language Normalization' entry also included the restoration of paintings, exhibitions, a special subsidy to an Andalusian cultural association for the organization of a *romería* in Majorca, a international puppets festival, a children's festival (*Pista d'Aventures*), etc.

As can be seen, the Conservatives' actual administration of the budget for language planning activities during this period was absolutely chaotic.

Registered	1,601	2,018	1,664	2,025	5,022
Sat	1,279	1,363	1,162	1,368	3,193
Passed	560	567	487	603	1625
Relative no. of people registered (in relation to the overall population of the Balearics)	0.22%	0.28%	0.23%	0.28%	0.66%
Relative no. of passes (in relation to the overall registrations)	34.9%	28%	29.2%	29.7%	32.3%

Years	1997	1998	1999	TOTAL
Registered	7,004	8,727	9,829	37,890
Sat	4,648	5,718	6,313	25,044
Passed	2,253	2,886	2,956	11,937
Relative no. of people registered (in relation to the overall population of the Balearics)	0.92%	1.095%	1.23%	4.75%
Relative no. of passes (in relation to the overall registrations)	32.1%	33%	30%	31.5%

Note: The number of people registered does not exactly square with the number of participants (the same person can be registered in different exams) or the number of exams (a single registration allows for participation in more than one exam).

Sources for *Junta Avaluadora de Català* data: Junta Avaluadora de Català (unp.).

Sources for population data: Institut Balear d'Estadística [n.d.].

Own preparation.

Table 44 contains the relative registrations in the four main levels of the *Junta Avaluadora de Català* between 1994 and 1999: A (oral), B (basic), C (medium), and D (proficient).

Table 44. Relative Registrations in Levels A (Oral), B (Basic), C (Medium), and D (Proficient) of the *Junta Avaluadora de Català* (1994-1999)

Levels	A	B	C	D
Relative registrations (in relation to the overall registrations)	11.7%	38.3%	40.5%	8%

Source: Junta Avaluadora de Català (unp.).
Own preparation.

The following observations may be drawn:

1. A number equivalent to almost 5% of the overall population of the Balearic Islands has been registered for examinations in the *Junta Avaluadora de Coneixements de Català* between 1992 and 1999.

2. This high figure could find a valid explanation in the important social movement for Catalan which is found in the region.

3. B level of the *Junta Avaluadora de Català* is equivalent to the successful passing of the Catalan test for the university entrance examination (*Selectivitat*) (Order dated May 26th, 1999 -BOCAIB no. 77 of June 15th).

4. As a consequence of the official validity of the *Junta Qualificadora de Coneixements de Valencià* certificates in the Balearic Islands during this period, and the lower difficulty of the *Junta Qualificadora de Coneixements de Valencià* examinations, a considerable number of Balearic residents sit the exams in Valencia.

5. Almost 80% of the demand corresponds to the medium (C) and basic (B) levels (40.5% and 38.3% of the overall demand, respectively). Demand in the oral (A) level is around 12%.

2.3.2.1.2.3.- European Union Language Recognition

Following Recognition Request no. 161/1989 of the Parliament of the Balearic Islands and resulting Resolution no. 1235/1990 of the European Council, Catalan is officially recognized in certain EU domains (Montserrat 1992).

2.3.2.1.3.- Language Planning Monitoring and Evaluation

None of the three evaluation measures planned by the Balearic Government in the Language Normalization Act (regularly updated sociolinguistic map, linguistic survey, and annual report to the Parliament) has ever been carried out.

No specific body responsible for the evaluation stage has ever been created. All the same, one of the many functions of the Consortium for the Promotion of the Use of

the Catalan Language (*Consorti per al Foment de l'Ús de la Llengua Catalana, pròpia de les Illes Balears*, or COFUC) is to promote 'sociolinguistic research, especially in connection with the use of the Catalan language in the Balearic Islands and its different language varieties'. The Consortium was created in 1997. Its Board of Directors is made up of four representatives of the Balearic Government and four of the the University of the Balearic Islands (Decree no. 126/1997, dated October 3rd -BOCAIB no. 131 of October 21st-, and modification Decree no. 35/1998, dated March 13th -BOCAIB no. 41 of March 26th). The COFUC's activities in this area have been virtually nil. This has been mainly due to the passive attitude of the Balearic Government⁸⁵.

No body with representation of the main social sectors and institutions was ever created by the Conservatives to monitor language planning activities in the Balearic Islands. All the same, it seems that the future creation of a Social Council of the Catalan Language (*Consell Social de la Llengua Catalana*) is on the new non-Conservative coalition government's agenda (Canals 18 August 1999(a) and (b); *Diari de Balears* 22 September 1999).

2.3.2.1.4.- Others

It should finally be pointed out that the Council of the Language (*Consell de la Llengua*) was created in 1998 (Decree no. 72/1998, dated July 24th -BOCAIB no. 103 of August 11th). Its general function was to advise on and coordinate the whole language planning process in the Balearic Islands. It is the first attempt to involve some social sectors in the language planning process. Its 19 members are distributed in the following way: Balearic Government, 8; Regional Parliaments (*Consells Insulars*), 3; Local Administration, 2; cultural world, 5; University of the Balearic Islands, 1. The attempt has nonetheless eventually failed. It exists only at a legal level: after almost two years, the actual constitution of the Council has still to be decided.

2.3.2.2.- Status Planning

2.3.2.2.1.- Administration

⁸⁵ Note, for instance, that even though one of the academicians' proposals to create the sociolinguistic map was approved by the Consortium, no funding has ever been assigned to the project by

The analysis of the administrative section includes four main aspects: the creation of bodies responsible for the language planning coordination in this field; the passing of general regulations concerning the administrative area; the requirement of the knowledge of Catalan by the Balearic Government's civil servants; and the actual levels of use of Catalan in the Autonomous Administration.

2.3.2.2.1.1.- Language Planning Coordinating Bodies

No coordinating body of the language planning process in the administrative field was set up until 1995, when the Interdepartmental Commission for Language Policy (*Comissió Interdepartamental de Política Lingüística*) was created (Decree no. 90/1995, dated September 14th -BOCAIB no. 119 of September 21st). Its main goal is to coordinate, promote and evaluate the use of Catalan in the Public Administration of the Balearic Islands, according to what is established in Decree no. 100/1990.

It is necessary to note, however, that the Interdepartmental Commission's effectiveness has been quite poor (the fact that during its short-lived existence its Board of Directors has only met five times is quite illustrative, in this sense (Bauzà Sastre unp.(e)).

It is also important to observe that the Commission was created during the President Soler's mandate.

No other language planning coordinating body has been created in this field.

2.3.2.2.1.2.- General Regulations

One general regulation (Decree no. 100/1990, dated November 29th -BOCAIB no. 154 of December 12th) is concerned with the spread of the use of Catalan in the administration of the Balearic Government and its dependent entities. Its scope involves the following areas: internal use; public signs; institutional measures; relations with the general public; notices and publications; registers; and personnel.

It is important to take into account the fact that this general regulation was passed by UM's regionalist Secretary of Culture, Maria Antònia Munar i Riutort.

the politicians (Bauzà Sastre unp.(d)).

2.3.2.2.1.3.- Requirement of the Knowledge of Catalan

Competence in Catalan did not become a requirement for entry to the Balearic Public Administration until 1996. Knowledge of Catalan was valued only as a merit before this date.

Two different periods can be distinguished:

1. 1986-1996

Competence in Catalan was not a requirement for entry to the Balearic Autonomous Administration. It was only valued as a merit. According to article 26 of Decree no. 100/1990, a special Catalan test was compulsory in all selection processes. The non-accreditation of the required Catalan competence, or failure in the previous examination, implied the requirement to follow linguistic in-service training⁸⁶.

2. From 1996 Onwards

Competence in Catalan is a requirement for entry to the Autonomous Administration. Required linguistic levels are the following: B level is required in 40% of the cases (A and B labour categories); A level is required in 60% of the cases (C, D and E labour categories)⁸⁷.

It is important to note, however, that no official announcements on competitive examinations for entry to the Autonomous Government were ever made by the Conservatives after the passing of Decree no. 132/1996 - the first competitive examinations took place in January 2000, during the non-Conservative government's mandate (Ferrer 6 September 1998; Bauzà Sastre unp.(k)).

A very recent proposal to modify the previous Decrees has been launched by the new coalition government. According to this initial draft, there would be a general increase in the required linguistic levels in the following way: C level would be required in 60% of the cases (A, B and C labour categories); B and A levels in 40% (D and E labour categories, respectively) (Antich Oliver unp.).

⁸⁶ Regulations: article 45 of Act no. 2/1989, dated February 22nd (BOCAIB no. 38 of March 28th); articles 24 to 27 of Decree no. 100/1990; article 14.1 (point e) of Decree no. 33/1994, dated March 28th (BOCAIB no. 41 of May 5th).

⁸⁷ Regulations: Decree no. 132/1996, dated June 28th (BOCAIB no. 86 of July 9th); Decree no. 222/1996, dated December 21st; Decree no. 51/1997, dated April 11th (BOCAIB no. 48 of April 22nd).

2.3.2.2.1.4.- The Situation of Catalan: its Use

The analysis of the use of Catalan in the administration field refers to two main areas:

1. Internal Use

Table 45 reflects the annual number of official Catalan certificates issued to Balearic Government's employees who followed language courses in the Autonomous Administration between 1988 and 1999.

Table 45. Annual Number of Official Catalan Certificates Issued to Balearic Government's Employees Who Followed Language Courses in the Autonomous Administration (1988-1999)

Years	1988-1989	1989-1990	1990-1991	1991-1992	1992-1993	1993-1994
No. of certificates issued annually	136	111	168	60	50	212

Years	1994-1995	1995-1996	1996-1997	1997-1998	1998-1999
No. of certificates issued annually	388	505	861	700	729

Note: According to Answer to Request RGE no. 2143/1995 (BOPIB no. 30 of February 22nd, 1996, p. 672), 2,016 civil servants were working in the Balearic Administration in 1995.

Sources: Institut Balear d'Administració Pública (unp.); Answer to Request RGE no. 3914/1995 (BOPIB no. 56 of August 13th, 1996, p. 1468).

Own preparation.

As can be deduced from the previous table, significant numbers of Catalan certificates have been issued to Balearic civil servants since 1993, which seems to indicate that a significant proportion of the staff in the Autonomous Administration is not yet linguistically competent.

Tables 46 to 48 are concerned with the knowledge and use of Catalan at work in the Balearic Government's Department of Employment and Transport during 1992.

Table 46. Knowledge of Catalan in the Department of Employment and Transport (1992)

	Yes	Yes, very well	Yes, quite well	Yes, but with some difficulty	No	No answer
Understands	100%	-	-	-	-	-
Reads	80%	-	-	20%	-	-
Speaks	77.5%	-	-	-	20%	2.5%
Writes	-	-	15%	55%	30%	-

Source: Conselleria de Treball i Transports (unp.).

Table 47. Use of Catalan at Work in the Department of Employment and Transport (1992)

Always	2.5%
Very often	22.5%
Scarcely	37.5%
Never	37,5%

Source: Conselleria de Treball i Transports (unp.).

Table 48. Habitual Language of Use at Work in the Department of Employment and Transport (1992)

	With other workmates	With private individuals/the general public	Answers to the general public's applications in Catalan
Always in Catalan	2.5%	2,5%	32.5%
Always in Castilian	27.5%	25%	55%
In both languages without distinction	70%	72.5%	-
No answer	-	-	12.5%

Source: Conselleria de Treball i Transports (unp.).

Even though this data should be read with caution (it is based on an internal report which was written on the basis of not very reliable methodology (Bauzà Sastre

unp.(e)), internal use of Catalan in the Autonomous Administration is, in general, quite low, especially when compared to Castilian⁸⁸.

2. External Use

Table 49 illustrates the evolution of the use of Catalan by the Balearic Government in the press.

Table 49. Use of Catalan in Public Advertisements and Notices of the Balearic Government and its Autonomous Entities in the Press (*Diario de Mallorca*, 1986-1998)

	1986	1990	1994	1998
Catalan	30%	54%	66%	92%
Castilian	70%	46%	12%	0%
Bilingual	0%	0%	22%	8%

Source: *Diario de Mallorca*, months of February 1986, 1990, 1994 and 1998.
Own preparation.

As is reflected in the table, the use of Catalan will be progressively introduced in this field. However, a full Catalanization will not take place: levels of bilingualism still reached 8% in 1998.

2.3.2.2.2.- Education

The analysis of the education sector includes five main aspects: the transfer of authority on educational issues from the Central Government; the creation of bodies responsible for the coordination of language planning activities in this field; the introduction of Catalan in the education system both as a subject and as a medium of instruction; the requirement of the teaching staff to know Catalan; and the teaching of Catalan abroad.

2.3.2.2.2.1.- Transfer of Authority on Educational Issues

⁸⁸ The high levels of answers in Castilian to general public's applications in Catalan (55%) seem to prove once again that a large proportion of the civil servants at the Autonomous Administration are not yet competent in Catalan.

The transfer of complete authority on non-university educational issues to the Government of the Balearic Islands is regulated by Royal Decree no. 1876/1997, dated December 2nd, though the transfer was not effective until 1 January 1998 (Reynés Vives unp., 6).

2.3.2.2.2.2.- Language Planning Coordinating Bodies

The Balearic Government's coordination process of the introduction of the use of Catalan in the education system has been late and poor.

Four main stages can be distinguished:

1. 1985

Even though the introduction of Catalan as a subject in the Balearic non-university education system already starts in 1979, no advisory body to monitor this process is found until 1985, when the Technical Advisory Commission for the Teaching of the Balearic Islands' Language, History and Culture (*Comissió Tècnica d'Assessorament per a l'Ensenyament de la Llengua, la Història i la Cultura de les Illes Balears*) is created (Order dated September 10th, 1985 -BOCAIB no. 26 of September 13th). Note that, apart from the language issue, the Technical Commission was also responsible for other questions, such as Balearic culture and history.

2. 1994

No body with exclusive functions in the normalization field is created until 1994. During that year, and in spite of the Balearic Government's exclusive language planning competence in education, the Central Government created the Language Normalization Department (*Departament de Normalització Lingüística*) within the Ministry of Education and Science's Balearic Provincial Office (*Delegació Provincial del MEC a les Balears*). Its main aim was to boost the introduction of Catalan in the Balearic education system.

3. January 1998

Following the transfer of authority on educational issues from Madrid, the Catalan Teaching Service (*Servei d'Ensenyament del Català*), is created in 1998. Its principal function is to coordinate the introduction of the use of Catalan in the whole Balearic education system.

4. May 1998

The Technical Advisory Commission for the Teaching of Catalan and for Teaching in Catalan (*Comissió Tècnica d'Assessorament per a l'Ensenyament de i en Llengua Catalana*) is created (Order dated May 5th, 1998 -BOCAIB no. 78 of June 16th). It replaces the previous one. Its main functions are to give advice, to evaluate and monitor the introduction of the use of Catalan in the non-university education system in different areas: Catalan as a subject and a medium of instruction, implementation of education centres' language plans, Catalan as a language of relations and communications in education centres, and the approval of textbooks.

2.3.2.2.2.3.- Catalan As a Subject and a Medium of Instruction

On the one hand, even though it occurred early on, the introduction of Catalan as a subject in the non-university education system in the Balearics is slow and is characterized by many problems. On the other hand, no minimum levels for the use of Catalan are established until 1997, when a serious attempt to introduce Catalan as a medium of instruction in the whole non-university education system is applied for the first time. The use of Catalan as a teaching medium was completely voluntary before this date.

The evolution of the introduction of Catalan in this area has been as follows:

1. Catalan As a Subject

The regulation of Catalan as a compulsory subject in the Balearic Islands starts in 1979 and ends in 1986, when the subjects of Catalan language and literature are also extended to the pre-university course (COU).

All the same, the generalization of Catalan as a subject in all non-university education centres is quite late and irregular. Serious failings and deficiencies characterize the whole process (Melià i Garí 1997, 31). According to the Ministeri d'Educació i Ciència (1985, 14-5), 10.3% of all kindergarten and primary education centres in the Balearics did not teach Catalan at all during the 1983-1984 school year,

and the weekly teaching time of this language was no more than to 2 hours in approximately 20% of these education centres during the same period⁸⁹.

2. Catalan As a Medium of Instruction

The introduction of Catalan as a teaching medium follows two main stages:

a) 1986-1997

The use of Catalan as a medium of instruction is only possible. No minimum levels of use of Catalan are established. The exceptional treatment of teaching in Catalan changes in 1994, when progressive use of this language is to be provided by all non-university education centres' language plans⁹⁰.

It is important to note that the non-requirement of the use of Catalan in the education system (especially following the 1994 regulation, popularly known as *Ordre Rotger*) triggered off the creation of an important social movement for the Catalan language in the Balearic Islands. This civic movement would be fully consolidated by 1995 (Blanes i Marimon 1998, 206-7).

b) From 1997 Onwards

The use of Catalan as a medium of instruction in non-university education must be equal, at least, to that of Castilian. Teaching in Catalan in primary and compulsory secondary education levels is obligatory in certain subjects. Particular language provisions are also established for state-run language schools (*Escoles Oficials d'Idiomes*) as well as for adult and special education. All education centres must be fully adapted to these language requirements within four years⁹¹.

In conclusion, initial partial and voluntary language discrimination or separatism in the Balearic education system has eventually evolved into a compulsory integration model which is based on bilingualism and aims at a progressive spread of the use of Catalan at all non-university education levels (Argelaguet i Argemí 1998, 308-9). Social pressure has been a major factor for this development.

⁸⁹ Regulations: Royal Decree no. 2193/1979, dated September 7th (BOE of September 19th); Decree no. 74/1986, dated August 28th (BOCAIB no. 29 of September 12th) and modification Decree no. 82/1986, dated September 18th.

⁹⁰ Regulations: Order dated August 29th, 1986 (BOCAIB no. 29 of September 12th); Order dated August 12th, 1994 (BOCAIB no. 105 of August 27th).

⁹¹ Regulations: Decree no. 92/1997, dated July 4th (BOCAIB no. 89 of July 17th); and implementing Order dated May 12th, 1998 (BOCAIB no. 69 of May 26th).

Table 50 illustrates the evolution of the introduction of Catalan in kindergarten and primary education.

Table 50. Teaching in Catalan in Kindergarten and Primary Education (1993-1999)

Years		Total (all subjects)	%	Partial (some subjects)	%	None	%
1993-1994	Public centres	14,736	26.2%	12,198	21.7%	29,322	52.1%
	Private centres	3,001	6.2%	4,365	9%	40,690	84.8%
	Total	17,737	17%	16,563	15.8%	70,012	67.2%
1994-1995	Public centres	16,785	29.8%	11,070	19.6%	28,445	50.5%
	Private centres	3,292	7.2%	3,741	8.2%	38,271	84.4%
	Total	20,077	19.7%	14,811	14.6%	66,716	65.6%
1995-1996	Public centres	21,041	37.5%	17,294	30.9%	17,718	31.6%
	Private centres	4,363	10.1%	13,326	30.7%	25,678	59.2%
	Total	25,404	25.6%	30,620	30.8%	43,396	43.6%
1996-1997	Public centres	23,607	44.4%	18,473	34.8%	11,046	20.8%
	Private centres	5,685	13.5%	15,170	36%	21,286	50.5%
	Total	29,292	30.7%	33,643	35.3%	32,332	33.9%
1997-1998	Public centres	26,055	50%	19,211	36.8%	6,834	13.2%
	Private centres	6,879	16.4%	19,125	45.5%	16,055	38.2%
	Total	32,934	35%	38,336	40.7%	22,889	24.3%
1998-1999	Public centres	29,027	56%	22,579	43.6%	189	0.4%
	Private centres	8,926	21.7%	26,680	65%	5,441	13.3%
	Total	37,953	40.8%	49,259	53%	5,630	6.12%

Note: All figures refer to number of students.

Sources: Servei d'Inspecció Tècnica d'Educació (unp.).

Own preparation.

As can be deduced from the previous table, there has been significant progress in the introduction of Catalan in kindergarten and primary education since 1993. Only 6.12% of students did not have any teaching in Catalan (apart from the Catalan language

subject) during the last (1998-1999) year. All the same, total teaching in Catalan has not yet affected half of the total students' population.

According to Melià i Garí (1997, 31; 1999, 94), it has also to be pointed out that an important lack of planning characterizes this area. In this sense, while the highest levels of language normalization correspond to the less sociolinguistically demanding education centres, paradoxically, the lowest levels of use of Catalan are found in those areas of immigration where the reintroduction of the Catalan language is much more urgent.

Unfortunately, no complete data on the introduction of Catalan in secondary education exists. Partial teaching in Catalan in this field (that is, Catalan as a medium of instruction in only some subjects, apart from the subject of Catalan language) was between 20% and 24% during the 1990-1991 school year (Melià i Garí unp.; Servei d'Inspecció Tècnica d'Educació 1992).

The action of an important part of Balearic civil society and the presence of a linguistically conscious teaching staff have been decisive factors for the successful spread of Catalan in the education field (Melià i Garí 1997, 31).

2.3.2.2.2.4.- Requirement of the Knowledge of Catalan for the Teaching Staff

The analysis of this section includes two main aspects: the evolution of the requirement of the knowledge of Catalan in the recruitment of personnel, and the design and implementation of special Catalan in-service training courses for the teaching staff.

2.3.2.2.2.4.1.- Recruitment

The requirement of the knowledge of Catalan for entry to the teaching corps in the Balearics will not be compulsory until 1998. Competence in Catalan will only be valued as a merit before this date.

The evolution of this requirement in the recruitment of teaching personnel for the non-university education system has followed two main stages:

1. 1986-1997

During this first stage, knowledge of Catalan in the selection processes to the education system has not been compulsory. It is only valued as a merit. All teachers with non-Catalan competence are nonetheless obliged to obtain the corresponding language accreditation within a maximum period of three years. The same moratorium is also established for those teachers who already held one of these posts in 1986. All the same, as no specific provision is made regarding the consequences of the non-fulfillment of this temporary requirement, many of the teaching staff actually did not hold the corresponding language certificate for years.

Two different periods can be distinguished:

a) 1986-1990

No specific regulations were made. Articles 23.2, 23.3, 23.4, and 6th, 7th and 8th Additional Provisions of the Language Normalization Act are directly applied instead.

b) 1991-1997

All places in kindergarten and 60% of all posts in primary education are classed as bilingual (that is, teachers holding one of these posts must know both Catalan and Castilian).

It is interesting to note that this initiative came from the Central Ministry of Education and Science's Balearic Provincial Office (*Delegació Provincial del MEC a les Balears*).

2. From 1998 Onwards

Following the transfer of authority on educational issues in 1998, knowledge of Catalan in the selection processes for the education system is a requirement. Entry to the teaching corps is impossible without a required level of Catalan competence. At the same time, all teachers who already held one of these posts in 1998 must obtain the corresponding language accreditation within a maximum period of three years. It is nonetheless important to note that no specific provision is made for the consequences of non-fulfillment of this temporary requirement.

Two different periods can be distinguished:

a) 1998-1999

All places in primary education and 60% of all places in secondary education are classed as bilingual in 1998.

A specific language exam is included in selection processes for all candidates who do not hold the corresponding Catalan certification (*Llengua 2 level*)⁹².

b) From 2000 Onwards

It is expected that all non-university education posts will be classed as bilingual in 2000.

The specific language exam is now eliminated: candidates who do not hold the corresponding Catalan certification (*Llengua 2 level*) are no longer entitled to sit examinations in the selection processes for entry to the teaching corps. Even if they enter the teaching corps, successful candidates who have not completed all Catalan in-service training cannot obtain a permanent post in the Balearic Islands from now on⁹³.

2.3.2.2.2.4.2.- Catalan In-Service Training

The spread of the use of Catalan as a subject and a medium of instruction involves the proper training of the teaching staff. In-service training is therefore directed to complete the training of teachers in Catalan.

The policy of Catalan in-service training goes through four main stages:

1. 1979-1986

The first regulation in this aspect is found in Royal Decree no. 2193/1979. It established the education authorities' obligation to organize special Catalan in-service training courses for the teaching staff.

2. 1986-1989

Following the passing of the Language Normalization Act and Decree no. 74/1986, the first In-Service Training Plan (*Pla de reciclatge*) is designed by the Balearic Government in 1986 (Order dated September 29th, 1986).

3. 1989-1996

The new Catalan In-Service Training Plan (*Pla de reciclatge de català*) replaces the previous one in 1989 (Order dated November 27th, 1989 -BOCAIB of December 28th).

⁹² Regulations: Order dated July 27th, 1998 (BOCAIB no. 106 of August 18th; Errors Amendment in BOCAIB no. 132 of October 15th, 1998); Order dated August 3rd, 1998 (BOCAIB no. 110 of August 22nd; Errors Amendment in BOCAIB no. 132 of October 15th, 1998).

4. From 1996 Onwards

The passing of the current in-service training plan (*Pla de reciclatge i de formació lingüística i cultural*) takes place in 1996.

It may be noted that two main coordinating bodies in the area of Catalan in-service training are created in 1998: the Commission for the Recognition, Certification and Registration of Permanent Teaching Staff In-Service Training Activities (*Comissió de Reconeixement, Certificació i Registre de les Activitats de Formació Permanent del Professorat*) in February 1998, and the Commission for the Permanent In-Service Training of the Balearic Islands Teaching Staff (*Comissió de Formació Permanent del Professorat de les Illes Balears*) in October 1998. The main function of the latter body is to provide the Autonomous Government with advice in the area of language in-service training. The teaching administration, trade-union and employers' organizations, the University of the Balearic Islands and various prestigious experts in the education field are also represented in the Commission. A special collaboration agreement has been signed between the Commission and the University of the Balearic Islands⁹⁴.

Some data concerning the accreditation in Catalan in the Balearic education system are illustrated in Tables 51 and 52.

Table 51. Teaching Staff with Accreditation in Catalan (1994-1995)

		Total no. of teachers	With accreditation:		Without accreditation:	
			Number	%	Number	%
Public education	Primary	3,309	2,043	61.7%	1,266	38.2%
	Secondary	2,278	766	33.6%	1,512	66.3%
	Total	5,587	2,809	50.2%	2,778	49.7%
Private education	Primary	1,162	555	47.7%	607	52.2%
	Secondary	500	181	36.2%	319	63.8%
	Total	1,662	736	44.2%	926	55.7%
	TOTAL	7,249	3,545	48.9%	3,704	51%

⁹³ General source: Bauzà Sastre (unp.(f)).

Source: Oliver (1996).

Table 52. Number of Catalan Certificates Issued to the Teaching Staff by the ICE (1985-1999)

Years	1985-94	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	TOTAL
Secondary Education Catalan Certificate	1,005	542	518	438	364	298	3,165
Kindergarten and Primary Education Catalan Certificate	2,495	330	201	210	156	142	3,534
University Education (Degree in Catalan Language)	1,246	81	22	6	3	51	1,409
TOTAL	4,746	953	741	654	523	491	8,108

Note: The Education Institute ICE (*Institut de Ciències de l'Educació*) is a body dependent on the University of the Balearic Islands. It did not have exclusive coordination of the teaching staff Catalan in-service training until 1991.

Source: ICE (2000, 79).

As is reflected in Table 51, more than half of the overall teaching staff in non-university education did not hold any accreditation in Catalan during the academic year 1994-1995.

2.3.2.2.2.5.- The Teaching of Catalan Abroad

No Catalan assistantships have ever been supported by the Balearic Government abroad.

However, one of the new functions allotted by the new non-Conservative coalition government to the COFUC is the promotion of Catalan language and culture abroad (see section 2.3.2.2.4.1).

2.3.2.2.3.- Mass Media and Culture Industries

⁹⁴ Sources: ICE and Conselleria d'Educació, Cultura i Esports (1998); Reynés Vives (unp., 28-9).

2.3.2.2.3.1.- Mass Media

The analysis of language planning activities in the mass media focuses on the use of Catalan in two main areas: television and radio, and periodicals (specially the press).

2.3.2.2.3.1.1.- Television and Radio

Language planning in this area is characterized by the following aspects:

1. No autonomous television and radio network has ever been created by the Balearic Government. The only initiative in this field is *Ràdio Jove*, a radio station dependent on the Autonomous Government's Directorate General for Youth (*Direcció General de Joventut*), which was created in 1988. Its meagre three or four daily broadcasting hours are all in Catalan.

One of the non-Conservative coalition government's first declarations concerning the cultural field has been its wish to create an autonomous television and radio network (Canals 18 August 1999(b); Payeras 1 to 7 February 2000).

2. The promotion of the use of Catalan in this area has been limited to three actions:

a) Special Programmes in Catalan Transmitted on the State Television Network (TVE)

Even though this policy was already started in 1979, it did not receive any funding from the Balearic Administration until 1988. The potential impact of this policy has been very low: broadcasting time in Catalan has varied between 30 minutes and two and a half hours a day.

Some special programmes in Catalan were also transmitted on the State radio network between 1988 and 1991 (RNE's *Ràdio 4*). This short-lived initiative did not have any continuity thereafter⁹⁵.

b) The Funding of the Reception of Catalan Medium Television Channels and Radio Stations from Other Catalan-Speaking Territories Since 1987

Reception started, thanks to the OCB's private initiative. Because of the passive attitude of the Balearic Government in this area, this cultural organization installed a relay station in 1985 which was only later supported by the politicians.

According to the *Servei de Normalització Lingüística* (unp.), the funding amounted to 5,000,000 pesetas in 1987 and 1988, and 13,029,537 pesetas in 1990. No data on the other years have been found by the author⁹⁶.

c) Poor and Irregular Funding for the Promotion of the Use of Catalan in Television and Radio

After nearly two decades of Conservative government, there have only been three official announcements on this support in the BOCAIB: one in 1991, and the others in 1996 and 1997. While the first two are concerned with radio, the last refers to television. They amount to 900,000 pesetas in 1991 and 19,750,000 pesetas in 1997. No economic details are available for funding in 1996.

According to the *Servei de Normalització Lingüística* (unp.), a subsidy of 1,000,000 pesetas was also allocated for the promotion of Catalan in radio and to the Local Television Federation (*Federació de Televisions Locals*) during 1990.

Three out of four of these fundings were assigned under Munar's and Soler's government⁹⁷.

2.3.2.2.3.1.2.- Newspapers and Magazines

No regular specific financial support has ever been allocated for the promotion of the use of Catalan in the press.

Only one single official announcement on this subject has been found in the BOCAIB (Order dated September 25th, 1997 -BOCAIB no. 124 of October 4th-, and Errors Amendment in BOCAIB no. 130 of October 18th).

According to the *Servei de Normalització Lingüística* (unp.), 2,000,000 pesetas and 2,500,000 pesetas were allocated to the promotion of Catalan in the regional, and the local press (*Prensa Forana*), respectively, in 1990. Note that both fundings were assigned during the regionalist Munar's appointment as Secretary of Culture.

⁹⁵ Sources: Bauzà Sastre (unp.(g)); Institut de Sociolingüística Catalana (1996(c)); Melià i Garí (1999, 82-3, 96-8); Payeras (19 January 1998).

⁹⁶ Sources: Institut de Sociolingüística Catalana (1996(c)); Melià i Garí (1999, 82-3; 96-8).

2.3.2.2.3.2.- Culture Industries

The study of the cultural promotion of Catalan focuses on three main areas: literary production, book publishing activities, and the film industry. A final analysis of other cultural fields will nonetheless also be considered.

2.3.2.2.3.2.1.- Literary Production

No official institution with the aim of promoting literary production in Catalan has ever been created.

No official announcements on any subsidy for the promotion of the use of Catalan in the literary field have been found by the author in the BOCAIB.

2.3.2.2.3.2.2.- Book Publishing

This is, together with the record industry, the only cultural area where the promotion of the use of Catalan has received systematic support. Specific subsidies for book publishing in Catalan (*suport genèric a la producció editorial en català*) has been regularly granted since 1984. Authority on this support was transferred to the Majorcan Regional Parliament (*Consell Insular de Mallorca*) in 1995. It is important to take into account that this Regional Parliament has been led by the non-Conservative coalition since 1995.

Some data concerning this specific subsidies are found in Tables 53 and 54.

Table 53. Subsidies for Book Publishing in Catalan (1984-1994: Conservatives' Authority)

Year	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Absolute subsidy (in ptas)	non specified	1,500,000	1,500,000	1,250,000	1,500,000	1,500,000
Relative subsidy (expenditure per person in the	non specified	2.2	2.2	1.83	2.2	2.2

⁹⁷ Regulations: Resolution dated January 29th, 1991 (BOCAIB no. 20 of February 12th); Order dated February 1st, 1996 (BOCAIB no. 19 of February 10th); Announcement on the creation of a TV program in Catalan (BOCAIB no. 119 of September 1997).

subsidies to book publishing in Catalan -in ptas)						
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Year	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Absolute subsidy (in ptas)	1,500,000	1,500,000	4,000,000	4,000,000	6,000,000
Relative subsidy (expenditure per person in the subsidies to book publishing in Catalan -in ptas)	2.2	2.1	5.6	5.6	8.4

Sources for financial data: Order dated July 5th, 1984 (BOCAIB of July 31st); Order dated June 17th, 1985 (BOCAIB of July 10th); Order dated May 19th, 1986 (BOCAIB of May 30th); Order dated May 12th, 1987 (BOCAIB of May 23rd); Order dated May 4th, 1988 (BOCAIB of May 19th); Order dated January 26th, 1989 (BOCAIB of February 14th); Order dated February 10th, 1990 (BOCAIB of March 15th); Resolution dated January 29th, 1991 (BOCAIB no. 20 of February 12th); Order dated January 10th, 1992 (BOCAIB no. 15 of February 4th); Order dated January 19th, 1993 (BOCAIB no. 17 of February 9th); Order dated January 18th, 1994 (BOCAIB no. 15 of February 3rd).

Sources for population data: Institut Balear d'Estadística [n.d.].

Own preparation.

Table 54. Subsidies for Book Publishing in Catalan (1995-1998: Non-Conservatives' Authority)

Year	1995	1996	1997	1998
Absolute subsidy (in ptas)	9,675,000	11,882,900	13,345,937	10,037,000
Relative subsidy (expenditure per person in the subsidies to book publishing in Catalan -in ptas)	12.7	15.6	17.5	13.2

Sources for financial data: Comissió de Cultura i Patrimoni Històric (CIM) (1995 to 1998).

Sources for population data: Institut Balear d'Estadística [n.d.].

Own preparation.

Two main conclusions can be inferred from the previous tables:

1. Significant differences between the Conservatives and the non-Conservatives' policy in this field are revealed, and

2. Funding for book publishing in Catalan has generally been quite poor, especially during the Conservatives' mandate.

Note that apart from the subsidy to book publishing in Catalan, it seems that some financial help was also allocated for Catalan book fairs (*Setmana del Llibre en Català*) in some years. According to the Servei de Normalització Lingüística (unp.), this particular subsidy amounted to 1,750,000 pesetas in 1990.

2.3.2.2.3.2.3.- The Film Industry

No specific regular subsidy has ever been allocated for the promotion of the use of Catalan in the video and cinema industries.

Only one official announcement concerning some funding in this field has been found by the author in the BOCAIB. According to a Resolution dated January 29th, 1991 (BOCAIB no. 20 of February 12th), on the allocation of different subsidies for the normalization of the use of Catalan in the mass media, 1,800,000 pesetas were assigned to the production of videos in Catalan in 1991; the same amount was assigned to the production of audiovisual works in Catalan during the same year.

According to the Servei de Normalització Lingüística (unp.), the promotion of the use of Catalan in the audiovisual domain received support amounting to 2,000,000 pesetas in 1990.

Both fundings were assigned during the regionalist Munar's appointment as Secretary of Culture.

During their last years in government, the Conservatives' policy in this field was directed to sponsor some particular film screenings in Catalan, especially in the area of children's cinema (Melià i Garí 1999, 83).

An important agreement has recently been signed between the Catalan *Generalitat* and the non-Conservative coalition government regarding film industry. Its main aim is to guarantee a significant presence of Catalan dubbed films in the Balearic movie theaters (El Temps 21 September 1999).

2.3.2.2.3.2.4.- Others

Very poor support was regularly allocated by the Balearic Government to record production in Catalan between 1988 and 1994. The funding always amounted to

600,000 pesetas. Authority on this support was transferred to the Majorcan Regional Parliament in 1995⁹⁸.

Two official announcements on the promotion of the theatre have been found in the BOCAIB in 1991 and 1992. Even though it is a general support (and so any sort of works in this area could be subsidized), precedence was given to drama works performed in Catalan⁹⁹.

Note that both fundings were assigned during the regionalist Munar's appointment as Secretary of Culture.

2.3.2.2.4.- Socioeconomic Activity

The analysis of language planning activities in this section includes three main aspects: the creation of general coordination bodies; the passing of regulations concerning the introduction of Catalan in the socioeconomic world; and the Balearic Government's actual implementation of these various regulations, as well as the use of Catalan in different socioeconomic activities.

2.3.2.2.4.1.- Language Planning Coordinating Bodies

Broadly speaking, the promotion of Catalan in the socioeconomic activity of the Balearic Islands is very poor and happened late.

Three main aspects should be pointed out:

1. In spite of what is established in article 38.2 of the Language Normalization Act, no specific centres for the promotion of the use of Catalan in the socioeconomic field have ever been created.

2. One of the many legally established functions of the COFUC is actually the promotion of the social use of the Catalan language. Areas such as film dubbing, television and radio broadcasting, the press, the world of business, and the Catalan training of the general adult population, among others, should be particularly targeted.

⁹⁸ Regulations: Decree no. 49/1988, dated May 12th (BOCAIB no. 62 of May 24th), and modification Decree no. 7/1992, dated February 13th.

⁹⁹ Regulations: Resolution dated January 29th, 1991 (BOCAIB no. 18 of February 7th); Resolution dated January 29th, 1992 (BOCAIB no. 20 of February 15th).

All the same, no decisive implementation of any of these activities was applied by the Conservatives (see section 2.3.2.1.3).

Following a very recent modification of the COFUC's statutes by the new non-Conservative government, all three Regional Parliaments (*Consells Insulars*) are now also represented in this body. Three main aims have been established in connection with the COFUC: effective implementation of its functions of promoting Catalan in the social field, the promotion of Catalan language and culture abroad, and the increase of its budget (Canals 4 March 2000). According to Bennàssar (24 March 2000), one of the first actions of this renewed body will be the creation of a network of Catalan self-learning centres (*centres d'autoaprenentatge del català*) in all the Balearic Islands.

3. A series of Language Normalization Pilot Plans have been signed with various local administrations since 1996. The main goal of these agreements has been to achieve a general spread of the use of Catalan on the basis of its local promotion. This is the first minimally coordinated attempt at the normalization of the Catalan language in this area.

A new Local Administration Language Coordination Plan (*Pla de coordinació lingüística a les administracions locals*) has been designed by the non-Conservative government in 2000 (Canals 13 February 2000).

2.3.2.2.4.2.- Regulations

Regulations in this field will be studied in three main areas: labeling, companies, and names of places and signs.

2.3.2.2.4.2.1.- Labeling

No specific regulation exists in the labeling area.

All the same, a minimal provision is found in article 14 of the 1998 Consumers Statute Act for the Balearic Islands (*Llei de l'estatut dels consumidors i usuaris de la Comunitat Autònoma de les Illes Balears*: Act no. 1/1998, dated March 10th -BOCAIB no. 37 of March 17th). The article establishes the optional possibility to use only Catalan labeling, except for those products connected with personal health and security. In this particular instance, and whenever the use of Catalan could be difficult to understand, labeling must be, at least, in Castilian.

2.3.2.2.4.2.2.- Companies

No regulations exist in this field.

2.3.2.2.4.2.3.- Names of Places and Signs

Two single regulations have been passed concerning the normalization of Catalan in the names of places: Decree no. 36/1988, dated April 14th (BOCAIB no. 51 of April 28th), and extension Decree no. 61/1990, dated May 31st (BOCAIB no. 73 of June 16th).

2.3.2.2.4.3.- Actual Data

Actual data on the introduction of Catalan in the socioeconomic world is studied in three main areas: financial support, language normalization agreements, and the levels of use of Catalan.

2.3.2.2.4.3.1.- Financial Support

Three main areas should be considered:

1. Local Administration

Two main stages are distinguished:

a) 1986-1996

Irregular, very poor and non-coordinated allocation of subsidies to the Local Administration.

Financial aid is aimed at a general spread of the use of Catalan in the following areas: Catalan courses for adults, conferences on the Catalan normalization process, sociolinguistic research in the area of language planning, Catalan translation of information on menus in the hotel and catering sectors, local periodical publications in Catalan, etc. The total subsidy for the promotion of the use of Catalan in this area

amounted to 2,000,000 pesetas in 1988 and 1990¹⁰⁰; 1,380,000 pesetas in 1991, 3,000,000 pesetas in 1992; and 1,265,125 pesetas in 1995. No financial information is given in the 1996 budget. No financial support concerning the years 1986, 1987, 1989, 1993 and 1994 has been found by the author.

Note that all fundings were assigned during Munar's and President Soler's governing period¹⁰¹.

b) From 1996 Onwards

Special Language Normalization Pilot Plans with a much more substantial funding have allowed for regular support to language planning activities in the local field since 1996. This has been possible thanks to the signing of language normalization agreements with different Balearic municipalities.

Global subsidies amounted to 57,000,000 pesetas in 1996, and 40,000,000 pesetas in 1997, 1998, 1999 and 2000 (Bauzà Sastre unp.(d); Servei de Normalització Lingüística unp.). 75% of all Balearic municipalities (49 out of 65) participated in this Plan between 1996 and 1998.

Two important facts should be observed:

a) Language Normalization Pilot Plans were designed during President Soler's governing period, and

b) Effective control of the use of the different Language Normalization Pilot Plans' budgets was never applied by the Conservative government. As a consequence, a significant part of the funds were spent on cultural and other activities which had little to do with language planning (Bauzà Sastre unp.(d); Servei de Normalització Lingüística unp.).

Effective implementation of the language planning objectives in the local field will be now attempted by the non-Conservative government. As already observed, the

¹⁰⁰ A budget of 5,000,000 ptas was allocated to the signing of language normalization agreements with various municipalities in 1988.

¹⁰¹ Sources: a) On 1988 and 1990 Data

Servei de Normalització Lingüística (unp.).

b) On 1991-1992 and 1995-1996 Data

Resolution dated January 29th, 1991 (BOCAIB no. 18 of February 7th); Resolution dated January 27th, 1992 (BOCAIB no. 16 of February 6th); Resolution dated January 24th, 1995 (BOCAIB no. 19 of February 14th); Order dated February 1st, 1996 (BOCAIB no. 19 of February 10th).

new Local Administration Language Coordination Plan's budget is exactly the same as before (Canals 13 February 2000; Servei de Normalització Lingüística unp.).

2. Companies

No subsidies in this area were ever announced by the Conservative government in the BOCAIB.

It seems that financial help in the business field is mostly connected with the signing of specific agreements for the promotion of the use of Catalan (see section 2.3.2.2.4.3.2).

All the same, 8,500,000 pesetas were allocated for this purpose to private companies in 1988, during Munar's appointment as Secretary of Culture (Servei de Normalització Lingüística unp.).

According to the Order dated February 2nd, 2000, 5,000,000 ptas have been allocated for the promotion of Catalan in this area by the new non-Conservative coalition government (Diari de Balears 18 February 2000).

3. Non-Profit-Making Organizations

Special subsidies for the promotion of the use of Catalan in non-profit-making organizations have been regularly granted by the Balearic government since 1996. No official announcements on this sort of subsidies have been found by the author before this date.

No financial information is given in these announcements between 1996 and 1999. The financial assistance amounts to 5,000,000 pesetas in 2000, during the non-Conservatives' mandate (Diari de Balears 18 February 2000). 13,000,000 pesetas were allocated to this purpose in 1988 (Servei de Normalització Lingüística unp.).

While the 1988 subsidy was granted during Munar's appointment as Secretary of Culture, the others started as an initiative of President Soler¹⁰².

2.3.2.2.4.3.2.- Language Agreements

Three main areas should be distinguished here:

¹⁰² Regulations: Order dated February 1st, 1996 (BOCAIB no. 19 of February 10th); Order dated March 18th, 1997 (BOCAIB no. 37 of March 27th); Order dated March 19th, 1998 (BOCAIB no. 43 of March 31st); Order dated February 22nd, 1999 (BOCAIB no. 29 of March 4th); Order dated February 2nd, 2000.

1. Local Administration

Various language normalization agreements have been signed with municipalities, especially since 1996 (see section 2.3.2.2.4.3.1, point 1).

2. Companies

No agreements in this area have been found by the author during the Conservatives' mandate.

Some of Catalonia's agreements in this field have also been applicable to the Balearic Islands since 1999. This has been possible thanks to the signing of a collaboration agreement between the Catalan *Generalitat* and the new non-Conservative coalition government (El Temps 21 September 1999). Two important language normalization agreements have also recently been signed with *Sa Nostra* and *La Caixa* saving banks (Diari de Balears 16 March 2000).

3. Non-Profit-Making Organizations

Two main fields should be studied here:

a) Employers' Organizations

After almost two decades of Conservative power, only 11 specific agreements for the promotion of the use of Catalan in the business world have been signed with the Balearic Government. This low figure provides evidence of the little interest of the Autonomous Government for the reintroduction of Catalan in this area. All signings took place between 1988 and 1992, during Munar's mandate as Secretary of Culture.

Detailed information on these agreements is found in Table 55.

Table 55. Balearic Government's Language Agreements with Employers' Organizations (1988-1992)

Employers' organizations name	Signing date	Agreements' budget (in ptas)
PIMEM	18 July 1988	4,600,000
	15 June 1989	4,400,000
	1 August 1990	4,051,028
	5 June 1991	1,035,000
	1992	1,100,000
PIMEEF	24 July 1989	800,000
PIME-Menorca	16 July 1989	1,600,000

COBADE	14 June 1989	1,000,000
AFEDECO	1 June 1989	(unknown)
CAEB	30 November 1990	1,882,996
	1991	1,116,418
Total: 6 organizations	11 agreements	21,585,442 ptas

Note: A similar agreement to those described in point b) was also signed with CAEB in 1997.

Sources: Servei de Normalització Lingüística (unp.); Answer to Request on the Balearic Government's collaboration with private companies in the area of normalization (BOPIB no. 41 of August 14th, 1992, p. 1471, Section V); Answer to Request RGE no. 3974/1996 (BOPIB no. 83 of January 8th, 1997, pp. 2255-6, Section Z).

Own preparation.

Language agreements made particular reference to the normalization of Catalan in business signs, forms and other written documents, notices and advertising activities, as well as in the area of the hotel and catering trade.

b) Others

A total of 21 specific agreements for the promotion of Catalan in other non-profit-making organizations were signed by the Balearic Government between 1995 and 1997. Those signed in 1997 were renewed for an unlimited period in 1998; their main aim was to provide these organizations with a Catalan language professional so that language advice and Catalan courses could be available. Once again, this low figure, joined to the late creation of the agreements, provides evidence of the little interest of the Autonomous Government for the reintroduction of Catalan in this area (see Table 56).

Table 56. Balearic Government's Language Agreements with Non-Profit-Making Organizations (Excepting Employers' Organizations) (1995-1997)

Date	Organizations
1995	Trade unions: CCOO and UGT
1996	Trade unions: CCOO, UGT and USO
1997	Trade unions: USO and CSIF Sports federations: Basketball, Wrestling, Handball, Football, Canoeing, Skating,

	<p>and Volleyball</p> <p>Professional associations: Medical, Pharmaceutical, Nursing, Biological and Notarial</p>
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Sources for 1995-1996 data: Answer to Request RGE no. 5392/1996 (BOPIB no. 92 of March 5th, 1997, pp. 2491-2, Section U); Answer to Request RGE no. 1258/1998 (BOCAIB no. 165 of July 17th, 1998, p. 4670, Section AJ).

Sources for 1997 data: Servei de Normalització Lingüística (unp.).

Own preparation.

2.3.2.2.4.3.3.- Actual Use of Catalan

No data have been found by the author in this area.

2.3.2.3.- Corpus Planning

The analysis of the actual implementation of corpus planning activities is concerned with two main aspects: the recognition of the unity of the Catalan language, and the creation of specific corpus planning bodies.

2.3.2.3.1.- Recognition of the Unity of the Catalan Language

The recognition of the unity of Catalan will be studied in three specific areas: language certificates and other qualifications from Catalonia and Valencia; the Balearic Government's collaboration with other Catalan-speaking territories; and the Balearic linguistic varieties' issue.

2.3.2.3.1.1.- Recognition of Language Certificates and Qualifications from Other Catalan-Speaking Territories

There has been official recognition of language certificates and qualifications from Catalonia and Valencia. This recognition affects two main fields:

1. Administration

Following the *Junta Avaluadora de Català*'s plenary of December 21st, 1992, all language certificates from the Catalan and Valencian governments were recognized as equivalent to the Balearic ones¹⁰³.

However, a very recent regulation from the non-Conservative government no longer recognizes the *Junta Qualificadora de Coneixements de Valencià*'s certificates. According to the current Balearic politicians, this modification is intended to put the Valencian authorities' separatist language attitude under pressure (Canals 23 February 2000, 23 March 2000).

2. Non-University Education

The Balearic recognition of language certificates and qualifications from Catalonia and Valencia in non-university education is established in three main regulations: articles 3.2 and 3.3 of Order dated August 29th, 1986 (BOCAIB no. 29 of September 12th); Order dated February 10th, 1988 (BOCAIB no. 23 of February 23rd); and Order dated 1995 (BOCAIB no. 53 of April 29th)¹⁰⁴.

2.3.2.3.1.2.- Collaboration with Other Catalan-Speaking Territories

The Government of the Balearic Islands has participated in common cultural projects with the other Catalan-speaking territories, especially with Catalonia. One of the most illustrative examples in this sense is the Ramon Llull Commission.

Some collaboration agreements to achieve normalization in companies were signed with the Catalan *Generalitat* in 1999 (see section 2.3.2.2.4.3.2, point 2).

A special collaboration agreement, both for the promotion of Balearic cultural products in Catalan in Catalonia and the common promotion of culture abroad, was signed between the non-Conservative government and the *Generalitat* on 10 March, 2000 (El Temps 14-20 March 2000, 28 March-3 April 2000).

2.3.2.3.1.3.- The Balearic Linguistic Varieties' Question

¹⁰³ Regulation: Order dated November 6th, 1995 (BOCAIB no. 146 of November 23rd).

¹⁰⁴ General source: Esteve and others [n.d.].

In spite of the clear recognition of the unity of the Catalan language, the Balearic Government has constantly placed particular emphasis on the need to protect Balearic linguistic varieties (or *modalitats insulars*).

This question is reflected in three main areas.

1. Education

According to the Order dated August 12th, 1994, and Decree no. 92/1997, the education system must include the study of the Balearic linguistic varieties. The implementation of this provision has mainly been achieved through the Department of Education and Culture's control of Catalan-medium textbooks (according to Order dated August 29th, 1986 (BOCAIB no. 29 of September 12th), the Department of Education and Culture has exclusive authority in this matter). In this sense, article 23 of Decree no. 92/1997, and Order dated April 22nd, 1998, establish that any Catalan-medium textbook publishing plans must respect the Balearic linguistic particularities.

The actual implementation of this legal requirement is illustrated in the following cases:

a) In August 1998, B. Joan's ESO textbook *Història d'Eivissa* was rejected by the Balearic Government's Department of Education and Culture because its type of language did neither 'respect nor protect Balearic linguistic varieties' (Calafat 1999, 14).

b) On 9 December, 1998, four primary education textbooks published by *Editorial Cruïlla* were rejected for the same reasons (Servei d'Ordenació unp.(a)).

c) Seven more primary education textbooks from the same publishing house were rejected on 13 October, 1999. Language reasons were again adduced by the Balearic Government (Servei d'Ordenació unp.(b)).

d) During 1999, the parents' association from Pollença's Joan Mas School, in Majorca, complained because of the use of the *salat* type of definite article in the primary education textbook *Ansa per ansa*. This textbook was accepted by the Balearic Government's Department of Education and Culture on 8 August, 1997¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰⁵ One of the general particularities of the Balearic dialect is the use of the *salat* article (*es, so, sa, es, ses, sos*), which derives from the Latin demonstrative *ipse, -a, -ud*. This type of article is not accepted in standard Catalan, where the definite articles (*el, la, els, les*) are used instead. The general use of the *salat* article in the Balearic Islands finds an exception in the area of Pollença, where the normally used forms are the Catalan standard ones.

2. Parliamentary Proceedings

Two parliamentary resolutions on the necessity to protect the Balearic linguistic varieties were presented by the Conservative government in 1995 and 1996¹⁰⁶.

3. Others

The Conservative stress on the Balearic linguistic varieties is also found in other areas (see, for example, article 2.1 of Decree no. 126/1997, on the COFUC's creation).

2.3.2.3.2.- Language Planning Bodies

The creation of specific corpus planning bodies will be analyzed in two fields: codification and elaboration, and implementation.

2.3.2.3.2.1.- Codification and Elaboration

Two main areas should be considered:

1. Codification

The University of the Balearic Islands is officially the only normative language authority in the Balearics. In this sense, there is an implicit recognition of the Institute of Catalan Studies' responsibility for the codification of Catalan by the Balearic Government (as already said, the University of the Balearic Islands participates in the Philological Section of the Institute).

2. Elaboration

Following an agreement between the Autonomous Government and the University of the Balearic Islands, the Terminological Department (*Gabinet de Terminologia*) was created within this latter institution in 1991. The main functions of this Department are to achieve the development of Catalan in the area of terminology in

This particular case is a very clear demonstration of the Autonomous Government's attempt to construct an ideal uniform Balearic dialect. Though, this imaginary linguistic code does not fit actual reality.

Sources: Abeyà and others (1998); Ginard (4 February 1999); Mir (6 February 1999).

It has to be pointed out, nevertheless, that important contradictions and ambivalences characterize the Balearic Government's attitude in this field. See, in this sense, its paradoxical acceptance of other textbooks using non-linguistically-adapted forms (Bauzà Sastre unp.(h)).

collaboration with the TERMCAT. This elaboration body was created at the University of the Balearic Islands' request.

2.3.2.3.2.2.- Implementation

No specific body responsible for the correct implementation of the codification and elaboration processes has ever been created by the Balearic Government. However, even though no explicit statement is found in this sense in Decree no. 90/1995, it seems that one of the Interdepartmental Commission for Language Policy's functions could well be related to this area.

2.3.3.- Language Planning and Nationalism

Language planning policy in the Balearic Islands has departed from the consideration of Catalan as the single proper language of the region. Even though the superior legal status in relation to Castilian could have led to the reintroduction of Catalan, this has not been the case. Language planning activities in both the status and corpus levels have been very poor indeed. This is especially true in the mass media, cultural and socioeconomic fields, where it can even be maintained that no language planning in relation to Catalan has actually been applied.

Language planning activities in this region follow two different stages:

1. Conservative Government (1983-1999): General Absence of Language Planning Activities¹⁰⁷

Tension between two contrasting facts is found in this first stage. On the one hand, there is a very complex and ambitious general language planning regulation (as already seen, the Language Normalization Act for the Balearic Islands is, in many aspects, much more advanced than its Catalan -and Valencian- counterpart). On the other, there has not been an (effective) use of this means to implement a firm and decisive language policy.

¹⁰⁶ Resolution of Parliamentary session dated November 21st, 1995 (BOPIB no. 25 of December 21st); Resolution of Parliamentary session dated October 25th, 1996 (BOPIB no. 75 of November 26th).

¹⁰⁷ For more authors maintaining such an idea, see Melià i Garí (1999), Santandreu (1996) and Vilaweb (29 October 1999).

The language planning process in the Balearic Islands during this first stage is defined by two general characteristics:

a) A Very Late and Short Process

The Balearic Islands were the last Autonomous Community with a language other than Castilian to obtain both their Autonomy Statute and their Language Normalization Act¹⁰⁸.

When it does exist, the Balearic Government's implementation of the Language Normalization Act starts very late so that the whole language planning process is very short-lived indeed. This statement is fully applicable at all status and corpus planning levels.

b) The Fundamental Role of Alien Factors

Language planning activities implying an advance in the use of Catalan are all related to alien factors to the Conservative Balearic Government. Four main external factors can be identified: the unavoidable influence of regionalist parties which were needed to maintain the Conservatives in power (UM); the incidental access to power of exceptional Conservative members with Catalan nationalist ideology (President Soler's mandate and later dismissal); the impulse of individual elements with Catalan nationalist ideology located in areas which have been long under the Central Government's control (education); and, finally, the social pressure from organized civic movements defending the Catalan language, which have been created as a reaction to the Autonomous Government's language policy, especially since 1994.

Language planning activities in the Balearic Islands have been a natural continuation of the Conservatives' opposition to the autonomy process during the first half of the eighties.

The influences of external actors have allowed for steady progress in the introduction of Catalan in certain areas, especially in the education system. The process can be generally characterized as follows:

¹⁰⁸ The Balearic Islands were, together with Valencia, the only Community to obtain their autonomous condition via the slow route of article 143 of the Spanish Constitution.

Autonomy Statutes in Spain were passed in the following order: Catalonia and the Basque Country, December 18th, 1979; Galicia, April 6th, 1981; Andalusia, Asturias and Cantabria, December 30th, 1981; La Rioja and Murcia, June 9th, 1982; Valencia, July 1st, 1982; Aragon, Castile-La Mancha, Navarre and the Canary Islands, August 10th, 1982; Castile-Leon, Extremadura, Madrid and the Balearic Islands, February 25th, 1983.

a) The Unclear Definition of Goals

Apart from the Language Normalization Act's provisions, objectives have not been clearly defined. There has not been a global aim to modernize the Catalan language and to spread its use in all social fields.

b) A Non-Coordinated Process

The creation of the necessary means to coordinate language planning activities has been late and partial, both at their initial and later stages. Quite illustrative are, in this sense, the limited powers allocated to the general coordination body, its non-organic structure, the non-design of general language planning plans, and the actual non existence of specific evaluation and monitoring bodies.

c) A Simple Process

As has already been said, the process has been very poor indeed. Many sectors and agents have not been targeted at all. A small corpus of orders and decrees has poorly developed some of the general language planning provisions. Sometimes, the process is so simple that one could even say that there has been *no* process.

d) Non-Social Involvement

Even though the process is legally aimed at the whole of society, no involvement of the social sectors has ever been applied.

e) A Partial Policy of Legal Requirements

A late policy of legal requirements in the knowledge and use of Catalan characterizes the administrative and education fields. However, this can only be indirectly attributed to the Conservatives' policy. The presence of external factors on the Balearic Government has been decisive. The requirement of the knowledge of Catalan for entry to the Autonomous Administration has only been virtual (no competitive examinations were ever announced by the Conservatives following the passing of this requirement). At the same time, no language requirements exist in the cultural, mass media and socioeconomic fields.

As has been repeatedly stated by Balearic Conservative politicians, language planning activities should aim at the mere protection of Catalan. Nevertheless, this should not imply by any means an 'imposition' of Catalan. The establishment of minimum quotas of language knowledge and use, then, should plainly be rejected (Bauzà Sastre unp.(i)).

f) A Non-Determined Implementation

With the exception of the special education case, regulations have been poorly implemented, if implemented at all. A late and completely ineffective coordination of language normalization activities characterizes the administrative area. A very limited and irregular policy of subsidies has been applied in the cultural, mass media and socioeconomic fields: an autonomous television and radio network has never been created; strategic media, such as the film industry and the press, have not been targeted at all; other aspects, such as the promotion of language in the local administration, have been applied too late and in a very ineffective way; etc. In general, the importance of social and economic sectors in the whole language planning process has not really been taken into consideration by the Conservatives.

g) A Non-Evolutionary Process

No new general Act has been passed since the 1986 Language Normalization Act.

h) An Ineffective Process

Excepting the special education case, actual levels of use of Catalan in the different fields are quite low¹⁰⁹.

i) Basically, a Non-Vetoed Process

As has previously been observed, some articles of the Language Normalization Act were charged with unconstitutionality at the beginning of the process, though, this is an absolutely incidental case. No other language planning activity has ever been vetoed by the Spanish Government. This is certainly one of the most convincing proofs of the low intensity of the process.

j) Recognition of the Unity of the Language and Protection of the Balearic Linguistic Varieties

The firm recognition of the unity of the Catalan language has been accompanied by the necessity to protect Balearic linguistic varieties. Legal provisions regarding this imperative are found in many regulations. Actual implementation of the protection is observed in the education field.

2. Non-Conservative Government (from 1999 Onwards): Activation of the Language Planning Process

¹⁰⁹ However, a significant lack of information in this area characterizes the Balearic case.

Even though it is still quite early to make any consistent analysis of this new period, it seems that the non-Conservative government's language planning activities are absolutely opposed to those of its predecessors. The activation of the language planning process may have started now. Actual changes in some areas point to a firm aim to reintroduce the use of Catalan on the basis of a coordinated and effective language planning process, according to what is legally established in the Language Normalization Act for the Balearic Islands.

A quite similar analysis to the Valencian case is apparent. The general *laissez-faire* attitude¹¹⁰ of the Balearic Conservative Government in the language planning process reflects an important degree of Spanishness. Balearicness is compulsorily defined in terms of Spanishness. An unbalanced language dual loyalty has allowed for the emergence of a partially diglossic political mind. Spanish is seen by the Conservative party as a more fundamental marker of identity for the ruled group than Catalan (that is, it is an essential part of the Conservatives' political definition of Balearic society). On the other hand, Catalan is also a part of this definition, even though its role is completely different. It is seen mainly as a traditional and folk variety. This being so, it should be particularly promoted in this area. Its use in other fields, if ever happened, should be unequally shared with Spanish, the most appropriate variety for higher functions.

It is important to remark that the mainly popular role assigned to Catalan has its most direct expression in the necessity to find a specific linguistic regional form fitting this requirement. The concept of 'Balearic linguistic varieties' is then made up. It actually constitutes a sort of compromise between the need to respect the academic authorities' position in relation to the nature of Catalan and the political imperative to adopt a particularly Balearic symbology in the area of language.

All the same, it seems that a new political ideology is found behind language planning activities since the new non-Conservative coalition government's mandate after June 1999. Even though it is quite early to make consistent statements in this area, their first actions in the language planning field point to the existence of a Catalan nationalist ideology which takes Catalan as one of its most basic components.

¹¹⁰ See Cole (1993), Scott Gordon (1968), and Viner (1960) for detailed historical accounts of the doctrine of *laissez-faire*.

3.- An Overall Analysis. Political Fragmentation and Language Planning Divergence: Implications for the Social Use of Catalan

The arrival of democracy in Spain in the mid-seventies has allowed for the beginning of a general recovery in the use of the Catalan language. However, this recovery is not homogeneous, but highly divergent. The existence of three different Autonomous Communities with three completely independent political powers and ideologies has triggered off absolutely divergent language planning processes in each of the territories. In this sense, no single centre is responsible for the reintroduction of Catalan. As has been seen throughout this study, the current lack of a Catalan nationalist ideology common to Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearics prevents the global health of the Catalan language. Both status and corpus areas are directly influenced by this context. Completely variable levels in the use of Catalan are found in each of the three regions. At the same time, and as a consequence, any serious sociolinguistic definition of the Catalan language must include a consideration of the notion of 'pluricentricity'. The term 'pluricentric' was first used by Kloss (1978, 66-7) and later adopted and developed by Clyne (1992). According to this scholar (1), 'pluricentricity' describes 'languages with several interacting centres, each providing a national variety with at least some of its own (codified) norms'. The development of 'national norms and indices and linguistic variables with which the speakers identify' is an important factor in marking 'group boundaries, indicating who belongs and who does not' (1). The fact is that the term is fully applicable to the Catalan context, where different names and even corpus planning processes have partially or totally been applied both at the popular and the political levels¹¹¹.

¹¹¹ See Neugaard (1995), for an application of the notion of pluricentricity to the Valencian case.

Conclusions

Two major conclusions can be inferred from the previous analysis.

First, the so-called State of the Autonomies has been a powerful instrument in the construction of different national and regional identities in Spain since the era of Francoism. The role of language (and language planning, in particular) has been crucial in this sense. The existing political fragmentation of the Catalan-speaking territories has allowed for the implementation of three completely independent language planning processes in relation to Catalan. All three processes reflect a wide ideological spectrum, ranging from a Catalan nationalism, which takes Catalan as the fundamental marker of identity for the group, especially in Catalonia, to a partially diglossic political mind, which sees Spanish as the most important language for the community and leaves the vernacular to inferior functions and domains, in Valencia and the Balearics. A negative effect for the global health of the use of the language, both at the status and corpus levels, follows.

Secondly, there is a close and necessary interdependence between language planning and political ideology. The three case studies have provided strong evidence for the validity of the aforementioned critique of a traditional view which sees language planning as a completely neutral activity. Language planning activities are basically a political strategy intended to influence social identity by means of language. As a consequence, a new approach which takes ideology (and political ideology, in particular) as the central factor in determining and defining the whole nature of the language planning process should be advocated now. All the same, and as has been shown throughout this study, the language planning process is not exclusively affected by the political factor. 'Linguistic culture' (that is, 'the set of ways of thinking that a speech community has about language in general and its language in particular' (Schiffman 1996, 5-12)) is also an important factor in the process. Social action and mentality are often, especially in democratic regimes, a major source of political influence which should not be obviated by any means.

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