

**VII REPORT ON THE SITUATION OF THE
CATALAN LANGUAGE
(2013)**



Promotion and monitoring:



Coordination:



XARXA CRUSCAT
Coneixements, representacions i usos del català

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1. Introduction

1.1. Origin and scope

This report emerged from a commission ordered by the Observatory of the Catalan language, an independent body created on the initiative of a group of civic and cultural entities, in order to monitor and evaluate the Catalan language with the greatest academic solvency and rigour, both in terms of its social use as well as the legal framework which applies to it. The Observatory of the Catalan Language was constituted in 2004 and brought together 16 entities from the field of linguistics, known for their work in favour of the Catalan language. As a result of the economic crisis, its members agreed to dissolve the Observatory in 2012. Despite this, two of the entities' members, Òmnium Cultural and Plataforma per la Llengua, expressed their wish to maintain some of the most significant projects that the Observatory had carried out, in particular the elaboration of an annual report on the situation of the Catalan language, both in terms of its social use and in relation to the fulfilment of current legislation (national, state, international).

This report was thus commissioned by Òmnium Cultural,¹ an organisation that works to promote and normalise Catalan language, culture and national identity, and Plataforma per la Llengua (the Pro-Language Platform), a non-governmental organisation that works as an instrument of social cohesion in the Catalan-speaking territories,² and carried out by Xarxa CRUSCAT - IEC,³ a scientific network of the Institute for Catalan Studies (IEC). Xarxa CRUSCAT - IEC is made up of different specialists and research groups who work on the current situation of the Catalan language in order to monitor its evolution from an academically rigorous perspective. Within the framework of the Observatory of the Catalan Language,⁴ an independent body created at the initiative of a group of civic and cultural entities, the following publications have already been published: the *Informe sobre la situació de la llengua catalana (Report on the Situation of the Catalan Language) (2012)*,⁵ the

1. See <http://www.omnium.cat>.

2. See <https://www.plataforma-llengua.cat>.

3. See <http://blogs.iec.cat/cruscat>.

4. See <http://www.observatoridelallengua.cat>.

5. XARXA CRUSCAT - IEC (2013), *Informe sobre la situació de la llengua catalana (2012)* (online), Barcelona, Observatory of the Catalan language, <<http://www.demolinguistica.cat/arxiu/web/informe/informe2012.pdf>> (Consulted: 30 June 2014).

Informe sobre la situació de la llengua catalana (2011),⁶ the *Informe sobre la situació de la llengua catalana (2010)*,⁷ the *Informe sobre la situació de la llengua catalana (2008-2009)*,⁸ the *Informe sobre la situació de la llengua catalana (2005-2007)*⁹ and the *Informe sobre la situació de la llengua catalana (2003-2004)*.¹⁰ This report thus continues and develops the work carried out in these previous publications.

Today, interest in the state of the Catalan language and its vitality in different areas of social reality is fortunately of cross-cutting concern. The current status of the Catalan language, which is difficult to compare with other linguistic realities, is analysed and reflected upon from different disciplines and perspectives. Over recent years, public institutions as well as sector-based social organisations have created tools and instruments by means of which information and data on the state of Catalan can be published and assessed. Within this context, this *Report on the Situation of the Catalan language* (2013) aims to contribute towards providing the language with its own specific profile and justification.

In effect, this study brings together the demographic, political, legal, economic and social dimensions of the language. We thus find different perspectives that influence the representations, uses and knowledge of the language made by different sectors of the community and by different social groups. The combination of these different viewpoints provides the reader with a wide-ranging interpretative approach to the current situation of the language. It should be noted, however, that some other aspects have not been included, such as those related to social or sociolinguistic variations of the language, the evolution of terminology, linguistic interferences, and other philological and grammatical aspects in their wider sense.

Furthermore, the second relevant point to highlight is that the study includes the entire Catalan-speaking territories. This wide-ranging territorial scope, already present in the previous reports, is a feature which is still quite rare in analyses of this type. One of the objectives of the REPORT is, precisely, to contribute towards raising awareness of our linguistic community which is characterised by a notable level of fragmentation in terms of political, legal and communicative aspects. When assessing the current situation and the particular challenges faced by the Catalan language, the evolution of

6. XARXA CRUSCAT - IEC (2013), *Informe sobre la situació de la llengua catalana (2012)* (online), Barcelona, Observatory of the Catalan language, <<http://www.demolinguistica.cat/arxiu/web/informe/informe2012.pdf>> (Consulted: 30 June 2014).

7. XARXA CRUSCAT - IEC (2011), *Informe sobre la situació de la llengua catalana (2010)* (online), Barcelona, Observatori de la Llengua Catalana, <<http://www.demolinguistica.cat/arxiu/web/informe/informe2010.pdf>> (Consulted: 30 June 2014).

8. XARXA CRUSCAT - IEC (2011), *Informe sobre la situació de la llengua catalana (2008-2009)* (online), Barcelona, Observatori de la Llengua Catalana, <<http://www.demolinguistica.cat/arxiu/web/informe/informe2008-09.pdf>> (Consulted: 30 June 2014).

9. Eva PONS i Natxo SOROLLA (2009), *Informe sobre la situació de la llengua catalana (2005-2007)* (online), Barcelona, Observatori de la Llengua Catalana, <http://www.demolinguistica.cat/arxiu/web/DOCS_CRUSCAT/publicacions/anuari_2005-07.pdf> (Consulted: 30 June 2014).

10. Eva PONS i Xavier VILA (2005), *Informe general sobre la situació de la llengua catalana (2003-2004)* (online), Barcelona, Observatori de la Llengua Catalana, <http://www.observatoridelallengua.cat/arxius_documents/informe6_ok.pdf> (Consulted: 30 June 2014).

globalisation processes and the linguistic effects of such processes serve to highlight the important way in which the different Catalan-speaking territories influence each other.

With regard to the objectives of this study, they continue to address those advanced in the *Informe sobre la situació de la llengua catalana (2005-2007)*. In effect, the main aim is to highlight recent developments that have affected the situation of the Catalan language in all areas where it is spoken, based on the previous construction of the theoretical and historical framework of analysis, in order to provide a public record, and to study and elaborate a critical reflection of the most important facts that have affected the language during the period analysed.

1.2. Elaboration procedure

The experience of drawing up five general reports has brought to light the methodological difficulties presented in carrying out a study of this kind. These difficulties arise as a result of the extensive scope of the field of study, the different types of data handled, and the heterogeneity of the sources used. In view of this, the procedure followed to elaborate the report takes into account the overall aim to produce more of a descriptive rather than theoretical REPORT. Despite this, difficulties have arisen and obstacles have had to be overcome during the process of elaboration, which have been overcome to a greater or lesser extent depending on the case in question.

The REPORT includes sociolinguistic data, political and social events, legislation and sentences, and other noteworthy events that have affected the Catalan language during the year 2013.

1.3. Structure

The internal organisation of the REPORT is the same as that used in the *Informe sobre la situació de la llengua catalana (2008-2009)*, and a chapter (Chapter 3) has been dedicated to summarising the most relevant data on each of the different sections of the REPORT.

As can be seen from the Table of Contents, section 2.1 describes the results that have been published more recently in the field of sociolinguistics, as well as the demographic, economic and sociolinguistic context of the period. Section 2.2 discusses the changes that have affected the legal status of the Catalan language, the socio-political dynamics, questions concerning the unity of the language and the relationships between the different territories. Section 2.3 looks at the presence and

use of Catalan at different educational levels. Section 2.4 examines the situation of the language in the media and the culture industries. And finally, section 2.5 evaluates the way that Catalan is treated in public institutions at different territorial levels and in the fields of socio-economics, health and associated spheres, as well as the international reach of the language.

1.4. Authorship and coordination

The Xarxa CRUSCAT of the Institute for Catalan Studies was responsible for selecting the contents to be covered by the *Informe sobre la situació de la llengua catalana (2013)*, as well as the structure of the document, the authors, and the overall coordination of it. Miquel Àngel Pradilla, director of the Xarxa CRUSCAT - IEC, and Natxo Sorolla, Xarxa CRUSCAT – IEC, were responsible for coordinating the report and writing the introductory chapter. The conclusions were written by Miquel Àngel Pradilla.

The different sections of the REPORT (Chapter 2) and the summary (Chapter 3) are signed by their respective authors. The first section was written by Natxo Sorolla, the second by Anna M. Pla Boix, the third by Pere Mayans, Teresa Tort and Maria Areny, the fourth by Bernat López, and the fifth by Xavier Tenorio.

The Xarxa CRUSCAT of the Institute for Catalan Studies has drawn up this report for Òmnium Cultural and Plataforma per la Llengua. The *Informe sobre la situació de la llengua catalana (2013)* has been published under a Creative Commons licence (Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs3.0). The content may be freely copied or distributed and derivative works are permitted, as long as the authors of this work are duly recognised, the use is non-commercial, and the derivative works are shared under the same terms as this licence.¹¹ The document is made freely available in electronic format at the website of the Xarxa CRUSCAT - IEC,¹² at the website of Òmnium Cultural,¹³ and at the website of Plataforma per la Llengua.¹⁴ The previous reports can also be found at the website of the Observatory of the Language.¹⁵

11. To read the full terms of the license, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/3.0/deed.ca>.

12. See <http://blogs.iec.cat/cruscat>.

13. See <http://www.observatoridelallengua.cat>.

14. See <http://www.observatoridelallengua.cat>.

15. See <http://www.observatoridelallengua.cat>.

2. Report on the Situation of the Catalan Language (2013)

2.1. Demographic and economic context: evolution of the linguistic community

NATXO SOROLLA
Xarxa CRUSCAT - IEC

The chapter “Demographic and economic context: evolution of the linguistic community”, brings together the latest information and demolinguistic data that has been produced during this period in the Catalan-speaking territories (CST). Wherever possible, the chapter discusses other data analysis work carried out by researchers and institutions. Data exploitation has only been carried out here in the cases in which the presentation of the raw data in the original study was not accompanied by an analysis and/or interpretation, or in cases in which the data available enables an analysis of key questions concerning the demolinguistic situation of the Catalan-speaking territories. Thus, in general, the exploitation of the results is not discussed in-depth, nor is a systematic analysis of the methodological validity of the statistical operations or the researchers’ interpretations carried out, since the objective of the Report is to bring together and highlight key demolinguistic developments to make them freely available to researchers, professionals and anyone interested in reading about these matters, on the basis of which they may then carry out further research.

2.1.1. Economic situation and demographic structure

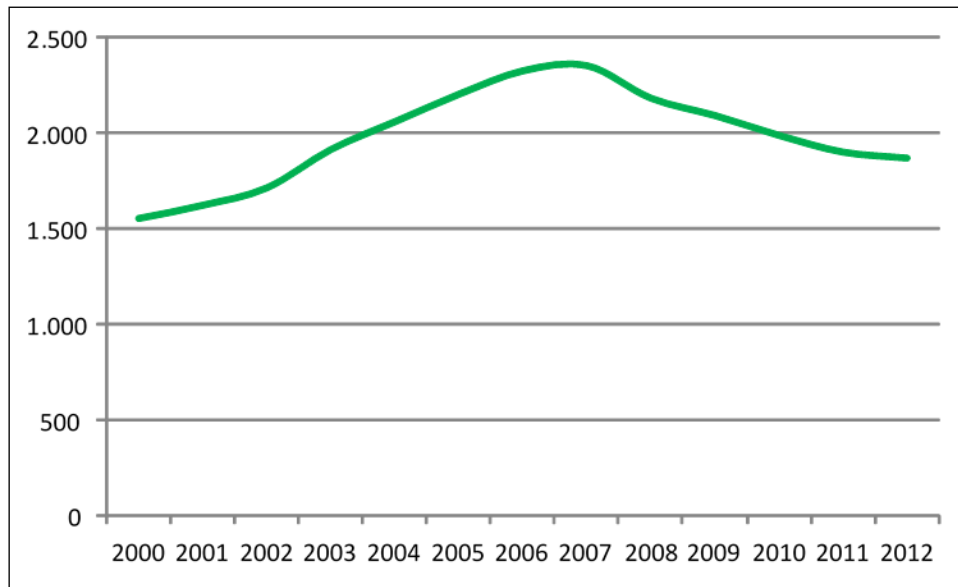
Economic situation

When this chapter was being compiled, data on GDP for Catalonia, the Valencian Community and the Balearic Islands had still not been provided and only the data for 2012 was available in the form of an advance estimate.¹⁶ However, the results of the latter data indicated that the economy of the Catalan-speaking territories had fallen

16. The previous state was that of a *provisional estimate*.

into negative values (year 2012), despite the stabilisation seen in the previous year. See [diagram 1](#). Other results from the autonomous community statistics institutes suggested that GDP continued to fall. In the same way, Andorra had provided a GDP estimate for the year 2012 and the macroeconomic data was once again negative.

DIAGRAM 1. *Estimate of real gross domestic product (GDP). Andorra*

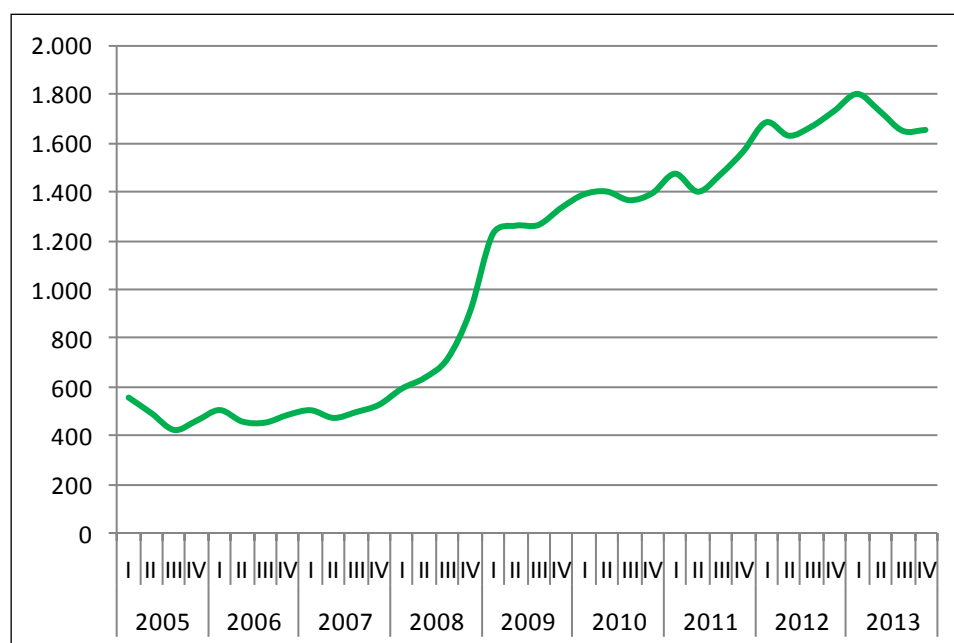


Source: Own elaboration based on the data provided by the Government of Andorra. March 2014.

Unemployment

In contrast to the indications of the macroeconomic data available, data emerged in the labour market showing a stabilisation of this market in terms of the high unemployment rates. The number of unemployed people in Catalan-speaking territories continued to stand above a million and a half, a figure that had been exceeded at the end of 2011. Nevertheless, in the two final quarters of 2013 there were indications showing that changes in this trend were in sight, since reductions in the number of interannual unemployed figures were seen consecutively over these two quarters; a reduction which had not been seen since 2006. Thus, the first quarter of 2013 showed a historical high of 1,799,000 unemployed in the three territories (Catalonia, the Valencian Community and the Balearic Islands), which represented a general unemployment rate of 26.6% of the active population. This historical high was recorded unanimously across the three main Catalan-speaking territories, but the Valencian Community suffered the most serious consequences with 28.6% of the active population out of work. See the general evolution of the number of unemployed in [diagram 2](#).

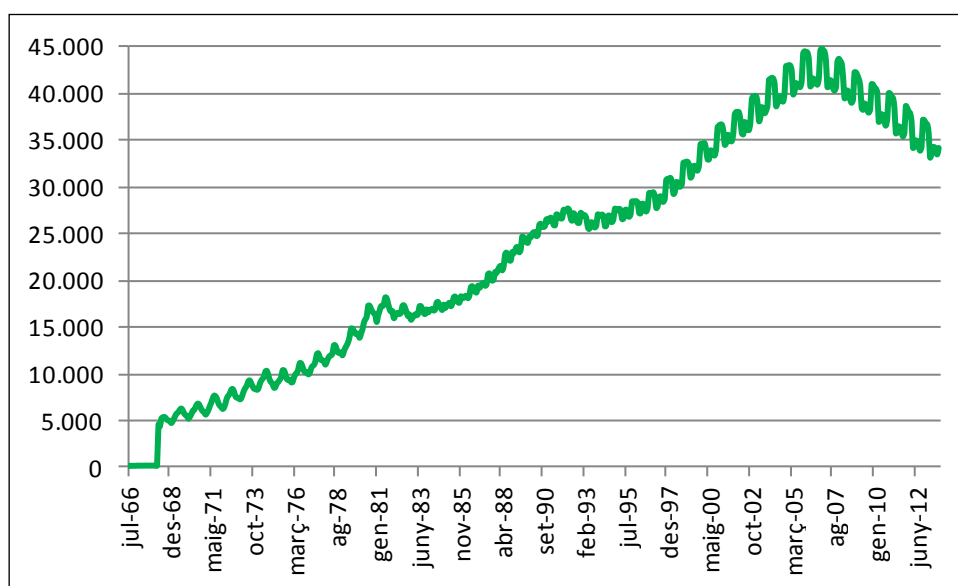
Diagram 2. *Unemployed in the three main Catalan-speaking territories (Catalonia, the Valencian Community and the Balearic Islands). Thousands of people*



Source: Own elaboration of data based on the Survey of the Active Population, National Institute of Statistics (INE)

The context of salaried work in Andorra also showed glimpses of recovery, at least in terms of the stabilisation of the number of salaried workers. The labour market in Andorra, which is characterised by its seasonal and temporary nature, had seen a deterioration in the number of employed workers from 2007, and since then the monthly losses of salaried workers stood above 1,000 employees.¹⁷ From Spring 2013 onwards, these continuous losses started to ease off, and with the start of the 2013-2014 winter season the number of salaried workers started to show levels similar to those of the previous year, pointing to a stabilisation of figures similar to those at the beginning of the previous decade. See the absolute number of salaried workers in [diagram 3](#).

17. Interannual variation values, with the monthly variation referring to the same month of the previous year.

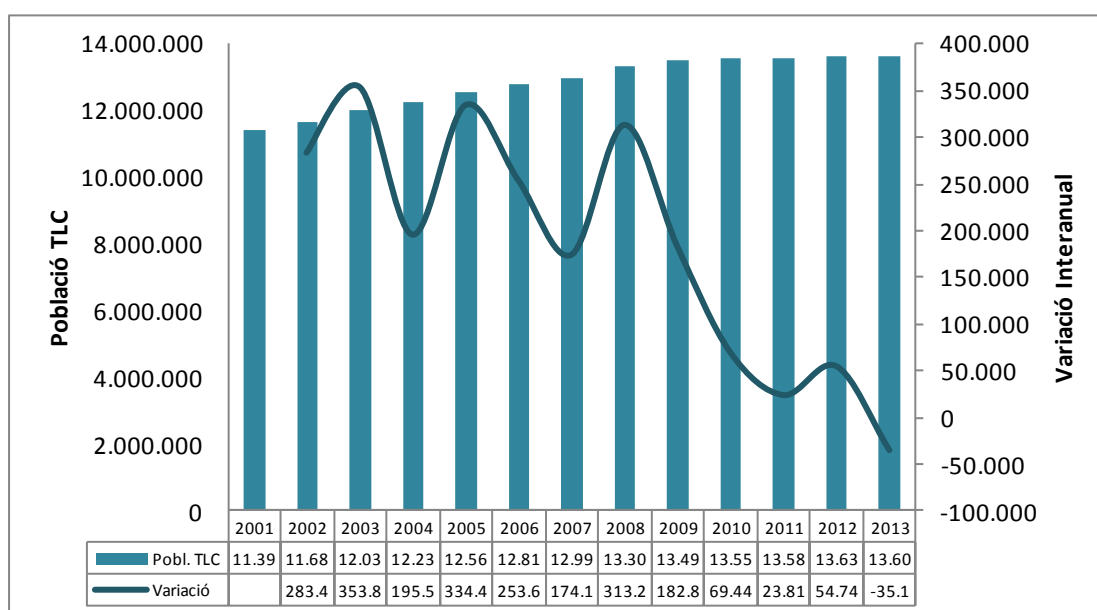
DIAGRAM 3. *Number of salaried workers in Andorra*

Source: Own elaboration based on the data provided by the Government of Andorra.

Demographic structure of the Catalan-speaking territories

After a decade of continuous population growth, the first symptoms of demographic slow down appeared in the Catalan-speaking territories in 2010 and lasted until 2013 when, for the first time, the population of the Catalan-speaking territories decreased. Thus, in 2013, the total number of residents was 13,602,973, 35,146 less than in 2012.

Diagram 4. *Population of Catalan-speaking territories and interannual variation.*
Year 2001-2013. Inhabitants



Source: Own elaboration of data based on demographic information of the different territories.

This reduction, which proportionally speaking represented 0.3% of the population, was seen across all territories: both Catalonia (-0.2%) and the Valencian Community (-0.3%) saw their population diminish. Since the start of the economic crisis, the Balearic Islands had retained their population figures more than the other territories. But this territory stood out by showing the most notable proportional drops of all the territories (-0.7%), alongside La Franja (-0.7%). Population figures in Andorra appeared to stabilise, with a reduction of 0.2% of the population, much less than the significant drop recorded in 2011 (Xarxa CRUSCAT - IEC, 2012, p. 15). Northern Catalonia (+0.8%) and Alghero (+0.2%) were the only two territories to see population increases, even though the population had previously dropped in previous years in both cases. Carthe finally exceeded its maximum number of 800 inhabitants for the first time (821).

Table 1. *Population of Catalan-speaking territories per territory. Years 2001-2013. Thousands of inhabitants*

Year	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
TOTAL (CST)	11,399	11,682	12,036	12,232	12,566	12,820	12,994	13,307	13,490	13,560	13,583	13,638	13,603
Catalonia*	6,353	6,498	6,696	6,804	6,986	7,125	7,201	7,354	7,465	7,502	7,529	7,561	7,544
Valencian Comm**	3,612	3,707	3,822	3,882	3,998	4,087	4,145	4,260	4,314	4,327	4,332	4,335	4,322
Balearic Islands	879	917	947	955	983	1,001	1,031	1,073	1,095	1,106	1,113	1,119	1,112
North Cat***	403.0		411.4	426.0	432.1	437.2	445.9		440.9	448.5	440.5	456.3	459.8
Andorra	66.33	67.16	72.32	76.88	78.55	81.22	83.14	84.48	84.08	85.02	78.12	76.25	76.10
La Franja	46.25	46.67	46.84	46.69	47.15	47.24	47.69	48.36	48.95	48.89	48.56	48.43	48.09
Alghero	38.40	38.39	39.50	39.99	40.26	40.39	40.56	40.80	40.89	40.80	40.97	40.60	40.69
Carche	0.68	0.66	0.67	0.67	0.70	0.71	0.74	0.76	0.78	0.77	0.76	0.80	0.82

Source: Own elaboration of data. The Occitan language of the Vall d'Aran (*) and the Spanish-speaking regions of the Valencian Community (**) have been excluded from these calculations. Data for Northern Catalonia (***) includes the Occitan-speaking region of La Fenolleda. Sources: Statistical Institute of Catalonia, Statistical Institute of Valencia, Statistical Institute of the Balearic Islands, National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (France), Survey Service of the Government of Andorra, National Institute of Statistics (Italy), Statistical Institute of Aragon, and the Murcia Regional Centre for Studies.

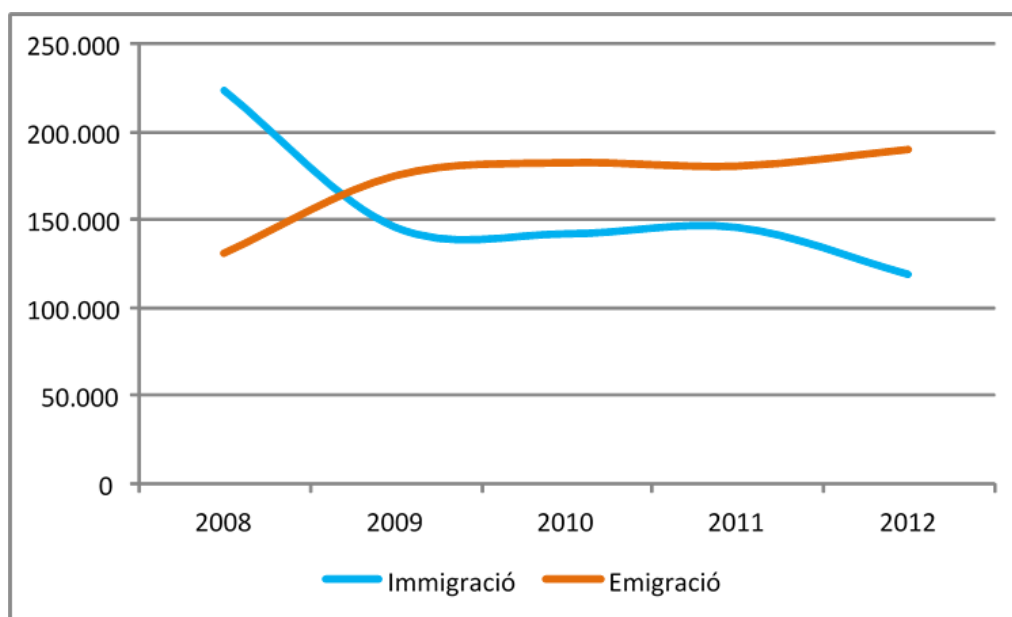
Migratory flows

The latest data on migratory flows into the State for the year 2012, showed demographic flows to be in the negative since the year 2009. In 2008, there was therefore a positive balance of 91,873 new citizens, resulting from an influx of 223,392 immigrants and an outflow of 131,519 emigrants. However, this balance was already negative in 2009, due to the increase in emigration and the decrease in immigration, with a total loss of 28,633 residents. The negative balance increased over subsequent years until 2012, when the rate stood at -70,034 residents, resulting from an inflow of 119,709 immigrants and an outflow of 189,743 emigrants. See the flows in the 2011 Census: the absolute number of Catalan speakers in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands.

During this same year, the territory showing the greatest population losses was Catalonia, with a loss of 45,432 people, followed by the Valencian Community, with a

loss of 26,672 people. By contrast, the Balearic Islands showed no population losses during this same period. In contrast to the other two territories, although the drop in immigration was comparable, the increase in emigration was less, and therefore emigration and immigration figures were similar to those of 2010, with a migratory balance close to zero.

DIAGRAM 5. *Immigration and emigration flows. Years 2008-2012. Main Catalan-speaking territories (Catalonia, the Valencian Community and the Balearic Islands)*



Source: Own elaboration of data based on information from the Statistical Institute of Catalonia (Idescat).

With regard to the hypothesis on the emigration of highly educated, young, native Catalans, which had already been discussed in previous reports (Xarxa CRUSCAT - IEC, 2013, p. 14), data showed that most of those who emigrated had been born outside the State, at least up to the date for which data was available (year 2012). Thus, the percentage of people born outside the Spanish State of those emigrating was similar in 2009 (91.3%) and in 2012 (89.2%). In absolute numbers, the emigration of those born in Spain had doubled during the period (from 11,399 in 2008 to 20,432 in 2012), but the figures continued to be insignificant in relation to the total size of the population of the Catalan-speaking territories, even more so if we consider that over 5,000 people returned every year, which is to say immigrants who had been born in Spain.

This situation is also confirmed according to the Register of Spaniards Resident Abroad (PERE), (National Institute of Statistics, 2014), an optional register for Spanish citizens living outside Spain that guarantees their right to vote and keep their Spanish nationality. Unlike the register kept on the place of birth of emigrants, this register (PERE) only took account of the population with Spanish nationality who had registered voluntarily. Therefore, the figures recorded on it were significantly less than those of the general emigration records. Nevertheless, the register showed that

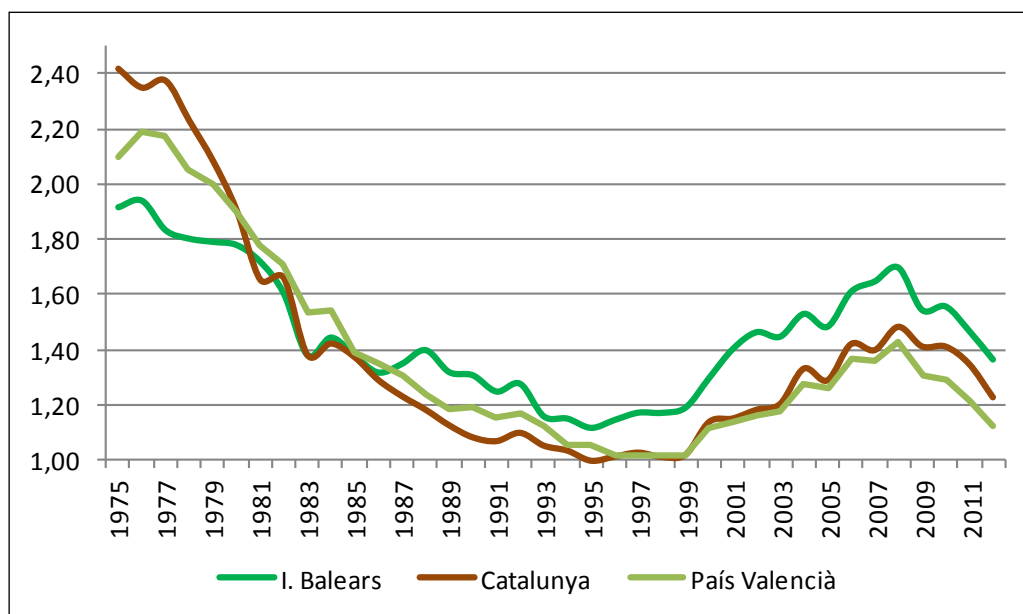
347,122 Spanish citizens listed on the electoral rolls of the three Catalan-speaking territories were resident abroad. However, 60.2% of this population had been born outside Spain (207,962), and it is worth remembering that this population basically comprised those who had obtained Spanish nationality after immigrating to the Catalan-speaking territories during the previous decade and were now on the move again; mostly returning to South American countries such as Argentina (34,627), Mexico (13,500), Venezuela (13,178) and Brazil (10,400), and other European countries such as France (23,959), Germany (12,812) and Switzerland (12,710).

Thus, in 2014 this register indicated that the number of native Spanish residents living abroad was 137,620, a figure higher than that of 2009 (109,818 residents). This figure had therefore grown significantly since the start of the economic crisis (25.3%). But this growth was not as alarming as the loss of the general population (native and immigrant) indicated by the general population figures. With regard to the country of destination, most native Spanish citizens living outside Spain in 2014 lived in Europe (86,282), mainly in France (28,546), but also in Germany (11,573), the United Kingdom (10,817) and Switzerland (7,624), as well as a significant colony within the Catalan-speaking territory of Andorra (10,276). Outside Europe, there are also native Spanish citizens resident in Argentina (8,994), the United States (8,192), Venezuela (4,397), Brazil (4,523) and Mexico (3,210).

Birth rate

The natural birth rate of the population dropped significantly in the main Catalan-speaking territories during the nineties, when there were as many births as deaths. Throughout the nineties, and up to the year 2008, birth rates increased and the gap between births and deaths widened until reaching its maximum point in 2008, with 1.48 births per death. From the economic implosion onwards, drops became evident in birth rates. In 2012 there were practically as many births as deaths (proportionally 1.20 births for each death). By territory, all three territories saw a constant decrease in natural birth rates, with the Balearic Islands showing the highest index (1.37), followed by Catalonia (1.23) and the Valencian Community (1.12). See the ratio of births per deaths in the three territories in [diagram 6](#).

DIAGRAM 6. *Number of births per number of deaths. Years 1975-2012.*
Catalonia, Valencian Community, Balearic Islands



Source: Own elaboration of data based on information from the Statistical Institute of Catalonia (Idescat).

2.1.2. Situation and sociolinguistic evolution of the Catalan language in the Catalan-speaking territories

2011 Census: the absolute number of Catalan speakers in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands

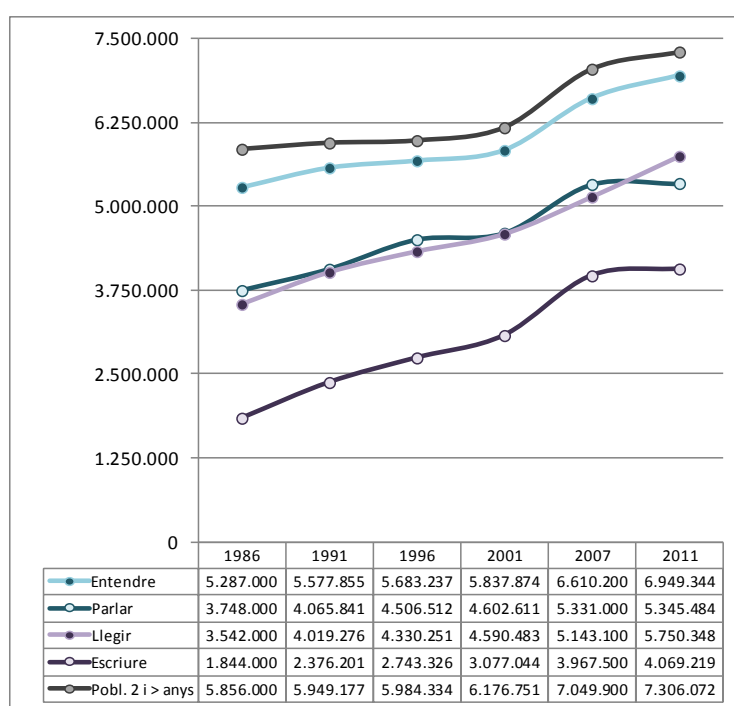
With regards to the number of Catalan speakers, we accessed data from the 2011 Census in which sociolinguistic questions had been asked in Catalonia, the Valencian Community, the Balearic Islands and La Franja. Since this was the first time such data had been collected, the statistical operation was carried out as a sample study. Nevertheless, a considerable sample size was used: 622,000 interviews in Catalonia (8.3% of the population of Catalonia) (Idescat, 2013a), and at a State level the figures were estimated at 12.3% of the population (National Institute of Statistics, 2011, p.78). At the time this REPORT was completed, only the results for Catalonia and the Balearic Islands could be accessed, which represented the core of the estimated number of Catalan speakers in relation to the previous report (Xarxa CRUSCAT - IEC, 2013).¹⁸

18. The data for Catalonia (Idescat, 2013b) and the Balearic Islands (IBESTAT, 2014) were available to the public. For the Balearic Islands, support was provided by GRESIB (University of the Balearic Islands), <http://www.uib.es/depart/dfc/gresib>. Furthermore, access to data for the Valencian Community has been managed through a request made to the Statistical Institute of Valencia of the Government of Valencia, and data for La Franja from the Statistical Institute of Aragon of the Government of Aragon. In the case of the Valencian Community, the General Directorate for Economy informed us that they were planning to publish the data through the Statistical Portal of the Government of Catalonia, by exploiting the results on knowledge of the Valencian language, but that they could not confirm when this would be done due to various technical problems. In the case of Aragon, we were informed that the data was being processed and would be available at a later date; but a specific date could not be given in this case either.

Looking at the census data for Catalonia and the Balearic Islands over two decades and a half, between 1986 and 2011, we see an increase of 1.77 million people who claim to speak Catalan in the two territories.¹⁹

Looking at the census data for Catalonia during this period, we see an increase of 1.60 million Catalan speakers, rising to 5.35 million in the year 2011, representing an increase of 42.6% of speakers in relation to the initial figure of 3.75 million speakers in 1986. During the same period, ability to understand the language increased by 1.66 million, and ability to write by 2.23 million.²⁰ During the same period, population growth stood at 1.45 million people more. See [diagram 7](#).

DIAGRAM 7. Language competences in Catalan and the total population of Catalonia. *Period between 1986-2011. Absolute numbers*



Source: Own elaboration of data (Idescat, 2013b; Reixach, 1985).

Thus, although the increase in the absolute number of speakers was continuous from 1986 up to 2011, data also pointed to the existence of **two different periods**: between 1986 and 1996 increases were seen in levels of oral knowledge of Catalan, with high levels of intensity in relation to the demographic situation; something which helped to increase the proportion of the total population with knowledge of Catalan.

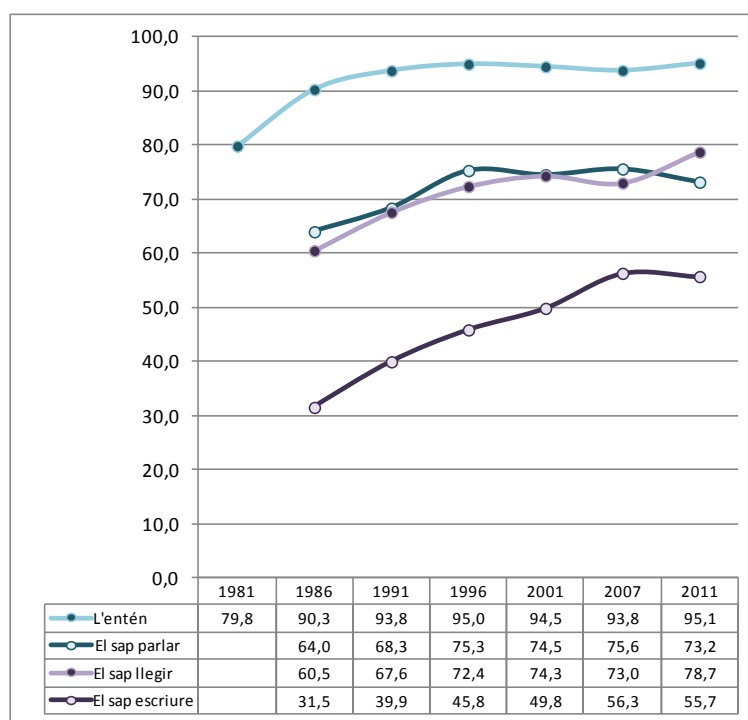
19. The census data for 2011 is only available for Catalonia and the Balearic Islands, as explained above. To carry out a historical comparison, we used data from the 1986 electoral roll (Reixach, 1990, p. 15 and s.) census data from 1991, 2001 and 2011 (Idescat, 2013b) and from the 1991, 2001 and 2011 census records (Idescat, 2013b). In addition, census information is available in Catalonia for the year 1998 (known as the Electoral Register or Population Survey) and 2007 (Demographic Survey).

20. Sociolinguistic data is available on the four skills in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and the Valencian Community from the 1986 electoral roll onwards, even though the results of this statistical operation are only available proportionally at the Idescat website (Idescat, 2013b), the publication resulting from the exploitation of this data includes the absolute values (Reixach, 1990, p. 15 and s.).

From 1996 to 2011, this growth in the absolute number of Catalan speakers was maintained in Catalonia, but was slowed down and even stopped altogether by the new demographic situation which emerged, in particular, due to the increase in migratory flows which stabilised the percentage of the population who did not speak Catalan at around a fourth of the whole population.

The data therefore showed that, at a proportional level, two thirds of the population (64%) spoke Catalan in 1986. The widening of skills, alongside demographic stability in Catalonia throughout the nineties, meant that oral skills were increased to three quarters of the population (75.3% in 1996). But from the first decade of this century, the populational increase stood at similar levels to those of increases in oral skills in the language, meaning that the proportion of the population who claimed to speak Catalan remained stable throughout the first decade, at a rate of around three quarters of the population (74.5% in 2001, 75.6% in 2007, and 73.2% in 2011). Thus, in Catalonia in 2011, 5.35 million people claimed to know how to speak Catalan. See [diagram 8](#).

DIAGRAM 8. *Language competences in Catalan in Catalonia.*
Period between 1981-2001. Ratios (%)



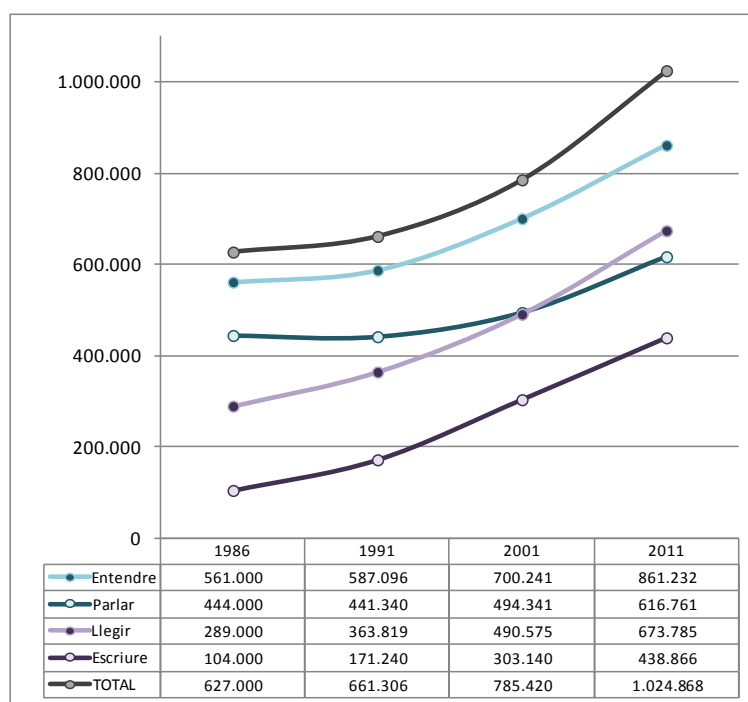
Source: Own elaboration of data (Idescat, 2013b; Reixach, 1985).

Demographic dynamics today indicate that, in the current decade, migratory flows will tend to stabilise in Catalonia, remaining at levels of immigrant population with little variation (see the section on “Migratory flows” in this chapter). On the other hand, all the signs indicate that dissemination levels of oral competence will remain at similar levels in Catalonia, thus recovering a level of greater intensity than that of population growth or birth rates, varying by sociolinguistic group, which will promote

an increase in the absolute number of Catalan speakers in Catalonia, but which will also translate into a proportional increase in Catalan speakers in the territory as a whole.

With regards to the **Balearic Islands**, the process followed over the previous two and a half decades was similar to that in Catalonia, albeit over different periods in time. During the same period (1986-2011), the number of Catalan speakers increased by 172,761 new Catalan speakers, with the number of people claiming they spoke Catalan in 2011 standing at 616,761, which translated into an increase of 38.9% in comparison to the initial number of 444,000 Catalan speakers recorded in 1986. The increase in the ability to understand the language stood at 300,232 for the same period, and the ability to write at 334,866 people. During the same period, populational growth stood at 397,868 more people. See [diagram 9](#).

DIAGRAM 9. *Language competences in Catalan and the total population of the Balearic Islands. Period 1986-2011. Absolute numbers*



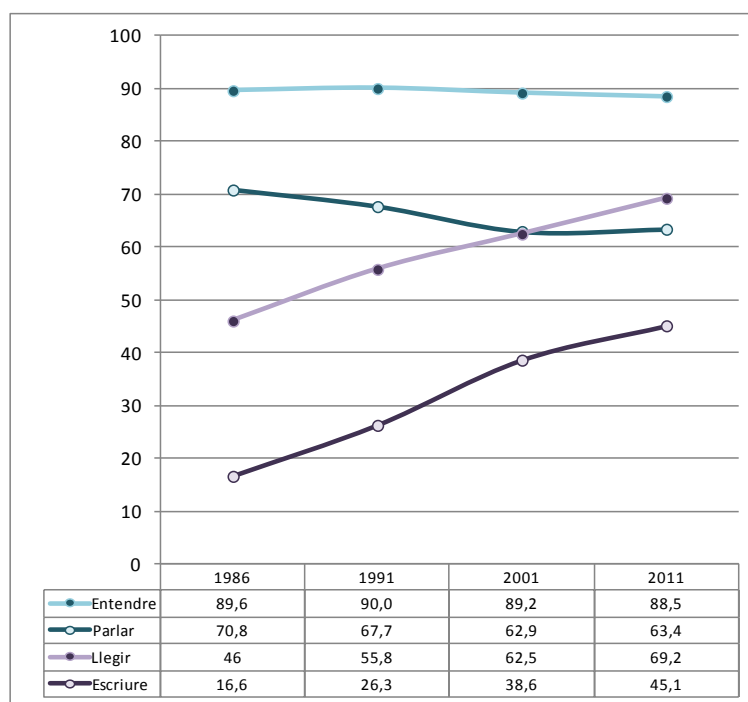
Source: Own elaboration of data (Idescat, 2014; Reixach, 1990).

Two stages are also observable on the Balearic Islands, but in the opposite sense to that seen in Catalonia. While between 1986 and 2001 the dissemination rates of oral knowledge of the Catalan language were initially low, standing at similar levels to those of Catalonia during the nineties, in contrast to the situation in Catalonia, these rates were exceeded by populational growth on the archipelago. Therefore, between 2001 and 2011 the dissemination of oral knowledge of Catalan grew quickly, exceeding the growth rate in Catalonia and managing to maintain the proportion of the

population who could speak Catalan even though the populational growth rate had doubled.

Thus, although during the late eighties and throughout the nineties the number of speakers in absolute numbers increased to the order of 50,000 new speakers, the populational growth was much higher, to the order of 159,000 new people. This difference between attraction rates and those of demographic growth resulted in drops in the proportion of Catalan speakers from 1986 (70.8%) to 62.9% in 2001. As a result, although populational growth doubled in the first decade of this century – with 239,448 more people in the territory – the increase of 122,420 new speakers meant that the proportion of speakers remained at 63.4%. Thus, in 2011 the number of Catalan speakers on the Balearic Islands stood at 616,761. See [diagram 10](#).

DIAGRAM 10. *Language competences in Catalan and the total population of the Balearic Islands. Period between 1986-2001. Ratios (%)*



Source: Own elaboration of data (IBESTAT, 2014; Reixach, 1990).

The exploitation of the new sociolinguistic results from the 2011 Census in the Balearic Islands will be discussed in more depth in the section “2011 Census on the Balearic Islands” of this REPORT.

II Workshop on Language and Society in Catalan-speaking Territories

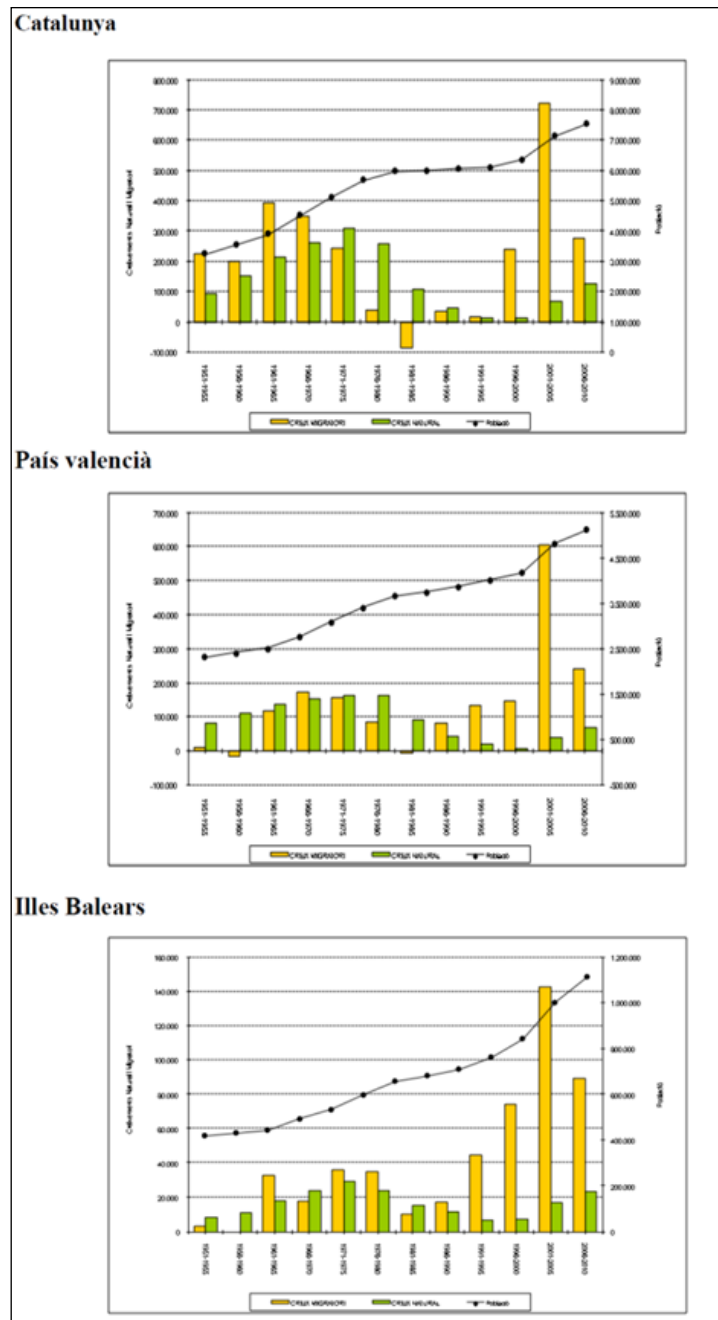
Different studies on the sociolinguistic evolution of Catalan in the Catalan-speaking territories were presented at the II Workshop on Language and Society in the Catalan-speaking Territories, organised by the Ministry of Culture of the Government of

Catalonia in collaboration with the Matarranya Cultural Association in Calaceit (Matarranya) on 21 September 2013. These studies were based on the sociolinguistic surveys available at that point in time (Government of Catalonia, Ministry of Culture, 2013).

Firstly, Andreu Domingo introduced the question of **demographics**, which is crucial for Catalan sociolinguistic studies, making a summary and presenting the demographic trends in the Catalan-speaking territories. The recent increase in immigrant flows into Catalan-speaking territories was framed within the global migratory boom of the 21st century, converging in a “Complex system of Reproduction” in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and the Valencian Community, with migrations representing the main factor in the evolution of the population (Domingo & Valls, in print). Although this phenomenon was common to all territories, Domingo highlights the differences between the demographic systems in the three territories. Catalonia already had a history of migrant workers dating back to over a century. But in the Valencian Community and the Balearic Islands immigration had grown from the second half of the sixties in connection with leisure and retirement. The immigration model in the Valencian Community was similar to that known as the “New Florida”, with a greater percentage of older immigrants, while the Balearic Islands saw a model similar to the “New California” model which, in addition to the elderly immigrants, saw an inflow of young workers. Domingo also points out that each immigrant group occupied the territory following significantly different patterns: on the one hand, the populations from Latin America or Western Europe were much more dispersed across the territory than those from Africa or Asia, who tended to form much clearer ethnic enclaves (*dysfunctional segregation*); and on the other hand, the most segregated population was that of Western Europe related to residential migrations (voluntary *functional segregation*). Domingo also points out that current levels of native emigration are low, although this could be in an emergent phase and its development could depend on the magnitude of the structural economic adjustments being made. Also see the analyses provided in the section “Migratory flows” of this REPORT and the same section in the previous report (Xarxa CRUSCAT - IEC, 2013, p. 15).

Secondly, Montserrat Martínez developed a **methodological analysis** of 36 surveys with sociolinguistic data, enabling her to evaluate the comparability of different studies carried out in the territory and to develop an overall analysis, considering the methodological limitations involved (Martínez Melo, in print).

DIAGRAM 11. *Migratory balance (in yellow), five-year natural growth (in green), and evolution of population (black line) from 1901 to 2010 for Catalonia, the Valencian Community and the Balearic Islands.*



Source: Domingo, in print. Own elaboration of data based on Census, Electoral roll and Continuous Register (National Institute of Statistics).

Thirdly, Joaquim Torres examined questions concerning the **intergenerational transmission of Catalan**, which is to say the language choices parents make with their children; a particularly relevant point for the sociolinguistic future of languages (Torres, in print). The author highlighted the link between this transmission and existing degrees of self-governance in the different territories, linking this to the

application of specific linguistic policies. While synchronic results were available for the wave of surveys carried out between 2003-2004, only Catalonia and the Balearic Islands held up-to-date information that enabled a longitudinal analysis of this question. With regards to the synchronic evaluation, a distinction was highlighted between three opposing dynamics which are already well-known: territories with appreciable advances in the intergenerational transmission of Catalan (Andorra, Catalonia and the Balearic Islands), territories where this transmission has come to a standstill (the Valencian Community and La Franja), and territories where this transmission had been ruptured in previous decades (Alghero and Northern Catalonia). Thus, the longitudinal analysis highlighted the fact that the intergenerational advance of Catalan was maintained in Catalonia, and could even be advancing further, while this tendency may have been weakened on the Balearic Islands. In fact, the youngest and most highly qualified groups had notably different dynamics depending on the territory, indicating that the tendencies were opposed to each other.

Finally, F. Xavier Vila and Natxo Sorolla developed their analysis of knowledge and sociolinguistic uses of the language (Vila & Sorolla, in print). They highlighted the main demolinguistic data available on the Catalan language according to current estimates, its evolution, its relation with other languages, and the differences between the different regions of the Catalan-speaking territories (Xarxa CRUSCAT - IEC, 2013). According to the evolution of the surveys on language use (1997-2008), the evolution of oral competences per territory had resulted in growth of approximately 450,000 speakers more, while the ability to write at an advanced level had increased by approximately 900,000. This data contrasted with the percentage decrease, particularly due to the increase in the immigrant population. In the case of the Valencian Community, the series of comparable surveys available from 1989 also showed decreases in the proportional level of oral competence, in which the most significant change occurred between 1995 and 2004. In stark contrast, levels of written competence grew continuously, stabilising somewhat proportionally in the latter years. Despite the decreases observed, the results did not contain a breakdown of the geographical origin of the families surveyed, or at least not in absolute figures, that would enable a clear evaluation to be carried out of the attraction capacity of new Catalan speakers and the effect of migration on this tendency (see this analysis delimited to the period between 2005 and 2010 in the section “Knowledge and use of Valencian in the Valencian Community: the native population and the immigrant population. X. Sanjuan Merino

“ of this REPORT). The exploitation of the 2011 census data on language competences in the Valencian Community will also help to advance this analysis.

With regard to the Balearic Islands, the data of the surveys available to date (2004-2010) point to a reduction in the absolute number of Catalan speakers. It could be, however, that the different methodologies used in the two statistical operations may be behind this fact. Exploitation of the 2011 Census has enabled us to confirm this

hypothesis (see section “2011 Census: the absolute number of Catalan speakers in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands

” of this REPORT), and it has been observed that competence levels not only grew in absolute numbers, but that they did so with a similar intensity to that of the populational growth in this first decade, thus maintaining the rate of oral competence. Finally, in the case of Andorra, the demolinguistic trends of the territory showed that levels of oral knowledge of Catalan remained stable despite the populational flows of the territory. In relation to the other territories, while series of demolinguistic data were still not available, the signs pointed to the fact that La Franja had experienced a decrease in oral competence levels, including in absolute numbers, due to its high dependence in relation to the family language and the generational reduction of initial Catalan speakers. In Northern Catalonia and Alghero, competence levels were low and further reductions were also expected, although this process was far removed from the other territories where the language was used much more extensively. In short, a concept was reinforced of Catalan as a European language of average demography, with widely differing skills levels, in the process of normalisation. In some territories, where the undermining process continued to be intense, those with knowledge of the language underwent a literacy process, and in other territories with more dynamic policies, these literacy levels extended to all language competences and to other sociolinguistic groups.

With regard to sociolinguistic uses, the exploitation of the data enabled Vila and Sorolla to carry out an in-depth assessment of the case of Catalonia (1997-2008). Thus, in this territory average global use had decreased from 50.1% in 1997 to 48.5% in 2003 and 42.6% in 2008. In terms of social spheres, a decrease in the use of Catalan had also been seen in the majority of social spheres, even in absolute numbers. The decrease was most intense at a proportional level than in absolute numbers. The authors carried out an in-depth study of two types of trends in order to explain these reductions. On the one hand, they looked at the two demographic factors of immigration and the reduction in the absolute number of native descendents in the age pyramid. On the other hand, they considered sociolinguistic factors, such as the decrease in Catalan as a first language, the use of Spanish as the first language learned by immigrants, and the insufficient advance in knowledge of Catalan among non-native speakers. In any case, no sociolinguistic factors emerged that would present a cause for alarm, such as initial Catalan speakers no longer using Catalan. Nevertheless, the need to carry out this type of analysis in the other territories was highlighted in order to evaluate if a trend towards stopping using Catalan among initial Catalan speakers could emerge in some social sectors or territories.

Finally, the two authors summarised the results on knowledge and sociolinguistic uses of the language through a chart which highlighted the most important characteristics. Some of the strong points included the important demography of Catalan, the constant growth in numbers of people with knowledge of the language

and its continued use among native speakers, in addition to the opportunities available to the language in a market which was growing in all aspects. But among the weaknesses associated with Catalan, we find the difficulties involved in promoting its use among those who have knowledge of the language, lower knowledge levels compared to knowledge of state languages, and very low usage as a language of social inclusion with the immigrant population. All these weaknesses converged to constitute a structural framework of threats, such as the high number of speakers cut off from the language and the reduction in numbers of native speakers, especially in some territories.

Sociolinguistic data of the European Social Survey

The European Social Survey has been carried out since 2002 across the European Union (Pompeu Fabra University, s. d.a), and the Pompeu Fabra University was responsible for the field work carried out in Spain (Pompeu Fabra University, s. d.b).²¹ The sociolinguistic results of the last wave (2012-2013) showed that Catalan was used in the family by 12.5% of those resident in Spain.²² A third of these used only Catalan at home (4.4%), while almost two thirds used it alongside Spanish (7.9%).

Bearing in mind that the 6th wave was carried out on figures that hovered around 40 million inhabitants (population of 15 years old or more),²³ it would be reasonable to estimate that around 5 million inhabitants of the Spanish State used Catalan at home (12.5%).²⁴ See the proportional results of the six waves of the study in [diagram 12](#).

21. The study covered all of the population who had lived in Spain for over 15 years (Spanish National Team and TYPESA, s. d). The State sample for the 2012-2013 wave included 2,868 people surveyed, with 836 people surveyed in Catalan-speaking territories (448 in Catalonia, 313 in the Valencian Community and 75 in the Balearic Islands).

22. "C23. What language or languages do you speak most often at home? Note down maximum 2 language."

23. The 6th wave study (2012-2013) took the reference population from the electoral role of December 2011. We have used the data published for 2011, with 47,265,321 inhabitants, of which 40,202,598 had been resident for 15 years or more.

24. Estimates for 2003-2004, made on the basis of the wave of surveys on linguistic use, estimated that 5.79 million inhabitants in the Catalan-speaking territories spoke Catalan as well as another language at home, of which 4.84 million mainly used Catalan (Querol *et al.*, 2007, p. 48). The same estimate in the first wave of the European Social Survey placed the figure of those who spoke Catalan at home at 5.34 million in the Spanish State (population of 15 years old or more). Some significant differences should be noted between the two studies that could make the figures vary considerably:

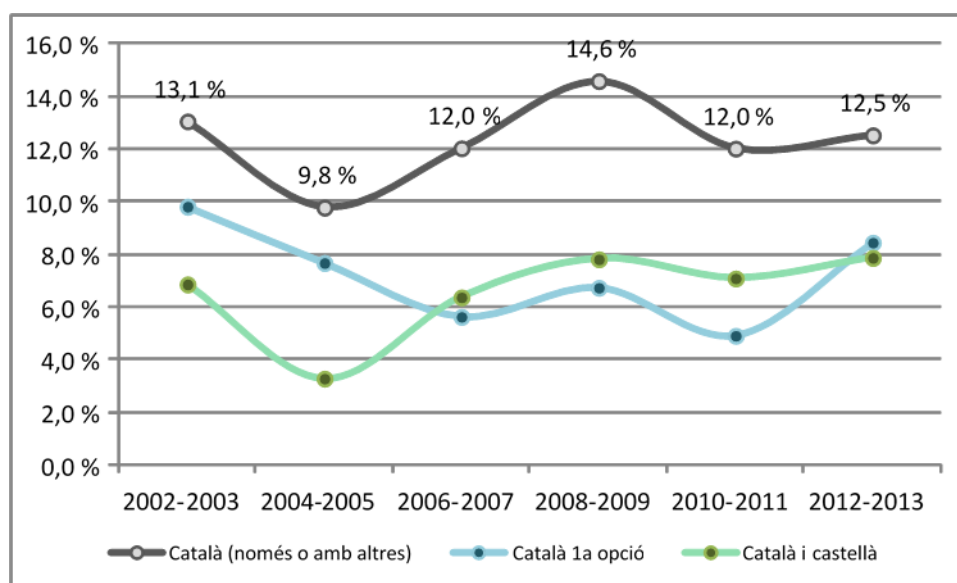
- Questionnaire: the questions are formulated differently, as well as the categories of the possible answers.

- Territoriality: the estimates of the Linguistic Uses Surveys are for all the population of the 7 Catalan-speaking territories, while the European Social Survey refers to the whole Spanish State (outside the Catalan-speaking domain), but does not include the Catalan-speaking territories of the French State and Italy.

- Age: the estimate of the European Social Survey is for the population of over 15 years old, while the Linguistic Uses Survey also estimates the family language of children under 15.

- Sampling error: the European Social Survey has a much smaller sample size than the Linguistic Uses Survey.

DIAGRAM 12. *Use of Catalan in the home in the population of the Spanish State.*
 Year 2002-2013. Percentages



Source: European Social Survey.

2.1.3. Situation and sociolinguistic evolution in Catalonia

For a general analysis of the latest sociolinguistic data from the 2011 Census in Catalonia, see the section “2011 Census: the absolute number of Catalan speakers in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands” of this chapter.

Language use in Catalonia. Overview and future perspectives. J. Torres and A. Fabà

In September 2010, the Catalan Society of Sociolinguistics held a Workshop titled “Language use in Catalonia. Overview and future perspectives”, which was published in number 22 of the journal *Treballs de Sociolingüística Catalana* (*Catalan Sociolinguistic Studies*), (Catalan Society for Sociolinguistics, 2012). This monograph included two articles on private and professional linguistic uses of Catalan.

Firstly, Joaquim Torres presented a view of private linguistic uses in Catalonia across a decade (1997-2008), based on an analysis of a series of three surveys on language use (Torres-Pla, 2012). The study highlighted the fact that international migrations had added a million people during this period and had had considerable impact on interpersonal language use. The author thus highlighted that during this period the percentages of Catalan usage had dropped considerably, while the use of Catalan in absolute numbers showed little change, and in some key aspects, such as the first language and language used with offspring, the number had increased slightly, while in

other areas it had reduced slightly, such as in the case of habitual language use.²⁵ Furthermore, the author highlighted the point that the number of people who used Catalan in intergenerational transmissions had increased, and that these were primarily people from Spanish-speaking family backgrounds. By contrast, non-native members of the family tended to adopt Spanish more than Catalan, which pointed to the need for Catalan linguistic policies to promote the Catalan language much more among the non-native community.

On the other hand, in the same volume, Albert Fabà developed an analysis of the uses of languages between 1997 and 2008 in professional spheres, including business people, doctors and bankers (Fabà Prats, 2012). The data indicated that a significant reduction had been noted in all spheres in the absolute number of Catalan speakers, but particularly so in the financial sphere, in which 200,000 people had stopped using Catalan. The author pointed out that there were important demolinguistic factors involved that limited growth of usage, such as the large mass of people who had been born outside Catalonia and who did not speak it well enough to be able to use it in these spheres. But it was also due to a certain reduction in the supply of professionals in Catalan. Nevertheless, the professional contexts were shown to be the fields in which Catalan was used most frequently, even over and above the family sphere, especially in the field that suffered the most; that of banks and savings banks. The author thus pointed out that studies on the linguistic availability of Catalan in different Catalan cities (Ofercat) showed that during the first decade of this century the most significant changes seen were in the commercial sphere and in service companies. Use of Catalan in this field had increased significantly, especially in the metropolitan area of Barcelona where it had very low initial ratios. The language of oral identification had diminished in some cities, which was tied to the demolinguistic results indicated by the author. Fabà thus proposed some general objectives in the field of language use, such as increasing knowledge among non-natives, initiating conversations in Catalan and promoting language conservation whenever possible, using Catalan at early stages of education to foster use of Catalan among children, and to promote the supply of professional workers in Catalan.

Youth Survey (2012). J. Solé, A. Torrijos and P. Serracant

Joan Solé, Anna Torrijos and Pau Serracant published the exploitation of the sociolinguistic data from the Catalan Youth Survey of 2012 (Solé, Torrijos & Serracant,

25. In the previous report we pointed to a reduction of initial Catalan speakers in Catalonia (Xarxa CRUSCAT - IEC, 2013, p. 31). But two key points should be taken into account in order to contextualise the different results: the data from the previous report referred to a shorter period (2003-2008) and were carried out on the basis of two studies different from those used by Joaquim Torres in his study of initial language use. With the exploitation of those results, we had already indicated that the specific results we detected could emerge due to the confluence of a natural growth of the population in a negative sense, and because the generations dying tended to speak Catalan much more than the younger generations. In any event, and this has been confirmed in different studies, no studies in Catalonia have shown Catalan speakers to be stopping using Catalan: and least so nowadays, in terms of the transmission of the language to their children.

2013). The article highlighted certain dynamics related to the youth population (15-34 years) that indicate the key factors at play in the future of Catalan in Catalonia. The authors point out two facts that have characterised the sociolinguistic profile of young people in Catalonia: the conjunction model of education in Catalan and the impact of migratory flows. In general, the language uses demonstrated by young people in Catalonia were shown to be diverse and the authors commented that the educational system had not resulted in the mass adoption of Catalan as the language of common use. Furthermore, in reference to young people of foreign origin, they indicated that they tended to retain their initial language and combine this with the languages they found in the reception country, although the great majority tended to opt for Spanish.

On the one hand, and in comparison with the previous Catalan Youth Survey from 2007, the number of students who claimed to use a mixture of Catalan and Spanish increased, in opposition to those who used only Catalan or Spanish. This meant that both initial Catalan speakers and Spanish speakers used their second language and, according to the authors, this trend tended to promote the use of Catalan more than Spanish in the youth population. They also detected a certain degree of regularity in uses according to different life stages: most of the young people were initial speakers of one single language, whether this was Catalan or Spanish, but the educational system meant that they were introduced to a second language, particularly the Spanish speakers. The world of work also encouraged the use of a second language, favourable towards Catalan, although in this case the tendency was more nuanced. Linguistic use within couples, by contrast, saw the return to initial monolingual usage. Finally, the transmission of the language to offspring, in the case of the young people who already had children, consolidated the general dynamics observed in the general population of Catalonia, in the sense that the intergenerational transmission was favourable towards Catalan. In this case, however, the tendency was reiterated more intensely, since a third of initial Spanish speakers used Catalan with their children, either exclusively or alongside Spanish.

On the other hand, with regards to non-native young people, the partial conservation of initial languages in linguistic usage was also shown and contributed towards increasing the number of languages present in Catalonia. Above all, these young people used the languages that they came across in the reception environment, even though the trend towards the incorporation of Spanish was much higher than that shown in relation to Catalan. In any event, more than half of the non-native young people who were studying included Catalan in their repertoire of language use, either in combination with other languages or exclusively.

2.1.4. Situation and sociolinguistic evolution in the Valencian Community

Intergenerational language transmission in the Valencian Community. A territorial perspective. A. Fabà (SOCS) and B. Montoya (UA)

Albert Fabà and Brauli Montoya published a territorial study on the intergenerational language transmission of Valencian (Fabà & Montoya, 2012), which was presented at the II Workshop of Sociolinguistic Research of Xarxa CRUSCAT - IEC (Fabà & Montoya, 2013). Data from the Valencian Academy of the Language survey of 2004 (Valencian Academy of the Language, 2005; Querol, Chessa, Sorolla, Torres & Villaverde, 2007) showed a very small increase of 2 percentage points between the percentage of the Valencian population who spoke Catalan with their parents and those who did so with their children (percentages corresponding to the population with children). This standstill in language transmission was not the same, however, across the whole territory of the Valencian Community. Fabà and Montoya's research showed differences, albeit not polarised in nature, between some regions, such as Gandia and the city of Valencia, which showed significantly higher increases (of 5 and 4 points, respectively), in contrast to the significantly lower losses seen in the Alicante region and Castellón (2 and 1 percentage points, respectively), while the situation remained stable in the Metropolitan area of Valencia.

While the study did not permit an analysis by region, the regions were able to be grouped into three main zones according to whether the intergenerational transmission promoted the growth of initial Catalan speakers or whether, by contrast, ruptures occurred in the intergenerational transmission of the language. Thus, in the regions with gains in the intergenerational transmission of Catalan the increase was of 7 points, and covered a geographical area in which 40.5% of the population of the zone predominately spoke Valencian, including the regions of the Valencia area (L'Horta without the city of Valencia, and La Ribera Alta and Baixa), the Alcoy-Gandia Region (Costera, Vall d'Albaida, Safor and Marina Alta) and the North of Castellón (els Ports, l'Alt and el Baix Maestrat, and l'Alcalatén), without inferring any geographical continuity.

In addition to this area which showed clear gains, Fabà and Montoya also identified an area with lower increases, to the order of 4 points, as well as regions with no changes, which covered 20.8% of the population of the predominately Valencian-speaking zone. This area comprised La Plana Baixa and Camp de Morvedre to the north, and Marina Baixa, El Comtat, l'Alcoià and El Baix Vinalopó to the south.

By contrast, the regions with losses in the intergenerational transmission of Catalan were led by the three regions of the capitals of the province: the city of Valencia, Plana Alta (Castellón) and Alicante. In these areas - which covered 38.7% of the population of

the area studied - the decrease in use of Catalan with parents and use with offspring stood at 4 points. Observing the important role played by the capital cities in the rupture of intergenerational transmission in the Valencian Community, both in this contemporary study as well as in previous studies (Montoya & Mas, 2011, 2012; Xarxa CRUSCAT - IEC, 2012, p. 38), the two authors carried out a more extensive analysis of the four main cities of the territory and identified that the starting point (use of Catalan with parents) was already low in the four cases studied: 36.5% in Castellón, 23.2% in Elx, 18.2% in Valencia and 8.9% in Alicante. And in all four cases, losses were seen in the intergenerational transmission of Catalan in 2004. Out of the whole population who used Catalan with their parents in these cities, a very significant part did not transmit the language to their children, with proportions that varied between 17% in Elx to 38% in Alicante, with Valencia and Castellón showing moderate levels of intensity in terms of this rupture in transmission: 20% and 21%, respectively.²⁶

The authors thus noted that although, in general terms, the data emanating from the Valencian Community pointed to stagnation in the intergenerational transmission of Catalan, territorial differences were more important in the context of the overall Community, with situations being observed which encompassed, on the one hand, those that covered a wide geographical area of the Valencian community where the intergenerational transmission of Catalan was on the increase, and others, on the other hand, where this transmission was suffering real ruptures. Although each of the areas included around 4 out of every 10 Valencians, the fact that the attraction zone did not follow any territorial continuity was pointed out, and that, by contrast, the rupture zone was headed by the main Valencian cities.

Thus, reflecting on the revernacularisation of Valencian, the researchers asked whether the territories showing gains would have sufficient resistance in order to counterpose the territories with stagnation and showing ruptures in the transmission, or whether, by contrast, the former may follow in the footsteps of the latter given their demographic and economic centrality, as well as their centrality in terms of educational and health infrastructures, leisure facilities and media services. They therefore considered that the prospect of Valencian undergoing a revernacularisation process would require the establishing of links between the education system and the social and family networks of the younger speakers, thus providing the territory with a greater political and economical role stimulated by these Catalan-speaking attraction zones from the south-central area (regions of Valencia and Alcoy-Gandia) and northern regions (north Castellón).

26. In this section we should also mention the case study by Antoni Mas (2001) on the city of Guardamar, within the publication that includes the papers presented at the Workshops of the Philological Section of the IEC, which we refer to in the section "Situation and sociolinguistic evolution in Carche" of this REPORT. The author highlights the linguistic substitution process evident in the city and reflects on the possibility of an embryonic revernacularisation process. See the overall picture of the main Valencian cities co-elaborated by the same researchers (Montoya & Mas, 2011) and summarised in the *Informe sobre la situació de la llengua catalana* (2011), (Xarxa CRUSCAT - IEC, 2012, p. 38).

Valencian in 25 years: a profile of Valencian speakers. R. Casesnoves

In number 58 of the journal *Language and Law*, Raquel Casesnoves published an article in which she reviewed the results on knowledge and sociolinguistic uses from the surveys carried out by the Sociolinguistic Studies and Research Service of the Government of Valencia between 1985 and 2010 (Casesnoves Ferrer, 2012), placing particular emphasis on the last two surveys of 2005 and 2010. The article was complemented by a later publication in which she also covered questions related to perceptions and sociolinguistic assessments (Casesnoves Ferrer, 2013).

Questions related to knowledge have already been discussed above, alongside the other territories, in the section on the "II Workshop on Language and Society in Catalan-speaking Territories" (Vila & Sorolla, in print). The study carried out by Casesnoves highlighted that the suspension of the surveys between 1995 and 2005, linked to shifts in the political orientation of the Government of Valencia, coincided with a changing tide in knowledge and use of Valencian, and also emphasised the fact that when the studies were resumed in 2005 and 2010, they were not accompanied by detailed data exploitations and commentaries, with the exception of some studies on the first of these surveys (Ninyoles, 2008; Sanjuan, 2008).

In the first stage, between 1985 and 1995, an increase in the ratios of competences and language use was identified. However, from 1995, these ratios decreased. The author pointed out that this was linked, on the one hand, to increases in migratory flows and, on the other hand, to the fact that the socialist governments had been taken over by the Partido Popular (centre-right political party). The author thus highlighted that the linguistic policies of the two stages were substantially different due to the lack of institutional support given and the lack of clear objectives; the only difference between them being the fact that the latter stage was accompanied by direct attacks on the perceived promotion of Valencian and the fostering of a distancing in relation to the rest of the linguistic community.

In general terms, the author pointed out that the number of initial Catalan speakers had been diminishing since 1995, due to mortality among the ageing population, the arrival of immigrants, and the persistence of Spanish use in the home. Furthermore, the use of Valencian continued to be associated with the more outlying social sectors: the elderly, retired population and those working in the primary sector. The immigrant population's lack of contact and relation with Valencian was also highlighted. The association with other more central sectors, such as the business sector and university graduates, was also highlighted.

One of the main difficulties of the sociolinguistic data of the Valencian Community (Sociolinguistic Studies and Research Service -SIES - s.d.) was in ascertaining if the proportional reduction in the knowledge and use of Catalan was due to immigration or whether, by contrast, to defection on the part of the native community. The fact that

no public data was available in absolute numbers, or segregated according to geographic origin or family languages, meant that it was not possible to ascertain if the decreases in the ratios of knowledge and use of Catalan were due to the effect of the significant increases in the non-native population, as in the case of Catalonia, or whether, by contrast, an erosion of knowledge of Valencian was also occurring among the native population and initial and/or new speakers were also defecting (see the results of Vila & Sorolla, in print, discussed in the section “II Workshop on Language and Society in the Catalan-speaking Territories” of this chapter).

The data exploitation carried out by Casesnoves enabled an exploration of these questions for the latter period of the surveys, between 2005-2010. Thus, between these years we find a decrease of three percentage points in the ratio that included the results of all the spheres studied (Casesnoves Ferrer, 2012, p. 123), and the results showed that the drop in use among the native population of the Valencian-speaking area was only slight during this period (Casesnoves Ferrer, 2012, p. 127). In general, it is worth remembering that the main proportional decreases in use were seen during the period between 1995 and 2005 (Casesnoves Ferrer, 2012, p. 121; Sanjuan, 2008). For this reason, this type of analysis should focus on this period in order to observe if the proportional decrease of this period was due to an increase in the native population or whether, by contrast, an erosion in the use of Catalan as a family language also occurred among the native population, alongside a tendency to stop using Catalan among initial speakers.

Knowledge and use of Valencian in the Valencian Community: the native population and the immigrant population. X. Sanjuan Merino

At the II Workshop on “Sociolinguistic Research on the Catalan Language”, Xarxa CRUSCAT - IEC, Xavier Sanjuan presented a comparative study on the knowledge and linguistic uses of Catalan in the Valencian Community between the SIES studies of 2005 and 2010 (Sanjuan Merino, 2013; Sociolinguistic Studies and Research Service —SIES, s. d.), focusing his analysis on the geographical origins of those surveyed.

Thus, with regard to knowledge of Valencian, while the ability to speak the language (quite well or perfectly) dropped by 3.6 points during the five-year period (from 52.1% to 48.5%), the results showed that this drop did not affect the interviewees born in Catalan-speaking territories who, by contrast, showed increases in knowledge of Valencian to the order of 3 points (from 72.2% to 75.3%). This increase also occurred in the ability to understand Catalan, with an increase of 1.7 points. By contrast, both the ability to read and write remained stagnant, with a minor reduction of 0.1 points.

With regard to the linguistic uses of the native population, very different dynamics were observed. On the one hand, among the native population the use of Catalan at home continued to show a position of fragile stability, with a reduction of 0.5 points

(from 50.5% to 50%), similar to the lower increase in the predominant use of Catalan among the native population in shopping centres, of -0.02 points (27.8% in 2010). By stark contrast, use of the language with friends showed a palpable increase of 3.3 points (from 45.7% to 42.4%). Use in local shops and with strangers also showed important increases: 4.5 points in the first case and 8.4 points in the second (from 40.6% to 45.2% in the case of shops and from 27.4% to 35.7% with strangers).

The results presented by Xavier Sanjuan also enabled the native population to be separated according to their parents' origin. This made it possible to observe if the changes between the population born in the Catalan-speaking territories were due to a change in their knowledge and use, or whether they were due to a change in the composition of this population; basically due to an increase in the native population who were offspring of parents from outside the Catalan-speaking territories, which would indicate an increase in the number of native speakers who were not initial Catalan speakers. The segregated data meant that a distinction could be made between native speakers with native parents, native speakers with non-native parents, and those with one non-native parent. Through this distinction it could be observed that, despite the fact that general use among native speakers in the home continued in a fragile sense between 2005 and 2010, with a slight decrease of -0.5 points, the difference was due to a change in the composition of the native population; due to the increase in the number of native speakers with non-native parents. Taken separately, the three subgroups of native speakers thus increased their home use of the language during the five-year period: 1 point more for families in which both parents were native speakers, 0.9 points in which one parent was native, and 2.1 points among the native population surveyed with non-native parents. However, it was important to take into account that family use of Catalan among the three groups was significantly different: in 2010 it stood at 62.1% among the first group, 25% among the second, and 10.7% among the latter group.

By contrast, its use in local social networks saw more significant decreases in the general population (-3.3 percentage points difference in use of Catalan, closely linked to an increase in the use of Spanish), which affected the subgroup of native offspring (-3.2 points), but not those who had one or both parents of non-native origins (increases of less than 2.3 and 0.7 points, respectively).

With regard to uses outside local networks (shops, shopping centres and strangers), in most cases use had increased or stagnated in the different native sectors and had not suffered decreases in any of the cases.

In summary, although significant decreases were observed between 2005 and 2010 in relation to the proportional data concerning knowledge and general use of Catalan, it was wrong to infer that this decrease was due to the community of initial speakers stopping using the language, at least in the period studied. The important sociolinguistic changes observed on a proportional level during the five-year period were more related to the demographic transformation of society than to any kind of

abandonment on the part of the Catalan-speaking natives, who represent the central core in terms of linguistic continuity. Thus, the demographic changes of recent years **had led to increases in the non-native population but also to changes in the composition of the native community**. On the one hand, the non-native population from outside the State had increased. And on the other hand, the native population had seen an increase in the number of native people with one or two non-native parents and, therefore, the number of native people for whom Catalan was not their first language had increased. Thus, in general terms, the population born of native Valencian speakers maintained or even increased its knowledge and use of Valencian between 2005 and 2010. This sector of the population had, however, observed how their use of Catalan had decreased in one important sphere; that of their friends. This decrease, linked also to an increase in the use of Spanish, was relevant considering the fact that it occurred in relation to the use of Catalan in local social networks. While being an isolated incident, the developments of which still need to be monitored, it was nevertheless an important fact in the Valencian Community since, according to the authors, the use and preservation of Catalan in the Valencian Community was visible, in particular, at the level of local, informal and family networks, at least in a more accentuated way than in the other two main Catalan-speaking territories (Querol Puig, 2002). Although the change was not visible in family usage of Catalan – the cornerstone of sociolinguistic continuity – during the period in question, these transformations need to be taken into account and analysed in relation to previous periods. Further research would therefore be necessary to analyse if these dynamics were similar in the period prior to 2005. Especially bearing in mind that the researchers suggested the most important changes in the proportional data on use and knowledge of Catalan had occurred in the late nineties and especially at the beginning of the first decade of this century (Sanjuan, 2008; Xarxa CRUSCAT - IEC, 2011, p. 26).

2.1.5. Situation and sociolinguistic evolution on the Balearic Islands

2011 Census on the Balearic Islands

The 2011 Census included data on language competences and, in a way which was unique to the Balearic Islands, also on the first language of the population. The general data on language knowledge on the Balearic Islands²⁷ has been discussed alongside

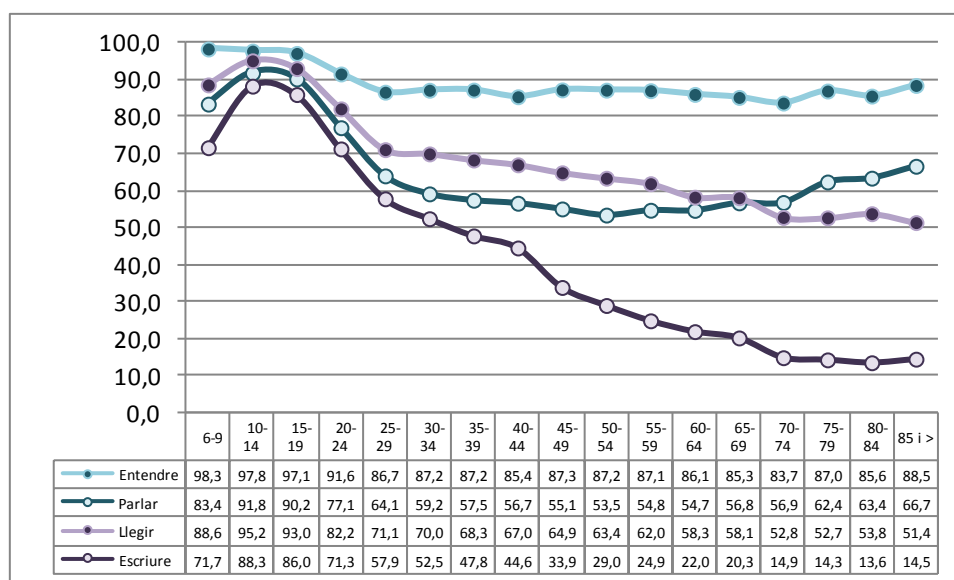
27. The question on knowledge in the 2011 Census in the Balearic Islands (in Spanish) was “What is your knowledge of Catalan (Mallorcan, Menorcan, Ibizan, Formenterenc or Valencian)? Mark one option only. I don’t understand it / I understand it / I understand it and know how to read it / I know how to speak it / I know how to read it and speak it / I know how to read, speak and write it”. The results on language knowledge of the Balearic population presented tend to be for the population of 6-year-olds and over.

the data on Catalonia in this REPORT, in the section “2011 Census: the absolute number of Catalan speakers in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands

”, where we can see that during the period of two and a half decades (1986-2011), knowledge of Catalan had increased by 172,761 new Catalan speakers, while populational growth had been much higher, with 397,868 more people. Thus, between 1986 and 2001, the diffusion rates of knowledge in oral Catalan were exceeded by populational growth, but between 2001 and 2011 the diffusion rate of knowledge of oral Catalan grew very quickly, more than in Catalonia, and at a similar rate to populational growth; a fact that would help to maintain the percentage of the population who claimed to be able to speak Catalan, which stood at 63.4% of the island’s population in 2011.

With regards to oral knowledge of the language according to age, between the over 74 year olds the percentage stood at over 60% and at its lowest among 50 to 54 year olds (53.5%). But these percentages of oral knowledge among the population recovered with the younger age groups, reaching percentages above 90% in the 10 to 19 year-old age group. Educational policies had also enabled increases in written knowledge among the younger end of the population, since percentages stood at 15% among the older age groups, but achieved levels above 85% in the 10 to 19 year-old age group. See [diagram 13](#).

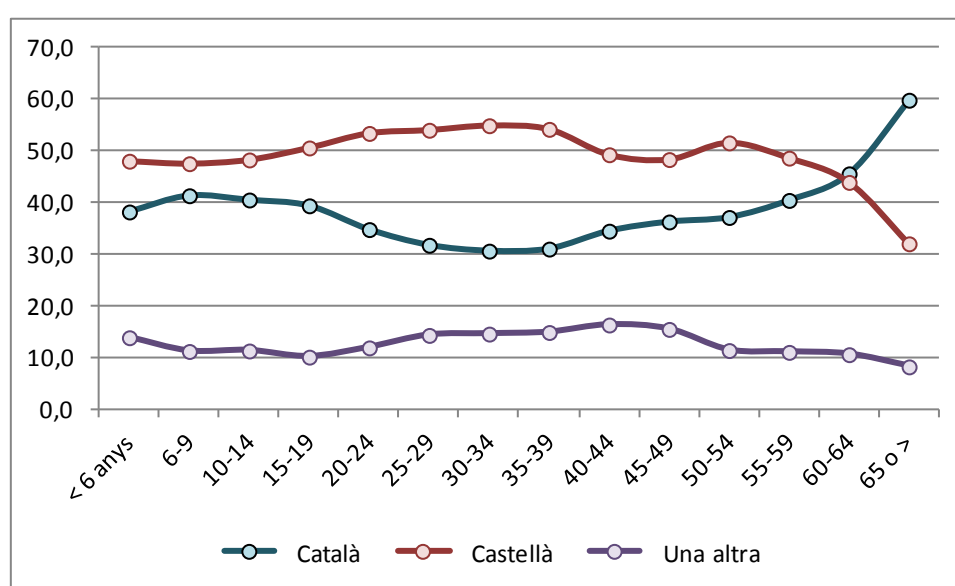
DIAGRAM 13. *Language competences in Catalan on the Balearic Islands according to age (≥ 6 years). Year 2011. Percentages (%)*



Source: Own elaboration of data (IBESTAT, 2014).

With regards the first language of the population,²⁸ the data showed that there were 410,143 speakers of Catalan as a first language (39.4% of the Balearic population),²⁹ 499,357 speakers of Spanish as a first language (48%), and 130,206 initial speakers of other languages (12.5%). According to age, speakers of Catalan as a first language were only the most numerous among the population of 60 years and over, with the lowest ratios of initial Catalan speakers being found in the 30 to 34 year-old group (30.6%), rising in the younger groups, up to the 41.3% observed in the 6 to 9 year-old group. See [diagram 14](#).

DIAGRAM 14. *First language on the Balearic Islands according to age (≥ 0 years).
Year 2011. Percentages (%)*



Source: Own elaboration of data (IBESTAT, 2014)).

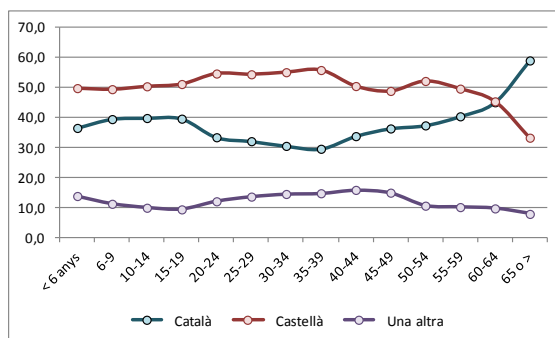
The results of the first language question according to the island showed opposing tendencies. On the one hand, Mallorca followed similar dynamics to the general results, but with a markedly higher tendency towards Hispanicization in some age groups, which significantly reduced the presence of Catalan and other languages (see [diagram 15](#)). Ibiza and Formentera showed a profile in which Catalan held an even more peripheral position in all age groups, with a greater proportion of initial speakers of Spanish as well as other languages. All in all, the younger age groups (younger than 15) showed an increase in the number of initial Catalan speakers, representing 30% of the group, and also of initial non-native speakers, in such a way that the number of initial Spanish speakers stood below the average (see [diagram 17](#)). In contrast, in

28. The question on initial language in the 2011 Census in the Balearic Islands was (version in Spanish) "Which was the first language you spoke at home when you were a child? You may mark more than one option. Catalan (Mallorcan, Menorcan, Ibizan, Formenterenc or Valencian) / Spanish / Other". Results are presented on the initial language of the population of 0 years upwards.

29. Of whom 386,936 were over 6.

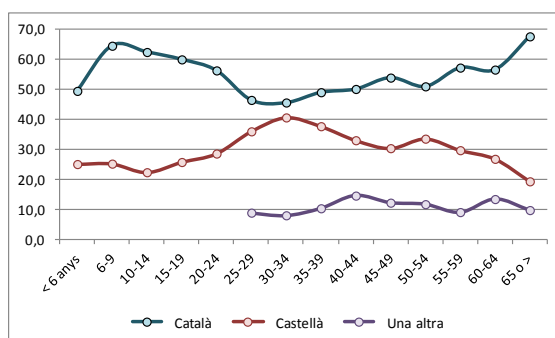
Menorca the most numerous group was that of the initial Catalan speakers in all age groups, which saw the minimum ratio in the 30 to 34 age group (45.6%), but recuperated ratios right up to the 6 to 9 year group, with nearly two thirds of initial Catalan speakers (64.6%). See [diagram 16](#).

DIAGRAM 15. *First language in Mallorca according to age (≥ 0 years). Year 2011. Percentages (%)*



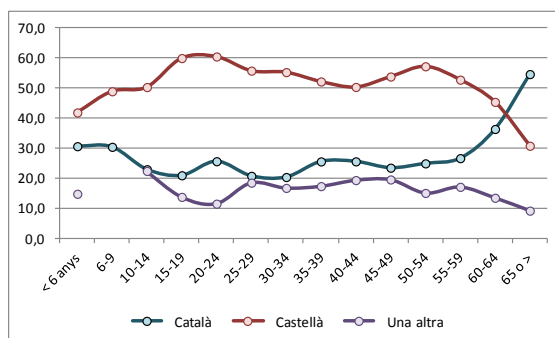
Source: Own elaboration of data (IBESTAT, 2014).

DIAGRAM 16. *First language in Mallorca according to age (≥ 0 years). Year 2011. Percentages (%)*



Source: Own elaboration of data (IBESTAT, 2014)).

DIAGRAM 17. *First language in Ibiza and Formentera according to age (≥ 0 years). Year 2011. Percentages (%)*



Source: Own elaboration of data (IBESTAT, 2014).

Thus, comparing data on the first language of the population on the Balearic Islands and its relation with oral competence, there were 1.59 Catalan speakers for each initial speaker of the language, which meant that 39% of inhabitants for whom Catalan was not the first language knew how to speak it, (language change index, ICL).³⁰ Although Ibiza and Formentera stood out for their higher ratio of speakers in relation to the number of initial speakers (1.86), the language change index showed that the percentage of the non-Catalan speaking population who had learned the language was similar in all three areas and stood at 40% in Mallorca, 36% in Ibiza and Formentera, and 37% in Menorca. See results in [table 2](#).

TABLE 2. *Number of Catalan speakers, initial Catalan speakers, indexes and total population according to island of residence. Population of 6 years and over. Year 2011. Absolute numbers and indexes*

	<i>Know how to speak Catalan</i>	<i>L1 Catalan</i>	<i>Know how to speak Catalan / L1 Catalan</i>	<i>Language change index*</i>	<i>Total population**</i>
Mallorca	484,123	300,062	1.61	40%	761,453
Menorca	62,103	48,916	1.27	37%	84,221
Ibiza-Formentera	70,534	37,958	1.86	36%	127,467
BALEARIC ISLANDS	616,761	386,936	1.59	39%	973,143

Source: Own elaboration of data (IBESTAT, 2014). *New speakers / Not initial Catalan speakers x 100. ** 6 years and over unless stated otherwise.

Thus, this relation between initial language and oral competence was extremely significant when analysed in relation to age. As we have seen, although the proportion of initial Catalan speakers was on the increase among the Balearic population of under 30s, they continued to be a minority among the different age groups (see diagram [14](#)). Overall, oral competence in the language had extended among the younger age groups (see diagram [13](#)) and, as a result, the gap between the number of people who claimed to speak the language and initial Catalan speakers grew wider and wider. Among the older population of 65 and over, the number of people who spoke Catalan and the population for whom it was a first language was practically the same, thus showing very low levels of attracting new speakers. By contrast, the younger the population, the higher the rates of non-initial speakers who had learned the language. In the 25 to 29 year group, practically half of those who did not have Catalan as a first language knew how to speak it. For the younger groups, these ratios increased more intensely, up to the 10 – 19 year old group in which around 85% of those for whom Catalan was not their first language had learned it. See the percentages in [diagram 18](#) and the indexes in [diagram 19](#).

30. For more details on the elaboration and interpretation of the language change index, see Xarca CRUSCAT – IEC (2013, p. 19).

DIAGRAM 18. *Initial speakers of Catalan and speakers (those who know how to speak it) on the Balearic Islands according to age (≥ 6 years). Year 2011. Absolute numbers*

Source: Own elaboration of data (IBESTAT, 2014).

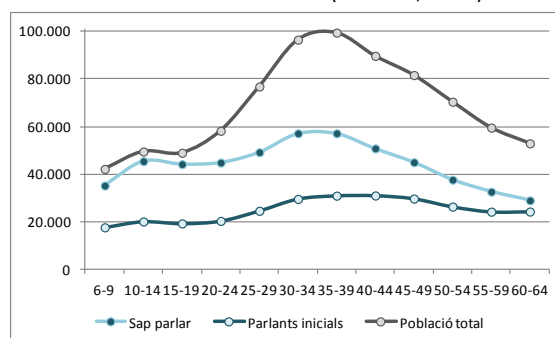
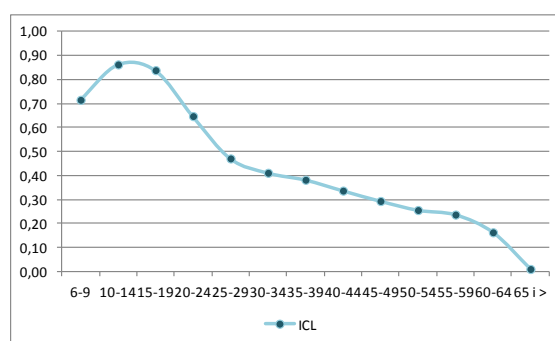


DIAGRAM 19. *Language change index* of the number of total speakers and initial speakers on the Balearic Islands according to age (≥ 6 years). Year 2011. Index*



Source: Own elaboration of data (IBESTAT, 2014). *New speakers / Not initial speakers of Catalan.

Evaluation of basic language competences in the school system

L'Institut d'Avaluació i la Qualitat del Sistema Educatiu (IAQSE, Education System Quality Assurance Agency) of the Balearic Government carried out different studies in order to evaluate the basic competences of primary and secondary school students, in which their written language skills in Catalan, Spanish and English were also assessed. The last studies carried out with 4th year secondary school students (IAQSE, 2013a), 2nd year secondary school students (IAQSE, 2013b) and 4th year primary students (IAQSE, 2012) were presented together in a global report (IAQSE, 2013c).³¹

The reports of the study for the 4th year primary students (year 2010-2011) showed sociolinguistic data on language use (IAQSE, 2012, p. 143). The results were only presented in an aggregate manner, however, simplifying the sociolinguistic information available in the questionnaire results.³² Thus, the data showed that 30.2%

31. The questionnaires used, along with other material, can be accessed at the http://iaqse.caib.es/aval_5.htm.

32. The questionnaire comprised three questions on language use local social networks "2. Which languages do you usually speak... (Only circle one option per section) a) at home with your family? b) outside school with friends? c) at school during

of students did not use Catalan at home, in the playground or with their classmates. For the islands, the percentage of students who did not use Catalan in Menorca was the lowest (10.6%), while the percentage was higher in Ibiza (41.3%) and stood at an intermediate position in Mallorca (30.8%). The percentage of usage recorded at state and private schools was fairly similar: 31% in the first case and 28.9% in the latter.

Comparatively, in the study carried out among secondary school students (2nd year, 2009-2010) a higher percentage was obtained of those who did not use Catalan in any of the three sociolinguistic contexts: 41.3% of students, with over 10 points more than the study of 4th year primary students.

With regard to the written competences observed,³³ the data for the highest course observed - the 4th year of secondary school (IAQSE, 2013a, p. 22, 2013c, p. 70) - showed that **in the last year of compulsory education the percentage of students who “consolidated” competences in Catalan (69.8%) and Spanish (69.4%) was similar**, and that with the aggregation of the students “in the process of consolidating” these competences, the results were also similar in both languages (88.6% and 89.6%, respectively).³⁴ In stark contrast, only 37.5% of students consolidated their competences in English, a figure which rose to 64.8% if we add students in the process of consolidating these competences.

The average score in language competence in Catalan was similar on all the islands, in stark contrast to competences in Spanish and English, where significantly higher competences were seen in Ibiza and Formentera than in Mallorca and Menorca. Depending on the type of school, state-subsidised private schools have greater competence levels in Catalan but not in the other languages.³⁵ Also, girls consolidated their competences in the three languages at considerably higher levels than the boys.

Comparing the 4th year secondary student results with those of 2nd year secondary students³⁶ showed that between these two years the consolidation levels had increased considerably both in Catalan and in Spanish, but in English the reduction in the consolidation level was not statistically significant. With regard to the islands, Mallorca, Ibiza and Formentera saw an increase in the number of students who consolidated their competence in Catalan between 2nd and 4th year, which also

playtime?” and provided for a trichotomous reply: “Catalan / Catalan and Spanish / Catalan and other languages / Spanish / Spanish and other languages / other languages.” The data was presented in an aggregate manner with students who “speak Catalan in one of these contexts” and those who do not speak it in any of the contexts. We can assume that the category of those who use Catalan includes those who use Catalan in one or all of the contexts, and those who use it in combination with other languages, even though this may occur in just one of the contexts.

33. It should be noted that, as is usual in studies of this type, as for example with PISA, students who entered the system late were excluded from the language test until they had sufficient mastery of the language.

34. The studies used the term *consolidation* for students who passed the level considered necessary. For example, see the contents and the elaboration of the consolidation level for language competence in Catalan for 4th year secondary school students (IAQSE, 2013a, p. 38).

35. Results without deducting from the socioeconomic index (ISEC).

36. The authors highlight that comparisons between the assessments of 4th and 2nd year students of secondary school are between two different tests and of students of different ages. Therefore, while the results enable trends to be observed, comparisons should be made with caution if they refer to specific aspects (IAQSE, 2013a, p. 58).

occurred in private schools, while in Menorca there was a reduction in the percentage of students who consolidated their levels of English and Spanish

The 2nd year secondary school study had the most extensive longitudinal data, with results for the years 2008-2009, 2009-2010 and 2011-2012 (IAQSE, 2013b, 2013c, p. 70). This enabled an analysis of the evolution of language competences for the same year group over a four year period. The results showed that in the last year analysed, 62.1% of students had consolidated competences in Catalan, a figure which reached 91.6% if students with competences in the process of being consolidated were added. Comparing their evolution over the four years, competences in Catalan did not vary too much if the students with consolidated competences or in the process of being consolidated were taken into account, since percentages varied little during the 2008-2009 year. In stark contrast, if only students with consolidated competences in Catalan were taken into account, a generalised and significant decline could be seen, which was 73.6% in the first study, more than 10 points more. By island, this decline in levels of competence in Catalan could be seen in both Mallorca and the Pityusic Islands, while Menora showed less clear and significant variations.

With regard to competences in Spanish, both the indexes and the evolution were similar to those of Catalan: in 2011-2012, 61.5% of students consolidated their competences in Spanish and amounted to 90.3% if we add those whose competences were in the process of being consolidated. Their evolution between the first year and the last year was also negative, as in the case of Catalan, since initially 70.9% of students had consolidated their competences in Spanish, practically 10 points over the last data.

A negative evolution similar to that in Catalan and Spanish was also observed in English, even though consolidation was much lower: in 2011-2012, 42.5% of students had their competence levels in English consolidated, which went up to 68.7% if we add the students in the process of consolidating this competence. In 2008-2009, 50.9% of students had consolidated their competences, representing more than 8 points difference.

Language of the University Admissions Tests

With regard to the language chosen in the university admissions test, the data gathered since 1992 by GRESIB enabled this aspect to be monitored (dBalears, 2013; GRESIB, 2013). The results showed if Spanish or Catalan had been chosen to answer questions in any of the tests, with the exception of the language tests themselves. In 2013, 80.4% of the tests were carried out in Catalan, while 9.2% of students had not answered any of the tests in Catalan (except the Catalan language tests).

The points showing the greatest presence of Catalan in 2013 were from students in Menora and in state schools on the outskirts of Mallorca, with percentages higher than

90%. By contrast, lower levels of usage were seen in schools in Ibiza and Formentera, (77.1%) and especially in private schools in Palma (63.4%).

The tests of 2013 were the first to show reductions in the percentages in comparison with the previous year, with a slight decrease of 0.7 points. This fact could be indicative of the stabilisation of the percentages at considerably high levels. The use of Catalan had increased year after year for two decades, from the 26.9% of 1992, and with a particularly important increase at the beginning of the last decade.

2.1.6. Situation and sociolinguistic evolution in Alghero

Enrico Chessa (2012) presented his doctoral thesis *Another case of language death? The intergenerational transmission of Catalan in Alghero*, in which he analysed the situation of Catalan in Alghero based on a review of the studies carried out in the city up to that point in time, and on a field study which combined quantitative and qualitative techniques. In terms of the quantitative aspects, a field study was carried out at the end of the nineties through 292 surveys of school children between eleven and fifteen years old, who represented a fifth of the number of children of that age in Alghero.

The results of Chessa's study confirmed the advanced state of substitution in which Catalan found itself in Alghero, in a situation which was even more serious than that already indicated by Grossman in the seventies and also confirmed by the Survey on Language Use carried out at the beginning of the last decade. Catalan was only transmitted intergenerationally in a very reduced number of families. Beyond the fact that 25% of families were non-native, the most significant aspect of sociolinguistic erosion came from the breakdown in the transmission of the language among the native population.

Thus, there were very few couples who only used Catalan together (6.5%), even though those who alternated its use with use of Italian and/or Sardinian amounted to 28.9%). If use of Catalan with parents was low and characterised by a very significant barrage of linguistic combinations, the transmission of Catalan to children was even lower. Use of Catalan with offspring stood at a percentage of less than 3% as a predominant language (2.4% in the case of fathers and 1.7% in the case of mothers), to which the combinations of Catalan with Italian and/or Sardinian should be added (16.7% in the case of fathers and 11.8% in the case of mothers). The situation worsened further with use by children with their parents, in which use of Catalan – whether predominantly or combined – failed to exceed 10% of those surveyed in any case. In fact, 86.7% of the children used only Italian with their parents.

As well as presenting a descriptive analysis of the sociolinguistic dynamics in the city, the study also explored the interpretations of the process provided by the

speakers themselves. According to the qualitative study, the inhabitants of Alghero perceived very significant differences between Catalan and Italian, in such a way that only the latter was considered a language of prestige and social standing, while Catalan was considered an accessory that tied those who spoke it together with the community baggage, but more as a symbolic reference rather than in a sense of daily communication, and in many cases with a folkloric sense in the service of the tourist industry. One point that Chessa pointed to as crucial in understanding this situation was the supposed compatibility indicated by the speakers in claiming that they would like Catalan to be protected by the institutions, while simultaneously breaking the family transmission of the language and only speaking Italian with their children. Chessa emphasised that while the rupture of the intergenerational transmission of Catalan had started at the end of the 19th century, the real turning point came during the second half of the 20th century, in a similar way to that of the North-Catalan case, and that currently this rupture was at a critical point. The author stated that the extinction of Catalan in Alghero was fairly imminent, since the last speakers of the native language would die within six decades if the situation did not turn around.

Another native of Alghero – Guido Sari - published a book on the sociolinguistic situation of the city (Sari, 2013). The chapter “Aproximació a la situació actual de l'alguerès” (“A perspective on the current situation in Alghero”), discussed the process of language substitution from a historical perspective, and the last chapter “Enquesta” (“Survey”) collected together 100 interviews with Catalan speakers using a questionnaire which mainly focused on their attitudes and language ideologies. Bearing in mind that competence in Catalan was a necessary condition in the selection of those interviewed, most of them had Catalan as a first language and maintained its use with their siblings, but none of them used the language with their offspring, even though some of them claimed to use Catalan in combination with other languages. With regard to perceptions, most of those interviewed confirmed the move away from Catalan in Alghero in recent decades.

2.1.7. Situation and sociolinguistic evolution in Carche

Brauli Montoya (2014) published *Reproducció primària de la llengua i sistema escolar al Carxe, un enclavament catalanoparlant en una regió castellanoparlant* (*The Primary Reproduction of Language and the School System in Carche, a Catalan-speaking enclave in a Spanish-speaking region* (Murcia), in a collection on language enclaves edited by Joan Argenter (2014). The author highlights that this unpopulated area of Murcia had become repopulated by Valencians in the mid nineteenth century and that, after the maximum demographic expansion occurred in the mid twentieth century, it started to lose its population again until recently, when the decrease in the population was briefly interrupted by the arrival of foreign residents (elderly British

people in particular). The education system could not guarantee competence in Catalan and therefore transmission in the family was the fundamental pillar on which language acquisition stood. The quantitative data offered by the study showed that three quarters of the population could speak Catalan, but that this proportion was lower among the younger members of the community. The results also showed a deterioration with regard to previous sociolinguistic studies. Firstly, it was important to highlight that the foreign residents in the area (a quarter of the population) could not speak Catalan and had considerable difficulty understanding Spanish.

With regard to language transmission between native adult speakers, almost three of every four people interviewed had received only Catalan from both parents, which, together with the other quarter of this population who had received Catalan with Spanish (mixed parents), showed that Spanish was peripheral in terms of language transmission at the beginning of the 20th century. In stark contrast, among the 14 under-18s interviewed who were also native, only one had received Catalan from both parents and 5 more had received both languages, while the majority of the students (8) had only received Spanish from both parents. Brauli Montoya thus argued that, evidently, “the primary reproduction of Catalan is disappearing from this enclave and being substituted by Spanish”. One of the main factors that had made the intergenerational transmission of Catalan unstable in Carce was the large number of mixed language couples which was now the most common situation. Only some cases of mixed couples followed the traditional pattern, in which each parent used their own language with their children while speaking Spanish with their partner, and the tables had turned towards a pattern entirely unfavourable towards the language transmission of Catalan, in which both parents spoke Spanish to each other and also to their children.

With reference to another study, at the end of 2009, the Philological Section of the Institute for Catalan Studies carried out a series of workshops on language mastery and the papers presented were subsequently published (Institute for Catalan Studies, 2011). While references to Carce were largely made with regard to dialect, some references of sociolinguistic concern are also made. Vicent Beltran (2011, p. 57) outlined the expansion of the language in the mid 20th century and the subsequent deterioration experienced:

In the nineteen fifties, use of Catalan extended inland towards the border of Yecla – to Pinillos and Carrascalejo – extending by the Serrals, to the Casa dels Conills and the Caves of Penya-roja to the west, and touching the serra de la Pila and Serra de Quives to the south (Limorti & Quintana, 1998, p. 22). It has now declined sharply and can hardly be perceived within the town of Yecla, the Venta de les Quebrades and Revolta; on the side of Jumella, the last Valencian-speakers can be found in La Raixa and La Sarsa.

2.1.8. Demolinguistic research in other territories

Minor changes were noted in the demolinguistic situation of Northern Catalonia.

Domènec Bernardó published two articles on Northern Catalonia; one in which he carried out a thought-provoking review of recent changes in Northern Catalonia and advanced some proposals for the future (Bernardó, 2011), and a second one in which he examined the history of demolinguistic studies in Northern Catalonia and presented a critical review of these (Bernardó, s. d.).

With regard to Andorra and La Franja, no new demolinguistic developments were recorded.

2.1.9. Conclusions

The **economic crisis** maintained the Catalan-speaking territories in a socioeconomic situation that not only stopped migratory flows, but that also resulted in a **reduction of the native population** for the first time in years. This new demographic dynamic would alleviate the sociolinguistic context somewhat and signalled the consolidation of a new demographic period more favourable towards Catalan. Nevertheless, linguistic policies would have to continue negotiating and managing significant numbers of immigrant inflows, who consolidated themselves in the country, and added to the already existing sociolinguistic challenges.

As was already customary, European demolinguistic data confirmed the fact that Catalan was a **medium-sized** language in the continent of Europe, and the new, census-related demolinguistic developments confirmed the **increase in oral competence** levels over the last two decades and a half, although during the last decade competence levels did not manage to stay on a par with the considerable populational growth and reductions were seen in proportional values. One of the most important challenges across the whole linguistic sphere was the **dissemination of competences among the immigrant population**, most of whom had arrived as adults and, therefore, had not been able to integrate into society through the educational system which functions as the key source of Catalan literacy formation.

With regard to the different territories, on the **Balearic Islands** it is noted that the adolescent population who did not have Catalan as a first language achieved a **general level of literacy skills**, and that students completed compulsory education with language competence levels that were similar in Catalan and Spanish. **In Catalonia**, certain stability was observed in language use throughout the first decade of this century, and even advances were noted in some spheres, without taking account of the effect of migratory flows. However, declines were also detected in the use of Catalan in some spheres, and were particularly harsh in the financial sector. In fact, in

this territory the distance that the **new population** continued to maintain in relation to use of Catalan was highlighted. In general, though, no decrease was noted in the use of Catalan among **initial speakers** of the language in Catalonia, despite the significant demographic changes observed.

In the case of the **Valencian Community**, even though an in-depth view of the second half of the same decade (2005-2010) was available, the results indicated that in general the **use of Catalan had remained stable** and had even recovered **among the native population**. But the composition of those born in the territory was changing, with an increase in children born of non-native parents. While it was true that during this period **the use of Catalan in the home did not indicate declines** in the native population, it was also true that **use with friends did suffer declines**; and the fact that these negative results were observed in an especially important sphere of the Valencian Community stood out in particular. Thus, the Valencian proposals to focus efforts on linguistic uses in local social networks took on particular relevance. In general, at this point in time, in which a specific migratory period had come to an end, such a longitudinal and in-depth analysis was needed across all territories, alongside a wider perspective that would, at the very least, take in the sociolinguistic evolution from the end of the nineties, prior to the start of the demographic period, in order to carry out a general diagnosis, differentiating between the native population and the immigrant population.

Despite the significant dissemination of oral competences in general terms, including language use in some areas in particular, other vital geographic points continued to see a **rupture of intergenerational transmission** of the Catalan language, mainly concentrated in **Valencian cities and the outlying areas of the linguistic domain (Northern Catalonia, Alghero and Carce)**. While some geographical areas of the Valencian Community which took in a large proportion of the population observed processes of revernacularisation, driven by those who did not have Catalan as an initial language, other areas, such as the main cities, continued to show high ratios in terms of the rupture of intergenerational transmission. And this fact was to prove characteristic of certain weaknesses, such as the lack of territorial continuity of the attraction zone, since the rupture process was concentrated in the main demographic, social and economic attraction points of the Valencian Community. Therefore, even though the Valencian case requires a much more in-depth analysis of the younger groups of the population in order to diagnose this situation on a territorial basis, the authors highlighted the need to promote policies that will enable revernacularisation, such as promoting the cohesion between the circle comprising schools, social networks and families, and strengthening the territory more in these geographic points of attraction. With regards the other territories, Catalonia and the Balearic Islands maintain attraction levels of new initial Catalan speakers, but trends show that although **Catalonia saw increases in the attraction index** (intense within the young population), this index **may have been weakening in the case of the Balearic Islands**.

In the case of Andorra, while no new demolinguistic developments were recorded, certain dynamics which saw the maintenance of the Catalan-speaking community could be observed, as well as its capacity of attraction, despite the context of high demographic growth suffered up to the last decade (Xarxa CRUSCAT - IEC, 2012, p. 41). With regard to La Franja, despite the lack of series of demolinguistic data, it was true to say that a general trend pointed to a decrease in oral competence in the Catalan language, even in terms of absolute numbers, due to the dependence of oral competence on the family language and the generational reduction in initial Catalan speakers.

Strengths, weaknesses, threats and opportunities for the Catalan language

Based on the current results, the Catalan language thus showed certain **strengths** which are worth noting. The language was a medium-sized language visible on a European and international level, despite the official obstacles it faced, and those with knowledge of it were constantly on the increase across the entire territory, particularly thanks to the educational policies promoted in certain territories. Thus, at least in the contexts in which it had been observed, the education system in favour of the language consolidated language competences in Catalan which were, at the very least, similar to those of Spanish and, therefore, the population who had undergone schooling were much more well equipped to develop their skills in the language. In general, use of Catalan was also maintained among native speakers, even though it was weakened at times in certain key aspects. The Catalan language thus suffered from some significant **weaknesses**, such as the link maintained in the Valencian Community, for example, with the more peripheral social sectors, and the rupture of the intergenerational transmission of the language in the main urban centres of Valencia and the outlying areas of the linguistic domain, at differing degrees of intensity. Across the different territories, significant difficulties were thus seen in terms of encouraging those who spoke the language to use it, and its use was particularly feeble with the new population with whom Spanish was used as the language of social integration. In fact, the language competences themselves showed a dissemination of knowledge of the language inferior to the state languages. The **threats** associated with the language were also significant, such as the high number of speakers who distanced themselves from the language, the reduction in the number of native speakers due to demographic issues, and, especially in the more peripheral territorial areas, the displacement of the language. In general, however, the current period enabled some essential **opportunities** to be highlighted which would require a redirection of efforts. The main opportunity consisted in the opening up of a new demographic cycle, with the halting of the migratory flow, which would mean that the native generations who had tended to acquire literacy skills at similar levels in Catalan and Spanish would

become adults and, in line with their socioeconomic evolution, would also become members of the workforce, thus resulting in a greater presence of Catalan both at a skills level as well as in the proportion of initial speakers, which would in turn enable the development of a sociolinguistic framework more favourable towards the native language.

In the case of Valencia, where no information was available as yet on the language competences observed for the school-age population, certain opportunities were also presented. The researchers agreed that the most serious phases of regional autonomy were observed during 1995 and 2005, given that the situation appeared to have alleviated somewhat during the period 2005 and 2010, although still showing low levels of use. This indicated that the rupture of the intergenerational transmission of the language may have stopped among the younger groups of the population or that processes of revernacularisation could be occurring on a general level in some areas. On the basis of this general analysis, the need to promote cohesion in the Valencian Community between schools, families and social networks became evident. And across the Catalan-speaking territories it was also important to use the language in the early stages of education in order to promote the use of Catalan with children. In general, knowledge of the language needed to be widened among the non-native population, more jobs for Catalan-speakers needed to be offered, and psychosocial mechanisms needed to be stimulated to initiate interactions in Catalan and to normalise the linguistic maintenance of the language.

Methodological and analytical considerations of demolinguistic research

In some specific cases, there is a clear need to probe further into certain questions in order to diagnose the sociolinguistic situation of Catalan across its different territories. We are referring, for example, to the need to inquire further into the rupture of the intergenerational transmission of the language in the Valencian Community, in relation to which a map of intergenerational language transmission has been drawn from a territorial perspective thanks to the researchers who have developed studies in this regard. However, the question of the intergenerational transmission of the language needs to be explored in the different territorial areas, taking account of age in particular, in order to monitor its evolution in the new generations.

At times, methodological and analytical weaknesses affect not only the exploitation of data or the excessive segmentation of the samples in terms of extracting conclusions, but may also affect the design of the statistical operations themselves. Thus, for example, a consideration of the intergenerational transmission of the language has been possible thanks to the adaptation carried out by the Valencian Academy of the Language of its 2004 survey, following the Sociolinguistic Studies and

Research Service (SIES) series. But the two subsequent surveys carried out by SIES did not include these adaptations, thus making it impossible to carry out a longitudinal study of this question.

A territorialised analysis would also be worth carrying out of the Balearic Islands, since important differences exist between the area of Palma, and the outlying parts of Mallorca, Menorca and the Pityusic Islands, which could also affect key questions such as competences, uses and intergenerational transmission.

In the case of Alghero and Carche, the research suggests an advanced or even extreme state in relation to the rupture of intergenerational transmission. The studies carried out have been sufficiently extensive in territories with small population sizes. However, these would need to be complemented with demolinguistic studies representative of all age groups, adapting the content to an in-depth study of these processes of rupture.

With regard to the other territories, it goes without saying that, apart from in the case of Andorra, a general lack of demolinguistic studies exists, as well as sectoral studies on youth, which would provide up-to-date sociolinguistic data on Northern Catalonia and La Franja.

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2.2. Legal status of the language and socio-political dynamics. Unity of the language and relationships between territories

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2.2.1. Introduction: a brief note on the socio-political context

2013 was a year of particularly significant political events that have, inevitably, resulted in conditioning the socio-political dynamics and evolution of the legal status of the Catalan language throughout the various territories it is spoken.

From the outset, this has been a year of consolidation in the political hegemonies created as a result of the Autonomous Community and general elections held two years ago. As is the case with the absolute majorities obtained by the Partido Popular in both the Spanish Parliamentary elections that took place on 20th November 2011, and the Autonomous Community elections held on 22 May of that year in the Balearic Islands, Valencian Community and in Aragon. As will be examined in detail in the pages that follow, for all these territories, 2013 marked the chronological halfway point for some particularly problematic legislatures with regard to the area of linguistics. Evidence will be presented demonstrating unprecedented setbacks in the process of recognition, protection and normalisation of the Catalan language within especially sensitive public areas.

In Catalonia, 2013 represented the first year of Parliament's xth term of office, formally constituted on 17 December 2012. It would be marked by key political events that would go down in the annals of the Principality's political history. Firstly, in 2013 the proposal to hold a referendum to consult the Catalan people with regard to the political future of Catalonia emerged as the central theme for political and social debate. This debate would result in the adoption of various governmental and parliamentary initiatives. Thus, on 23 January 2013, the Plenary Assembly adopted Resolution 5/X approving the Declaration of Sovereignty and the Catalan People's Right to Decide,³⁷ thereby proclaiming that "In accordance with the will democratically expressed by the majority of the people of Catalonia, the Parliament of Catalonia agrees to initiate the process to exercise the right to decide so that the citizens of Catalonia may decide their collective political future", in accordance with some of the principles established in the initiative. Key among these principles were that of sovereignty,³⁸ of democratic legitimacy and the principles of transparency,³⁹ dialogue,

37. See *Butlletí Oficial del Parlament de Catalunya* (BOPC), no. 13, of 24 January 2013.

38. It states that the people of Catalonia has "for reasons of democratic legitimacy, the nature of a sovereign political and legal subject".

social cohesion, Europeanism and legality. It similarly stressed the leading role the Parliament of Catalonia needed to take in this process and the commitment of the Parliament and Government of Catalonia to "ensure the active participation in this process of the local sphere and of a maximum number of political forces, economic and social agents and cultural and civic entities of Catalonia" in order to specify the mechanisms that make it effective. The declaration concluded by encouraging all citizens "to be active participants in the democratic process of exercising the people of Catalonia's right to decide". Suffice to say that this declaration was to be challenged through the Constitutional Court by the Spanish Government led by Mariano Rajoy. This decision to contest the declaration in the Constitutional Court is certainly unusual - without precedent due to not constituting an appeal against a legal regulation but against a resolution that is limited to outlining the political aims of a Parliament - and it would be accepted by the Council of Ministers on 1 March 2013. The Plenary Session of the Constitutional Court would rule on the appeal a year later, in its high profile Ruling 42/2014, of 25 March.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, the 113/2013 Decree of 12 February, established the National Transition Advisory Council⁴¹, setting it up as a collegiate body providing support to the Government of Catalonia, acting as an advisory institution.⁴² On 11 March, the Government of Catalonia's Institut d'Estudis Autònoms published a report on the legal procedures by which the citizens of Catalonia could be consulted about their collective political future, produced at the Government's request.⁴³

During the course of this process, Parliament would assume a decisive role. It would pass a number of resolutions over subsequent months that are worth noting, even if only briefly. The first is Resolution 17/X, of 13 March, on the initiation of a dialogue with the Spanish State Government regarding the possibility of holding a consultation on the future of Catalonia;⁴⁴ the second is Resolution 479/X, by which it was agreed to submit the Organic Law Bill to Spanish Congress to grant the Government of Catalonia the power to authorise, convene and hold a referendum on the political future of Catalonia.⁴⁵ This parliamentary initiative attempted to address one of the routes identified in the report by the Institut d'Estudis Autònoms, facilitating the consultation by means of the judicial process.

39. It details the commitment "The process of exercising the right to decide will be scrupulously democratic and will particularly ensure plurality and respect for all options, through deliberation and dialogue within Catalan society, so that the resulting declaration reflects the will of the majority of the people, which shall be the fundamental guarantor of the right to decide."

40. See *Boletín Oficial del Estado (BOE)*, no. 87, of 10 April 2014.

41. See *Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya (DOGC)*, no. 6315, of 14 February 2013, p. 8187.

42. More specifically, its function is to analyse and identify all the legal options available with regard to the national transition process; identify strategic structures for the future operation of the Government and of the Catalan institutions, and optimise available resources; propose actions and drive the dissemination of information of the national transition process within the international community and identify support; and finally also carry out its advisory role to the Government to develop institutional relations in Catalonia with the aim of underpinning the process as a whole.

43. See the complete *Informe sobre els procediments legals a través dels quals els ciutadans i les ciutadanes de Catalunya poden ser consultats sobre llur futur polític col·lectiu* (Report on the legal procedures by which the citizens of Catalonia may be consulted about their collective political future), by the Institut d'Estudis Autònoms, of 11 March 2013.

44. See *BOPC*, no. 43, of 18 March 2013.

45. See *BOPC*, no. 239, of 17 January 2014.

That said, civil society would prove to be a decisive driving force throughout this process. This was evidenced by the Catalan Way mass demonstration, a human chain stretching over four hundred kilometres along the route of the old Roman Via Augusta, running from Le Perthus to Alcanar, on 11 September 2013. Organised by the Assemblea Nacional Catalana in support of Catalan independence, it would once again place this request as a prominent issue on the political and governmental agenda, not just internally, but also in the international arena. The impact this made on the international media and the resulting political interpretation is well documented. A few days later, on 12 December, the date for the referendum and the wording of the question was announced, with the support of the Convergència i Unió, Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds and la Candidatura d'Unitat Popular, totalling 87 of the 135 seats in the Parliament of Catalonia.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, in Andorra, Northern Catalonia and Alghero, 2013 also coincided with a period of political cycle consolidation. In the case of Andorra, 2013 marked the chronological midway point of the vi term of the General Council of Andorra, as constituted following the general elections held in April 2011 and won by the Demòcrates per Andorra. In the case of France, 2013 marked François Hollande's first year of presidency in office at the Elysée. Also in Alghero, 2013 coincided with Stefano Lubrano's first year of municipal government, elected Mayor of the City in the municipal elections held the previous year.

In all cases, following the trend of preceding years, 2013 was conditioned, decisively, by the economic crisis. As highlighted in previous reports, these economic circumstances would once again determine the socio-political dynamics of the period being studied here. The political and governmental agenda would inevitably be affected by this, on a national, European and international level.

Specifically for Spain, during 2013, a number of economic indicators show that the serious economic crisis was still in evidence. During the first quarter of the year, the all time high figure of six million unemployed was exceeded, which represents 27.16% of the workforce according to the Active Population Survey (EPA) carried out by the National Statistics Institute (INE). The youth unemployment rate totalled 57.22%. Public debt rose to 92.2% of GDP in the second quarter. To cope, the government, led by Mariano Rajoy, approves the National Reform Plan and the Updated version of the Stability Programme 2013-2016, presented to the European Commission that sets new targets for reducing the deficit and the adoption of a number of controversial tax measures that provoke social unrest. Under these circumstances, confirmation comes in July that Spain is suffering the longest economic recession since 1975, in light of the fact that the Spanish economy has been in decline for eight consecutive quarters.

With regards to the international context, the economic crisis has also continued to condition, again very decisively, the political agenda of the European Union following

46. The question agreed upon was "Do you want Catalonia to be a State? And if so, do you want Catalonia to be an independent state?", and the date set is 9 November 2014.

the trend of the preceding years. On 1 January, Ireland assumed the rotating six-month presidency of the Council of the European Union, passing the baton over to Lithuania from 1 July. Inevitably, the economy would continue as the central issue in European policy. In this context, requests for improving the level of recognition and protection of the Catalan language in the European Union continued to be the subject of discussions and policy proposals that will be studied in the pages that follow.

And, to conclude, 2013's socio-political context cannot be summarised without mentioning, albeit briefly, the conflicts and electoral processes which formed the focus of international media interest. The bloody civil war in Syria continues in the face of the inactivity of a divided international community. On 3 July, a military coup took place in Egypt to overthrow the government of Mohammed Morsi and suspend the constitution. Meanwhile, other political events, such as the federal elections in Germany and the presidential elections held during the course of the year in Chile, Ecuador and Venezuela, plus the legislative elections in Israel and Argentina, would help create new geopolitical scenarios in their respective areas of influence. These and other developments would consolidate 2013 as a year of significant change and would continue to remodel, irrevocably, the world political stage.

2.2.2. The regulatory status of the Catalan language: regression in a context of uncertainty

Throughout 2013, the legal status of the Catalan language underwent particularly significant change, often in a negative sense, with regard to its recognition, protection and normalisation.

The study of this legal production leads to the conclusion, from the outset, that a wide range of legislative provisions, primarily of a regulatory nature, have been approved for all Catalan-speaking territories which affect, either directly or in passing, their linguistic rights. Part of this new regulatory framework has been promoted with the aim of setting the process of normalisation of the language itself and expanding the protection of the citizens' linguistic rights and responsibilities. Nevertheless, during the course of 2013, significant setbacks were encountered in this process of normalisation and in the recognition and protection of the language, articulated legally with the approval of very conflicting political and social legislative and regulatory initiatives, which this REPORT will endeavour to summarise.

This step backwards in the recognition, protection and normalisation of the Catalan language has had particular impact on territories such as Aragon, Valencia and the Balearic Islands. In the case of Aragon, 2013 saw the passing of Law 3/2013, of 9 May, regarding the use, protection and promotion of languages and linguistic modalities

pertaining to Aragon,⁴⁷ a legislative provision which, as will be carefully studied in the pages that follow, produced particularly harmful results for the recognition and legal status of Catalan in La Franja. In fact, the articles in this highly controversial law do not contain a single explicit reference to the Catalan language, changing its name through euphemistic and unscientific circumlocution "Aragonese language typical to the eastern area of the Autonomous Community" (given the acronym LAPAO). An articulation, as we have already mentioned in previous reports, of an unprecedented regression in the recognition and protection of the Catalan linguistic community in this country.

Similarly, following the trend of preceding years, 2013 was also a particularly damaging in regard to the legal status of the language in the Balearic Islands. This is because, among other initiatives closely studied in this REPORT, Decree 15/2013, of 19 April, was passed, which regulates the integrated treatment of languages in the Islands' non-university school system.⁴⁸ This decree for trilingualism would meet with strong opposition, particularly from the major education unions, parents' associations and opposition parties. It represents an unprecedented regression of the status of the native language in the area of education. In fact, it significantly reduces the use of the Catalan language during the educational period, which it is said does away with the model of linguistic immersion in force on the Islands over recent years.

There was no significant change during the course of 2013 with regard to the socio-political dynamics and the legal framework of the Catalan language in Valencia, and the trends outlined in reports from previous years would, therefore, continue. During the period being looked at, the Partido Popular Government led by Alberto Fabra has continued to implement a linguistic policy which has not always been favourable for the region's language. As examined in the pages that follow, few important legislative provisions were approved with regard to linguistic matters and conflict with the world of social activism would continue to spill over into public opinion. Notable among the initiatives that provoked the most opposition are the closure of radio and television broadcasting services dependent on the Government of Valencia and the dissolution and liquidation of Radiotelevisió Valenciana, a process legally affected through the passing of Law 4/2013, of 27 November.

In any case, for the purposes of our interests here, the study of the legislative provisions and parliamentary debates that took place in 2013 in the three regions mentioned above, demonstrate an unfavourable evolution with regard to linguistic rights in the regulatory status of the language. In fact, it can be unequivocally said, that it marked the consolidation of a massive scale offensive against the recognition and normalisation process of the language in a variety of public spheres. This process would be articulated by a number of parliamentary and governmental initiatives. The clearing of parliamentary debates held in congress during the course of 2013

47. See *Boletín Oficial de Aragón* (BOA), no. 100, of 24 March 2013.

48. See *Butlletí Oficial de les Illes Balears* (BOIB), no. 53, of 20 April 2013.

demonstrates, moreover, the irreconcilable discord on central issues with regard to any language policy. Suffice to say that, in this context, civil society would continue to assume an important role in the defence of the language. As part of this civic activism, organisations such as Obra Cultural Balear, that celebrated its fifty year anniversary in 2013, Òmnium Cultural and Acció Cultural in Valencia would continue to be particularly important in the defence of the region's own language. Likewise, on 12 December 2013, Plataforma per la Llengua celebrated its 20th anniversary with commemorative acts that lasted until 2014. It is worth noting that different acts were held in 2013 in honour of Martí Gasull, the founding member and main driving force behind the entity. Among these acts, of particular note is the tribute paid to him at the National Theatre of Catalonia and the posthumous award of the Medalla d'Or al Mèrit Cultural (Cultural Merit Award) by the Barcelona City Council. In the case of Juristes en Defensa de la Llengua Pròpia, their defence of the language in 2013 would be recognised with an honorary award from the Government of Catalonia's Ministry of Justice.

And with regard to Catalonia, the regulatory production affecting the status of its own language has been rather meagre. The period studied coincides with the first year of a particularly tumultuous x legislature, with the right to decide as the central focus of political and parliamentary debate. No legislative provision would be approved during the course of the year within the scope of the law that would impact on the legal status of the language. Instead, a number of regulatory legislative provisions were passed promoting the normalisation of its own language. Suffice to say, linked with this normalisation process, 2013 was to mark the thirtieth anniversary of the Parliamentary approval of the first law for Catalan language normalisation, the famous Law 7/1983, of 18 April.

That said, although the Catalan legislative production affecting the linguistic rights was on the limited side, that does not mean that it was not a focus of political and media interest. On the contrary, throughout the course of 2013, it would become the subject of particular interest as a result of the passing of Organic Law 8/2013 of 9 December, for the improvement of the quality of education,⁴⁹ also known as the Wert Law or LOMCE, the legislative initiative that formed the cornerstone of an unprecedented legal offensive against the linguistic model in Catalan schools. It consolidates the seventh reform of an educational organic law in the democracy.

This direct attack on the linguistic set of models in schools would be consolidated just as the model comes into its thirtieth year of existence. First coming into effect under Law 7/1983, of 18 April, over the decades it has become established as one of the cornerstones of the linguistic process of normalisation in Catalonia, the backbone par excellence of its legal-linguistic regime. This circumstance explains the overwhelming political and social response to the regulation, a response coming in the main through action from the educational community which, throughout the course of

49. See BOE, Catalan language supplement to no. 295, of 10 December 2013.

the year, would become the focus of political and media interest and the process would be well-documented in the archives.

For the purposes of our interests here, Organic Law 8/2013 of 9 December, for the improvement of the quality of education, makes several explicit references to the language throughout its articles. More specifically, references can be found in Articles 6 *bis*.3, 6 *bis*.4, 18.4, 19.4, 20.5, 24.5, 25.7, 26.6, 28.2, 28.9, 29.3, 34.2, 34 *bis*.5, 34 *ter*.5, 36.5, 36 *bis*.2, 42.4.a.4, 42.5, additional provisions 38 and 39 and final provision third epigraph 1 of Organic Law 6/2006, of 3 May, on education, in the section reformed by the new LOMCE. The study of this new legal framework paints a bleak picture for the status of the Catalan language and other co-official languages used in the education system. For the purposes of our interests here, this constituted an unprecedented attack against the established linguistic model in Catalan schools. An attack that would continue throughout 2013, centred around a number of legal resolutions emerging from the court rooms of the ordinary jurisdiction administrative bodies - Supreme Court and the High Court of Justice of Catalonia - that would continue to argue against it based on a clearly restrictive interpretation of the Constitutional Court Ruling 31/2010, of 28 June, on the Statute.

That said, the legislative production of Spain with regard to linguistic issues would, once again, be very thin on the ground. As highlighted in previous reports, the recognition of legal multilingualism remains an outstanding issue and one without a clear agenda. An appraisal of the legislative provisions published in the *Boletín Oficial del Estado* (Official Bulletin of the State) throughout the course of 2013 reveals that there had been no relevant new developments in linguistic rights that year. In fact, during this period, few legislative provisions were passed in the legal area affecting the legal status of the languages. An example is provided by Law 22/2013, of 22 December, on the General State Budget for 2014. Its additional provision 51, entitled "Priority patronage activities" included, among other provisions, for patronage activities concerning "the promotion and dissemination of the official languages of the different territories of Spain carried out by the relevant institutions of the Autonomous Communities with their own official language" to be considered priority. Other state laws included explicit or passing references to the language interspersed throughout their articles. This is the case of Law 19/2013, of 9 December, on transparency, access to public information and good governance.⁵⁰ Article 29, entitled "disciplinary offences" included, as a very serious offence, any action involving discrimination based on language. With regard to labelling, different regulatory provisions were approved in 2013 that continue to prescribe the use of Spanish, often using the expression "*in Spanish at least*" in their wording.⁵¹

⁵⁰ . See [BOE, Catalan language supplement to no. 295, of 10 December 2013.](#)

⁵¹ . This is the case in the following regulations, which serve as a representative example of them all:

- Decree 234/2013 of 5 April, which establishes the norms for applying (EU) Regulation no. 66/2010 of the European Parliament and the Council, of 25 November 2009, related to the ecological labelling of the European Union. Repeals

Meanwhile, the Official State Gazette published during 2013 included a number of regulatory standards addressing, interspersed in a tangential manner throughout their articles, various provisions affecting linguistic matters. These ensured progress in admittedly very specific areas. Some indicative examples of this can be drawn from the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport Resolutions of 12 April 2013, in which subsidies were announced for the promotion of translation into foreign languages;⁵² of 15 March 2013, in which competitive tendering subsidies were announced for book publication;⁵³ and of 20 February 2013, in which subsidies were announced for the publication of cultural magazines.⁵⁴ All these state announcements included a reference to the co-official regional languages of the Autonomous Communities. With regard to other provisions of a regulatory nature approved throughout the year, use of the Spanish language continued to be imposed in different public spheres, overlooking the plurilingual nature of the State.⁵⁵

With regard to the field of administration of justice, this year it proved itself yet again to be one of the least receptive public areas to the presence of the Catalan language. In fact, during the course of 2013, new statistics were published on linguistic use in the judicial field, provided by the Justice Department of the Government of Catalonia, which show that in 2012 only 12.7% of the rulings made by Catalonia's jurisdictional bodies were written in Catalan. This figure represents a decline in the use

Royal Decree 598/1994 of 8 April, which did not establish any obligations with regards to labelling. From now on, labelling must be in the official language of the European Union. If labelling is included in Catalan, then it must also be provided in Spanish.

- Royal Decree 506/2013 of 28 June, on fertiliser products. Repeals Royal Decree 824/2005 of 8 July, and forces companies to label products at least in Spanish.
- Law 10/2013 of 24 July, which incorporates EU Directives 2010/84/EU of the European Parliament and the Council, of 15 December 2010, on pharmacovigilance, and 2011/62/EU of the European Parliament and the Council, of 8 June 2011, on the prevention of falsified medicinal products entering the legal supply chain, and Law 29/2006 of 26 July is modified, related to guarantees and the rational use of medical and health products. Article 15 is modified, including an obligation to label in Spanish.

Royal decree 781/2013, of 11 October, establishing norms related to the elaborating, composition, labelling, presentation and advertising of fruit juices and other similar products for human consumption. It underlines the obligation to label at least in Spanish.

⁵² . Its first Article provides for subsidies granted by competitive tendering for the year 2013 to cover the cost of translation into foreign languages "of literary or scientific works originally published in Spanish or any of the co-official languages of the Autonomous Communities".

⁵³ . Its first Article deals with the announcement of subsidies "for book publishing projects in Spanish language or in the co-official languages of the Autonomous Communities, regardless of the publishing medium and the nationality of the author, which contributes to enriching Spanish bibliographic heritage".

⁵⁴ . Its first Article deals with the announcement of subsidies "to promote the publication of those cultural magazines that contribute to enriching Spanish bibliographic heritage, written in Spanish or in the co-official languages of the Autonomous Communities".

⁵⁵ . See the following legal dispositions as an example:

Royal decree 116/2013 of 15 February, regulating the issuing of provisional passports and safe-conduct.

Order SSI/304/2013 of 19 of February, on substances for water treatment for the production of water for human consumption.

Order ECD/760/2013 of 26 April, which establishes the requirements for issuing certificates within the Erasmus Mundus programme.

Order IET/1311/2013 of 9 July, approving the Regulations for using the radio-electric public domain for radio enthusiasts.

of the region's own language in the administration of justice, which, since 2004, when it reached 20.6%, has continued to drop until reaching its lowest level in 2012.

In the regulatory plan, several provisions were approved that continue to value the knowledge of the official, native language of the place where services are being provided as an advantage in the assignment of positions. As an example indicative of all, this is the case of Order JUS/2239/2013, of 26 November, which calls for specific applications for the provision of jobs with regard to the Body of Judicial Secretaries⁵⁶ and Order JUS/1959/2013, of 17 October, which announces a selection process for entry to the Process and Administrative Management Body of the Justice Administration via the general free-admission system and the admission and internal promotion system.⁵⁷ Thus, during the year 2013, the Spanish State did not put forward any regulatory reform with the aim of complying with the recommendations made by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on 24 October 2012 in relation to the monitoring of Spain's implementation of the commitments made through the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. For the purposes of what we are looking at here, we should remember, in these recommendations on 24 October 2012, the Committee of Ministers were completing the third cycle of monitoring the agreement and clearly highlighted the limitations of the regulatory framework in Spain and its lack of action and willingness to cooperate in a number of areas, particularly judiciary. More specifically, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe made several recommendations to the Spanish authorities to ensure compliance with the commitments made through the ratification of the agreement, including requiring it to modify the judicial framework to specifically ensure that, in the Autonomous Communities, the judicial, criminal, civil and administrative authorities process procedures in the co-official languages at the request of one of the parties. Spain was also required to take the necessary legal and practical measures to ensure that an appropriate proportion of judicial staff performing functions in the Autonomous Communities in which Article 9 of the Charter is applicable, have an adequate knowledge of the regional or minority languages covered by the agreement for the performance of their professional duties. No regulatory reform was implemented to this end during the course of 2013.

That said, linguistic regulation would, throughout 2013 continue to follow the trends of preceding years, continue to be the focus of heated debate in Spanish Parliament, particularly in the context of the functions of government action promotion and control with which a parliamentary system is entrusted. A variety of questions, motions and interpellations were formulated, as well as non-legislative proposals submitted, which brought different linguistic rights-related issues into the Parliamentary Chamber for debate. This is the case of the committee hearing application to the Minister of Education, Culture and Sports submitted by the Grup

56. See BOE, no. 288, of 2 December 2013.

57. See BOE, no. 255, of 24 October 2013.

Parlamentari Mixt (Mixed Parliamentary Group) to discuss "how the Government plans to safeguard the Catalan education model, a successful model praised by the European Union",⁵⁸ the non-legislative proposition regarding the Council of Official Languages put forward by the Grup Parlamentari Socialista (Socialist Parliamentary Group);⁵⁹ or, as an example indicative of all, the questions to the Government regarding the planned measures for compliance with that approved in the European Parliament with respect to the Report on European languages under threat of disappearance and linguistic diversity in the European Union,⁶⁰ and questions about the implementation of the Trilingualism Decree in Balearic Island schools,⁶¹ and with regard to ensuring the application of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in Aragon.⁶² Meanwhile, within the context of the debate on the reform of the Regulation by Spanish Congress, the use of co-official languages in the Parliamentary Chamber would once again be called for.

During the course of the year, various initiatives would continue being formulated in order to promote the recognition and improve the legal protection of the Catalan language in the European Union. While its legal effect would be rather limited, most of these initiatives served to once again emphasise the demand for improvement in the regulative status of the language at a European level. This is the case, for example, of the initiative approved at the headquarters of the European Parliamentary Committee on Culture, aimed at promoting the learning of minority languages under threat of disappearance from the earliest levels of education, among which Catalan is listed. The proposal follows on from a report on linguistic diversity in the European Union produced by European Parliament Member, François Alfonsi, affiliated to the Partitu Nazione di Corsa, which was unanimously passed with amendments by various political groups.⁶³ This report is the result of a debate involving the participation of experts from UNESCO and other organisations, notable among which is the Network to Promote Language Diversity (NPLD), of which the Government of Catalonia is a part. The work explicitly recognises multilingualism "as a source of wealth and an expression of the diversity of Europe" and calls for funding for the period of 2014-2020 to support endangered languages. On 11 September 2013, members of the European Parliament would emphasise the importance of protecting the linguistic heritage of the European Union through the approval of the European Parliament Resolution on Endangered European languages and Linguistic Diversity in the European Union.⁶⁴ Suffice to say that this initiative, adopted at the Community institution headquarters, was approved in 2013, the very same year that Croatian, which is spoken by half as many people as

58. See *Diario de Sesiones del Congreso de los Diputados*, no. 323, of 22 May 2013.

59. See *Boletín Oficial de las Cortes Generales (BOCG)*. Congreso de los Diputados, series D, no. 142, of 11 September 2012. See also *Diario de Sesiones del Congreso de los Diputados*, no. 281, of 12 March 2013.

60. See BOCG. Congreso de los Diputados, series D, no. 368, of 2 December 2013.

61. See BOCG. Congreso de los Diputados, series D, no. 350, of 30 October 2013.

62. See BOCG. Congreso de los Diputados, series D, no. 209 of 24 January 2013.

63. See *Rapport sur les langues européennes menacées de disparition et la diversité linguistique au sein de l'Union européenne*, of 26 June 2013.

64. The resolution in its complete form is available online at <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=TA&reference=P7-TA-2013-0350&language=FR&ring=A7-2013-0239>.

Catalan, was included as the ninth official language of the European Union. This can be explained by the fact that on 1 July 2013, the European Union increased its number of Member States to twenty-eight, with the inclusion of Croatia.

Finally, the European Parliament would become, once more, the propitious venue for debate and reporting on situations related to the treatment of linguistic diversity in the Catalan-speaking territories. A good indicative example of this are the questions formalised throughout 2013 by several MEPs, requesting a written response from the Commission. The question posed on 2 September 2013 is of particular note with regard to the closure of a Twitter account belonging to an activist in favour of the use of the Catalan language in education in Valencia⁶⁵, and the question asked on 13 November 2013 concerning the closure of *Canal 9* and the consequent reduction in Catalan language television programming.⁶⁶

And to conclude this brief summary of events taking place at a supranational level, it should be noted that in 2013, PEN Català, the Catalan branch of PEN International, received the 34th Peace Prize which have been awarded by the United Nations Association of Spain (ANUE) on an annual basis since 1980. Among the organisation's activities, this award recognised its work relating to the defence of linguistic rights.

That said, we will now move on to briefly look at the main regulatory provisions, laws and regulations influencing the legal status of the Catalan language, listing them by territory.

2.2.3. Catalan legal status by territory

Andorra

There were no significant changes in the regulatory status of the Catalan language in the Principality of Andorra in 2013. In fact, few influential regulatory provisions were approved, either direct or tangential, in its legal-linguistic system.

With regard to legislative provisions, the passing of Law 12/2013 of 13 June on trade deserves a mention.⁶⁷ It included a number of linguistic provisions among its Articles. More specifically, we find explicit references to the use of the Catalan language in Articles 32, 34.2 and 107.5. The first of these provisions regulates the language of registered business names. It establishes that a trade name can only be registered in the Register of Commerce and Industry of the Principality of Andorra if it meets certain requisites contained in the provision, among which it considers the situation of it being made up of "words, including personal names, pertaining to the

65. See the parliamentary question and written response at <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=WQ&reference=E-2013-009805&format=XML&language=ES>.

66. See the parliamentary question and written response at <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=WQ&reference=E-2013-012860&format=XML&language=ES>.

67. See *Butlletí Oficial del Principat d'Andorra* (BOPA), no. 32, of 10 July 2013.

Catalan language" and even, among other circumstances, being made up of "words formed by letters of the Catalan alphabet".⁶⁸ Article 34.2 of the same legal provision, entitled "Signs that can be used to constitute business signage", describes how the signs regulated by the provision may be accompanied by "words or phrases in Catalan that refer to the activity carried out in the establishment".⁶⁹ Finally, Article 107.5 of the Law establishes that a breach of the requisites set out in the regulations "referring to the signs and language of the commercial names and business signage" would lead to all physical media on which the signs that violate these requirements are reproduced, having to be withdrawn from the public arena.

With regard to regulatory standards, the approval of the Decree of 24 April on the regulation governing invoicing obligations is worth mentioning.⁷⁰ For the purposes of what we are looking at here, Article 10 of this Decree, entitled "Currency and language of invoices or substituting documents" stipulates that invoices "can be issued in any language" adding, however, that the Ministry responsible for finance "may request, in the event it is deemed necessary, for invoices issued in a language that is non-official to the Principality of Andorra to be translated into Catalan in the event of any act of verification being required on the tax situation of the business owner or professional".

In addition to this regulatory production influencing the linguistic rights of the Principality in 2013, various government initiatives were also adopted and are worthy of a mention with regard to their role in promoting linguistic normalisation.

This is the case, for example, of the publication of the level C Catalan examination details for school students approved by the Government;⁷¹ and the formulation of the Strategic Plan for the Renewal and Improvement of the Andorran education system promoted as an initiative of the Ministry of Education and Youth.⁷² Among other contents, this Strategic Plan included several provisions in the area of language through the explanation that its linguistic and communicative approach was designed with the aim of enhancing the knowledge of diverse languages and cultures and facilitating the personal and professional development of the students within the Andorran education system. Despite this, it warns that the education system needs to contribute decisively to the transmission of those cultural elements that are native and specific to Andorran society.

With regard to linguistic knowledge, we can also note that in March 2013, the Minister of Culture, Albert Esteve, and sociologist Estel Margarit presented the study *L'escenari sociolingüístic de la població escolar d'Andorra* (*The Sociolinguistic Situation Among Schoolchildren in Andorra*), for the 2011-2012 academic year. Produced by the same researcher with support from the Centre for Research and Sociological Studies

68. See article 32.a and 32.b of the Law.

69. See article 34.2.a of the Law.

70. See BOPA, no. 21, of 8 May 2013.

71. Available online at <http://www.educacio.ad/examens-oficials/prova-de-llengua-catalana-de-nivell-c-per-a-escolars>.

72. See http://www.educacio.ad/images/stories/sistemes/PlaEstrategic/Inf_MarcCurricular_oct13.pdf.

(CRES) at the Institute of Andorran Studies, the study is based on the responses of 2,551 students aged between 12 and 16 across the three education systems. Among other content, it reveals that the language most commonly used by students - either exclusively or combined with other languages - is Catalan with 58%, the majority of the subjects being bilingual. Catalan is also the language most widely spoken within the family, 49% of the study using it with parents and 64% with siblings. With regard to the school environment, this dominance continued (with 76% speaking Catalan with classmates and 84% with their teachers and support staff). The study also showed that the school population stresses the benefits of promoting the language's use. With regard to identifying the elements that define Andorran identity, speaking Catalan ranked third, behind having being born in Andorra or having lived there from a young age, and ahead of having Andorran nationality.

Meanwhile, other initiatives were formulated and promoted that were influential, either directly or in passing, on the process of normalisation of the language. This is the case of the Language Volunteers Programme in operation; the approval, by the Council of Ministers, of various subsidies and grants for cultural projects, some of which impacted on the area of linguistics, such as the Lídia Armengol Vila Grant for linguistic or sociolinguistic research studies based on the Catalan language of Andorra; and the call for entries for the 2013 Carlemany Prize for the Promotion of Reading, the basis of which stipulate that only works written in Catalan are eligible for the award, which is included in the list of requisites detailed in the call for entries.

Also, in January 2013, the Andorran Government approved two applications for aptitude tests to be taken for certain regulated professions. The first, an initiative from the Ministry of Economy and Planning, was a call for an aptitude test to be undertaken to hold the position of real estate agent and manager in the Principality. In compliance with the applicable regulations, the application required the test to be conducted in Catalan and would test knowledge of a variety of subjects, including knowledge of the Catalan language. The second, an initiative from the Ministry of Justice and the Interior, is another call for testing in order to obtain a professional qualification in legal sworn translation and interpretation in Andorra. This last application included a test assessment on law, on administrative and legal language and on Catalan.

At a more politological level, on 2 April 2013 Andorra hosted a historic visit, welcoming the United Nations Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon. For the purposes of our interests here, he began his speech by addressing the audience in a few words of Catalan, referring explicitly to "your ancient language". A few months later, on 2 August, the twelfth Campus Universitari de la Llengua Catalana in Comú d'Ordino concluded. This Campus Universitari, begun on 22 July in Girona and organised by the Institut Ramon Llull and the Andorran Government, would, for another year, provide a space for the dissemination of the native language. Finally, in conclusion, it is also worth mentioning that, on 14 November 2013, the Auditori Nacional d'Andorra provided the venue for the Fundació Ramon Llull to celebrate their international

awards ceremony aimed at the recognition of people and institutions outside the linguistic domain who had worked for the international promotion of Catalan language and culture.⁷³

Aragon

On 9 May 2013, the Plenary Session of the Parliament of Aragon approved, with votes in favour cast by the Partido Popular and the Partido Aragonés Regionalista,⁷⁴ a new Aragonese law on language, that was particularly damaging to the legal status of Catalan in La Franja. Passed as Law 3/2013, of 9 May, regarding the use, protection and promotion of languages and linguistic modalities native to Aragon.⁷⁵ It would meet with extensive political and social dissent, dissent that would end up reflected in various political, parliamentary and jurisdictional initiatives. Much of this criticism had already been aired in 2012, during the month of the controversial parliamentary proceedings for the bill put forward by the Partido Popular Government Executive presided over by Luisa Fernanda Rudi. Suffice to say that, in her introductory speech delivered on 15 July 2011 in the Parliament of Aragon, she stated her Government's intention to submit "a Bill for the reform the current Language Law" to Parliament, that "would repeal those aspects of the current law that impose the so-called normalisation of Catalan and Aragonese".

Firstly, the title of the regulation itself, "regarding the use, protection and promotion of languages" lends this legislative provision an air of implausibility. For the purposes of what we are looking at here, the law did not provide, in any of its articles, a single explicit reference to the Catalan language, rather referring to it euphemistically with the invention of an arbitrary and unscientific name: LAPAO, 'Aragonese language typical to the eastern area of the Autonomous Community'.⁷⁶ The regulation also provided for the creation of an Aragonese Academy of Language that could establish its own rules and grammar for the Catalan spoken in Aragon, as if it were a different language.⁷⁷

There would be widespread criticism of this invective policy from a range of political and social sectors, seeing it as an unprecedented piece of nonsense in the area of comparative law. A number of initiatives were adopted to challenge and fight it both legally and politically. The first to be noted consisted of the lodging of an appeal of

73. At this second awards ceremony, prizes were awarded to the British Catalan supporter Max Wheeler, Jaume Cabré's translator into Italian, Stefano Ciminelli, and the Armenian-born, North American flutist, Sato Moughalian, for his role in the Montsalvatge Centennial.

74. The law was passed with 64 votes in favour and 37 against.

75. See BOA, no. 100, of 24 May 2013.

76. Article 5 is unpublished. Entitled "Zones of use of native languages and linguistic modalities" it establishes that, in addition to Spanish, the language used throughout the Autonomous Community, for the purposes of this Act there exists in Aragon "a) A historic zone of predominant use of the Aragonese language typical to the Pyrenees and Pre-Pyrenees of the Autonomous Community, with its linguistic modalities. b) A historic zone of predominant use of the Aragonese language typical to the eastern area of the Autonomous Community, with its linguistic modalities".

77. See article 7 of the Law.

unconstitutionality before the Constitutional Court. Led by the Member of Parliament for the Esquerra Plural Party, Chesús Yuste, it would have the backing of over fifty members of almost all the parliamentary groups of the opposition: PSOE, IU, ICV-EUIA, CHA, Izquierda Plural, Català (CiU) and the Grup Mixt.⁷⁸ The appeal would be addressed by the Plenary Session of the Constitutional Court by the provision of 24 September 2013.⁷⁹

With regard to civic and academic action, various media statements were formulated and presented from a variety of fields criticising the content and scope of the law throughout the course of 2013. For the purposes of what we are looking at here, the criticisms were oriented in three main directions: firstly, there was strong criticism of the improper and misleading term used to identify the Catalan language (with the unscientific circumlocution, LAPAO) to undermine its unified status; secondly, objections were made regarding the Law's negligible protective function in relation to the Catalan linguistic community of La Franja; and finally, a number of statements also criticised the configuration and functions of the new Aragonese Academy of Language detailed in the provision.

Notable among these critical statements, as an example indicative of all, were those made by the Governing Board of the University of Zaragoza,⁸⁰ the Societat Catalana de Sociolingüística (Catalan Society of Sociolinguistics),⁸¹ the Consell Social de la Llengua Catalana (Board of the Social Council of the Catalan Language);⁸² Governing Board of the International Association of Catalan Language and Literature;⁸³ the Summit of Mayors of Municipalities in La Franja;⁸⁴ the Vives Network General Council;⁸⁵ the Philological Division of the Institute for Catalan Studies;⁸⁶ and the manifesto of the international scientific community led by the public cultural association, Rolde de Estudios Aragoneses.⁸⁷

From a more political quarter, criticisms of the Law were formulated in different scenarios, starting with the Parliament of Aragon, where a number of parliamentary initiatives were launched. A good example of the criticisms put forward by the opposition came during the debate on the status of the Autonomous Community held

78. The measure was widely covered by the media. The Member of Parliament for the Esquerra Plural, Chesús Yuste; President of the Chunta Aragonesista, José Luis Soro; Socialist Senator, José María Becán and regional coordinator of the IU, Adolfo Barrena, were responsible for bringing the proceedings before the Constitutional Court.

79. See BOE, no. 240, of 7 October 2013, p. 81907.

80. See document *Adhesión del Consejo de Gobierno de la Universidad de Zaragoza a la Declaración sobre la Ley 3/2013 del 9 de mayo, de uso, promoción y protección de las lenguas y modalidades lingüísticas de Aragón*.

81. See <http://blogs.iec.cat/socs/wp-content/uploads/sites/18/2013/07/Declaraci%C3%B3SOCS-final.pdf>.

82. See *Declaració adoptada per la Comissió Permanent del Consell Social de la Llengua Catalana reunida el 13 de juny de 2013*.

83. Declaration available online at http://www20.gencat.cat/docs/Llengcat/Documents/CatDeclaracions/2013_juny_AILLC_marginacio_cat.pdf.

84. For further information on the summit and contents of the concessions, see <http://www.324.cat/noticia/2127974/societat/Alcaldes-de-la-Franja-reclamen-que-es-derogui-la-Llei-de-Llengues-i-reclamen-que-continui-l'ensenyament-en-catala>.

85. See <http://www.vives.org/ca/blog/2013/05/10/comunicat-de-la-xarxa-vives-sobre-la-denominacio-del-catala-a-la-nova-llei-de-llengues-darago>.

86. See http://www.iec.cat/activitats/noticiasencera.asp?id_noticies=827.

87. See <http://www.roldeestudiosaragoneses.org/manifiesto-de-la-comunidad-cientifica-internacional-a-favor-del-reconocimiento-y-dignificacion-de-las-lenguas-minoritarias-de-aragon-93>.

in the Plenary Sessions from 17 to 19 July 2013.⁸⁸ From the Catalan side, the adoption of Resolution 501/X of the Parliament of Catalonia, is worthy of note, renouncing the improper reference to the Catalan language and promoting the use and prestige of Catalan in Aragon⁸⁹ that underlines the critical arguments that had already been expressed in the statement released by the Government of Catalonia Committee of Spokespersons on the unity of the language adopted a few months earlier.⁹⁰

Inevitably, these debates about the nature and scope of the law have also ended up being reflected in Spanish Parliament, the focus of a number of parliamentary initiatives, particularly in the context of the functions of impulse and control of government action, with which a parliamentary system is entrusted. This is the case, by way of an indicative example, of the question put to the Government by the GIP Member of Parliament, Chesús Yuste, on 21 February 2013, regarding the Government's planned measures for compliance with the commitments made through the agreement of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, in the light of the modification of the law on Aragonese languages.⁹¹

Catalonia

2013 marked the first year of the x Parliamentary legislature. Indeed, on 17 December 2012, the constitutive session of the new Parliament took place, constituted according to the results of the early elections, held on 25 November. A new parliamentary term thus began and, by extension, a new political cycle in the Principality which would be influenced by a process of historical significance: the political campaign surrounding the Catalan people's right to decide, which, during the course of 2013, would form the focus of a variety of governmental and parliamentary initiatives of special legal and political relevance, summarised in the pages above. It is worth highlighting that one of the topics to be widely debated within this process of political calls for independence is the linguistic model of a future State⁹².

88. An example of this, which is indicative of all, is the speech made by the member of the Chunta Aragonesista parliamentary group Mr. Soro Domingo, when he proclaimed "And unfortunately for us, unfortunately for the Aragon people, the Aragonese Partido Popular represents the most hard-line wing of the Spanish PP, represents its most reactionary and intransigent wing. Yes, Mrs Rudi, *mire, estió muito esclatero cuan dispreziaron as nuestras luengas, l'aragonés e o catalán, en ista mesma cambra*. I just told her that they have demonstrated that through the disregard shown in this Chamber for our languages, Aragonese and Catalan, they have demonstrated that they are the most reactionary, the most intransigent of the Partido Popular in the whole of Spain". See *Diario de Sesiones de las Cortes de Aragón*, no. 55, of 17, 18 and 19 July 2013.

89. Initiative published in *BOPC*, no. 83, of 21 May 2013. Adopted by the Committee on Culture and Language in the session held on 30 January 2014, see *BOPC*, no.261, of 17 February 2014.

90. See http://www.parlament.cat/actualitat/actes/17.Decla_catala.pdf.

91. See *BOCG. Congreso de los Diputados*, series D, no. 237, of 12 March 2013, p. 172.

92. 2013 has seen a steady flow of public debates, articles, conferences and forums on the subject of the linguistic model. It is worth highlighting in particular the initiatives and debates of Qüestions d'Estat, which can be consulted online at <http://www.questionsdestat.cat/> of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans and Òmnium Cultural. While most of the debates took place in 2013, the final conclusions were not presented until 2014. It is also worth highlighting the Clauer initiative <http://www.elclauer.cat/> started up by many organisations. Contemporaneously, a group of experts from the Government also debated this question in different meetings.

That said, by studying the regulatory bulk influencing language matters the conclusion could be drawn that, in 2013, Catalan linguistic rights did not undergo any significant change. Firstly, no legislative provision would be passed as law that would impact on the legal status of the language.⁹³ Instead, a number of regulatory legislative provisions were approved - Decrees, Orders and Resolutions - the majority of which, as we will now see, would seek to promote the process of normalisation of the Catalan language, even including certain linguistic provisions in very specific circumstances.

This impetus in the normalisation process of the language would take place in conjunction with the commemoration of thirty years of Parliament's passing of the first law on the normalisation of the Catalan language, the high profile Law 7/1983, of April 18. Approved unanimously, it would become a key regulatory instrument in the history of the Catalan language. In its fourteen years of existence, it would articulate the process of the language's successful normalisation in different areas of public life. The year marking its thirtieth anniversary, as agreed by the Executive Council chaired by Artur Mas held on 15 October, The Government of Catalonia's Gold Medal would posthumously be awarded to Minister of Culture, Max Cahner, in recognition of his efforts towards the establishment of the regulation.

Meanwhile, 2013 would also see the centenary celebration of the publication of the *Rules of Orthography* by the Institute for Catalan Studies, which forms the basis of modern written Catalan and the current regulation of Catalan throughout all the Catalan-speaking territories. Within this commemorative context, a variety of policy initiatives would be promoted by the Government of Catalonia aimed at the promotion and normalisation of the use of its own language.

At a more politological level, it is important to emphasise the guidelines laid out in the Urgent Measures Plan formulated by the Ministry of Culture that Minister Ferran Mascarell would present on 6 February 2013 in a parliamentary hearing at the headquarters for the Commission on Culture and Language. In the words of the Minister, in a context of systematic attacks on the regulatory status of the Catalan language,⁹⁴ the Government of Catalonia would prioritise the promotion of Catalan as a language of prestige and of culture. In order to facilitate this, it would announce the intention to continue deploying language policy across a variety of agendas. More specifically, Ferran Mascarell would announce the explicit wish of the Executive to promote "an agenda for language in support of an efficient state, an agenda to strengthen international promotion and a specific agenda for Europe; an agenda to

93. In fact, in 2013, the Parliament of Catalonia only approved one law: Law 1/2013, of 16 July, on the tax rate applicable to onerous patrimonial transfers of real estate assets published in *DOGC*, no. 6422, of 22 July 2013.

94. In the exact words of the Minister's Parliamentary speech, Catalan "has been subjected to numerous systematic attacks by the State throughout history; rarely, however, has it been subjected to such a massive and systematic barrage of messages interwoven into such a negative and often cynical framework on Catalan. The State's oppositional attitude to Catalan is expressed through the statements made by certain leading politicians such as, "make Catalonia more Spanish", with the Spanish language as the leading force. They try to divide Catalan society, try to isolate Catalonia from the rest of the linguistic community, they try to counter Catalan with Spanish. There is no possible positive outcome from all this. We Catalans know that the Catalan language is a fundamental part of our identity, we are well aware of the value of linguistic diversity and plurality, we know that Spanish is part of our own heritage and we will never - in Catalonia, we will never do - that which, by the Spanish State, has so often been done to Catalan". See *Diari de Sessions del Parlament de Catalunya* (DSPC), series C, number 23, of 6 February 2013, p. 10-11.

strengthen institutional cooperation with the Catalan-speaking territories; an agenda to strengthen the association of values of prestige and quality with the language [...]; an agenda for the language to be known to everyone and welcomed by everyone [...]; an agenda towards Catalan becoming the language used by all citizens and for everyone [...]; an agenda to widen the use of Catalan among the young in sport and leisure; an agenda to promote the use of Catalan in the digital world, drawing on the power of the internet and social networks [...]; an agenda for increasing the presence of Catalan in the corporate sector - in the areas of consumerism, tourism, cinema and the digital environment; an agenda to increase the production of films in Catalan and its consumers [...]; an agenda to increase the use of Catalan in the legal and judicial environments, and two more specific agendas: one towards the knowledge and use of sign language, which is a commitment of this Parliament, and one for the promotion of the knowledge and the use of Occitan and Aranese in the Aran Valley, which is also a commitment of this Parliament and our country as a whole".⁹⁵ At the same hearing, Ferran Mascarell would announce the Government's commitment to collaborate with institutions such as the Social Council for the Catalan Language, the Institute for Catalan Studies, universities and sister institutions within the linguistic domain.

These priorities on the Government agenda would be reflected in a variety of government initiatives which, throughout the course of 2013, would promote the normalisation process of the language in various fields. Many of these initiatives would focus on legal recourse in two fundamental areas of action: firstly, through the Government's public funding activities; secondly, through the signing of agreements and other collaborative instruments.

With regard to public funding activity, the Official Gazette published by the Government of Catalonia throughout the year would publish an extensive catalogue of public notices for grant and subsidy applications. Firstly, this information does not provide any relevant new development and continues the trend seen in the Autonomous Community regulative production of previous years. In fact, the policy for normalisation and promotion of the Catalan language formulated by the Government of Catalonia in recent years has been directed, primarily, through public funding activity that, in a context of persistent economic crisis and major budgetary constraints, has ended up establishing itself as a basic instrument of promoting public policy, not only in the linguistic and cultural areas, but also in the economic and social fields.

This public funding activity regarding linguistic matters would cover a range of different public areas and would address a variety of recipients, which also included the Catalan communities living outside the region. With regard to the latter, it is worthwhile mentioning, as an indicative example, Resolution PRE/1451/2013, of 2 July⁹⁶ and Resolution PRE/2565/2013, of 25 November,⁹⁷ on the publication of grants

95. See *DSPC, series C, no. 23, of 6 February 2013, p.11.*

96. See *DOGC, no. 6411, of 5 July 2013.*

for activities which promote and disseminate information on Catalonia, its culture, the Catalan language, and welfare benefits, supporting the recent emigration and operation of Catalan communities outside the region for the year 2013.

The Government's public funding activity directed towards the field of audiovisual activities is equally noteworthy. During the course of 2013, the *Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya* (Official Gazette of the Government of Catalonia) published public notices for grant and subsidies aimed at normalising the use of the Catalan language in different sectors such as film, television, radio and digital information media. Thus, with regard to cinema, a noteworthy, indicative example is provided by Resolution CLT/904/2013, of 18 April, which publicises the Agreement of the Board of the Office of Support for Cultural Initiatives, calling for grant applications, through non-competitive tendering, for initiatives aimed at increasing commercial releases of feature films dubbed or subtitled in Catalan for the year 2013;⁹⁸ Resolution CLT/1399/2013, of 18 June, calling for subsidy applications, by means of non-competitive and transitional tendering, for the production of feature films;⁹⁹ Resolution CLT/1400/2013, of 18 June, calling for subsidy applications, by means of non-competitive and transitional tendering, to promote industrial efficiency derived from the exploitation and distribution of feature films;¹⁰⁰ or the indicative example of Resolution CLT/1206/2013, of 31 May, which provides for the publicising of the Agreement of the Administrative Board of the Catalan Institute for the Cultural Industries, by which the specific rules governing the awarding of grants in the audiovisual sector were approved.¹⁰¹ All the notices mentioned reflect the linguistic issue in the terms being examined.

With regard to television and radio, the use of Catalan was also promoted through grants and subsidies. Resolutions PRE/1337/2013¹⁰² and PRE/1338/2013¹⁰³ of 20 June are both good examples of this, providing notice of the awarding of structural subsidies to privately-owned television and radio stations broadcasting in Catalan or Aranese in 2013.

That said, the Government of Catalonia's public funding activity was also, once again, directed towards the areas of periodicals and news media in Catalan. This was demonstrated, in legal terms, through the approval of resolutions such as Resolution PRE/1339/2013 of 20 June, calling for applications for structural grants to print periodical publications in Catalan or Aranese in 2013;¹⁰⁴ Resolution PRE/223/2013 of 11 February, which publicises the subsidies awarded by the Presidential Department for projects that promote and consolidate the use of Catalan in communication for

97. See DOGC, no. 6518, of 10 December 2013.

98. See DOGC, no. 6372, of 9 May 2013.

99. See DOGC, no. 6407, of 1 July 2013.

100. See DOGC, no. 6407, of 1 July 2013.

101. See DOGC, no. 6392, of 7 June 2013.

102. See DOGC, no. 6403, of 25 June 2013.

103. See DOGC, no. 6403, of 25 June 2013.

104. See DOGC, no. 6403, of 25 June 2013.

private print periodical publishing companies;¹⁰⁵ and, by way of indicative example, Resolution PRE/1340/2013 of 20 June calling for applications for structural subsidies to privately-owned Catalan and Aranese digital news media in 2013.¹⁰⁶

And still in the area of public funding activity, that aimed at publishing production in Catalan is also worthy of special note. In fact, during the course of 2013, numerous subsidies and grants were announced for literary production, covering a variety of recipients and promoting different aspects. This is the case of the subsidies awarded by the Association of Catalan Language Publishers, approved by Resolution CLT/2456/2013 of 8 November;¹⁰⁷ the public funding for both Resolutions CLT/1960/2013 of 20 September¹⁰⁸ and CLT/2396/2013 of 11 November,¹⁰⁹ aimed at publishing in Catalan and Occitan, and for the publication of special interest sheet music; or even, by way of indicative example, the public funding provided for in Resolution CLT/2214/2013, of October 24, for the translation of literary works into Catalan from other languages for the 2013-2014 period.¹¹⁰ Suffice to say, as will be looked at in the pages that follow, Institut Ramon Llull would also take on a particularly important role in this area of promoting the production of literature in Catalan.

Specifically, it would be in the area of higher education where the Institut Ramon Llull would take on a more prominent role. In this regard, during the course of 2013, the dynamics of previous years would continue, with the Institute convening subsidies for extending the use of the Catalan language in various related fields. This is the case, as an indicative example, of Institut Ramon Llull's resolution, by which a competitive public tender for funding would be called for universities in the Catalan linguistic domain to organise reflective seminars and activities in the field of humanities and social sciences with universities outside the linguistic domain during 2013.¹¹¹

Meanwhile, for another year, the Government would also allocate funds to encourage the use of third languages in Catalan universities, with the announcement of the Interlingua programme.¹¹² As we know, this line of funding, open to all Catalan universities, aims to promote the presence and use of third languages, particularly English - those also used by the university community as a result of internationalisation resulting from the European Higher Education Area and to ensure the presence and use of Catalan in universities, given its status as an official native language.

That said, it is precisely in the field of education in which the most conflict and legal controversy would arise throughout the course of 2013. This conflict would be conditioned by two events with particularly relevant legal significance.

105. See DOGC, no. 6316, of 15 February 2013.

106. See DOGC, no. 6403, of 25 June 2013.

107. DOGC, no. 6509, of 26 November 2013.

108. DOGC, no. 6469, of 30 September 2013.

109. DOGC, no. 6504, of 19 November 2013.

110. DOGC, no. 6489, of 28 October 2013.

111. DOGC, no. 6381, of 23 May 2013.

112. For more information, see Resolution ECO/1486/2013, of 5 July, by which the regulatory bases were approved, and which opened the application process for awarding grants to Catalan universities for activities related to the promotion and use of languages at university level (INTERLINGUA 2013).

Firstly, the approval of Organic Law 8/2013 of 9 December, for the improvement of the quality of education, also known as the Wert Law or LOMCE, in the terms looked at in the preceding pages, which we have referred to as a whole. In any case, for the purposes of our interests here, the approval of this more than controversial legal provision would result, in Catalonia, in the political articulation of a common front of opposition that would be supported by a drive from the Catalan civil and organisational society. At a political level, we can take the meeting chaired by Artur Mas on 28 May as an example, which gathered the political forces supporting the Catalan education model and the Permanent member of the Consell Escolar de Catalunya (The School Education Council of Catalonia) in order to decide on a joint strategy for the defence of the Catalan education model and the linguistic combination in schools. The scale of this conflict and the mobilisation of Catalonia's civil and educational society against the dictates of the Wert Law are well-documented in the archives.

Secondly, during the course of 2013, a variety of legal resolutions would be dictated which would impact on the linguistic model in education, some of which were particularly controversial. This is the case, as an indicative example, of the Interlocutory Order regarding Section 5a from the High Court of Justice of Catalonia, of 6 March 2013¹¹³ that would meet with extensive political and social opposition in Catalonia and prompt demonstrations in favour of the linguistic model in schools.

Staying in the area of legal administration, a variety of initiatives were adopted in 2013 towards normalising and extending the use of Catalan. Suffice to say that this is an area where intervention has become particularly necessary, especially given the statistics on legal resolution language use that demonstrate the clearly residual use of Catalan. Thus, on 24 July, the Ministry of Justice released some particularly compelling data that we have briefly reviewed in the preceding pages of this REPORT: in 2012, only 12.7% of the rulings handed down by the courts of law established in Catalonia were written in Catalan.

Aiming to correct this shortfall in the use of Catalonia's own language, the Government adopted a variety of measures. Thus, on 7 May 2013, the Government of Catalonia's Executive Council agreed to request the use of Catalan in all legal process proceedings handled by the courts of Catalonia which involved the Government of Catalonia or its public sector organisations. A few months later, the Ministries of Justice and Culture organised a meeting of a variety of professional groups involved in the legal world, with the aim of actioning measures for promoting the language. These negotiations were concluded on 23 July 2013, with the signing of several cooperative agreements between the Government of Catalonia Administration, through the Ministries of Justice and Culture, and several groups involved in the legal world. This is

113. The interlocutory was the result of the appeal lodged against the Interlocutory Order on 3 January 2013, which resolved that: "The Ministry of Education is required to adopt such measures as may be necessary to adapt the system of language teaching, in so far as it affects the child of the appellant, to the new situation created by the declaration of Constitutional Court Ruling 31/2010, which also considers Spanish as a vehicular language for education in Catalonia, together with Catalan".

the case of the cooperative agreement signed with the *Il·lustre Consell de Col·legis de Graduats Socials de Catalunya* (Council of the Social Graduates Association of Catalonia);¹¹⁴ with the *Consell dels Il·lustres Col·legis d'Advocats de Catalunya* (Council of the Bar Associations of Catalonia);¹¹⁵ with the *Consell dels Il·lustres Col·legis de Procuradors dels Tribunals de Catalunya* (Council of the Bar of Court Prosecutors of Catalonia);¹¹⁶ with the *Deganat dels Registradors de la Propietat, Mercantils i de Béns Mobles de Catalunya* (Association of Registrars of Property, Mercantile and Personal Real Estate of Catalonia);¹¹⁷ and with the *Col·legi de Notaris de Catalunya* (Catalan Notary Association)¹¹⁸. The aim of these agreements would focus on influencing the daily practice of more than 25,000 professionals, who would receive advice and be given access to the necessary linguistic tools.

Suffice to say, it would be that October of 2013 when the Government of Catalonia's Ministry of Justice would award the *Associació de Juristes en Defensa de la Llengua Pròpia* (Association of Jurists in Defence of Catalonia's Own Language) an honourable mention with regard to legal matters for its significant contribution to the process of linguistic normalisation of Catalan in the judicial field. In 2007, this association had already been awarded the National Award for the Social Projection of the Catalan language by the Ministry of Culture for its work towards the Catalan language having the presence it deserves in the judicial field. Since 2004, the Association of Jurists in Defence of Catalonia's Own Language has formed part of the hundreds of organisations involved in promoting the Catalan language, led by the Ministry of Culture.

Meanwhile, various parliamentary initiatives were also approved throughout the course of the year, aimed at promoting the normalisation of Catalan in the justice system. This is the case, for example, of the proposal put forward by the *Convergència i Unió* parliamentary group for submission, to Spanish Congress, of the Bill for the amendment of Organic Law 6/1985, on judicial power, and of Law 50/1981, which regulates the organic statute of the Public Prosecutor. This initiative would be submitted and debated in the Plenary Session of Parliament held on 9 October 2013. It would criticise the situation with regard to the unsatisfactory level of normalisation of the Catalan language¹¹⁹.

That said, during the course of 2013, other collaboration agreements would be signed with emphasis on linguistic issues. A good indicative example is provided by the thirty collaboration agreements signed by TERMCAT with various organisations and

114. See [the entire cooperative agreement](#) signed by the *Il·lustre Consell de Col·legis de Graduats Socials de Catalunya* (Council of the Social Graduates Association of Catalonia).

115. See [the entire cooperative agreement](#) signed by the *Consell dels Il·lustres Col·legis d'Advocats de Catalunya* (Council of the Bar Associations of Catalonia).

116. See [the entire cooperative agreement](#) signed by the *Consell dels Il·lustres Col·legis de Procuradors dels Tribunals de Catalunya* (Council of the Bar of Court Prosecutors of Catalonia).

117. See [the entire cooperative agreement](#) signed by the *Deganat dels Registradors de la Propietat, Mercantils i de Béns Mobles de Catalunya* (Association of Registrars of Property, Mercantile and Personal Real Estate of Catalonia).

118. See [the entire cooperative agreement](#) signed by the *l'Il·lustre Col·legi de Notaris de Catalunya* (Catalan Notary Association).

119. See *DSPC, series P, no. 32, of 9 October 2013, p. 44*.

individuals, aimed at improving the quality of the language's use in scientific and technical fields; and the collaboration agreement signed between the Government of Catalonia administration, through the Presidential Department, and the Amical Wikimedia Association, for the promotion and dissemination of open data, signed on 10 July 2013, with emphasis on linguistic issues.¹²⁰ Meanwhile, the General Directorate for Linguistic Policy, would also push various activities during the course of 2013, such as collaboration with the Confederació de Comerç de Catalunya (Catalan Confederation of Commerce) in order to further encourage the use of Catalan in the commercial area and provide Catalan language courses for the Agència Tributària (Spanish Tax Agency) personnel through the virtual learning space, Parla.cat.

For its part, the Consorci per a la Normalització Lingüística (Consortium for Linguistic Normalisation) would continue signing, throughout the course of 2013, a variety of collaboration agreements. This is the case of the agreement signed with the Reial Club Deportiu Espanyol (Espanyol professional sports club) on 20 June 2013, with the aim of introducing the Language Volunteers Programme in the club, or other agreements entered into during the course of the year with various organisations such as the Coordinadora d'Entitats del Poble-sec (Poble Sec Organisational Committee), el Servei d'Ocupació de Catalunya (Catalan Employment Service) and Cecot, aimed at providing access to Catalan language classes.

As for the constitutional jurisdiction, during 2013 the various unconstitutionality appeals filed against legislative provisions regulating important linguistic prerogatives in Catalonia would remain in litispendency. As highlighted in previous reports, the constitutional jurisprudence that would eventually end up dictating their resolution may end up determining the future evolution of the regulatory status of the language in key areas of all language policy. By way of indicative example, among these unconstitutionality appeals pending resolution before the Constitutional Court, which would decisively affect the Catalan linguistic system, that brought against the Act on the reception of immigrants and returnees to Catalonia¹²¹, the Consumer Code,¹²² the Education Act,¹²³ the Film Act,¹²⁴ and the Occitan Act¹²⁵ are all worth mentioning. All these proceedings, pending during the course of 2013, particularly highlight the question mark hanging over the future evolution of own language rights.

120. See the entire [collaboration agreement signed between the Government of Catalonia Administration Generalitat and the Amical Wikimedia Association, of 10 July 2013](#)

121. Unconstitutionality appeal no. 6352-2010, filed by the Ombudsman against certain provisions (Article 9, paragraphs 2, 4 and 5) of Act 10/2010, of May 7, reception of immigrants and returnees to Catalonia.

122. Unconstitutionality appeal no. 7611-2010, brought by more than fifty members of the Partido Popular Parliamentary Group of Congress against certain provisions of Act 22/2010, of 20 July, the Consumer Code of Catalonia. Also see Unconstitutionality appeal no. 7418-2010, against certain provisions of the same Act brought by the Ombudsman.

123. Unconstitutionality appeal no. 8741-2009, brought by more than fifty members of the Partido Popular Parliamentary Group of Congress against certain provisions of Act 12/2009, of 10 July, on education.

124. Unconstitutionality appeal no. 7454-2010, brought by more than fifty members of the Partido Popular Parliamentary Group of Congress against certain provisions of Act 20/2010, of 7 July, on film.

125. Unconstitutionality appeal brought by the State Government against Act 35/2010, of 1 October, on Occitan, Aranese in Aran, declared admissible by the Constitutional Court by judicial order dated 13 September 2011. By Interlocutory Order no. 183/2011, of 14 December, the Plenary of the Court agreed to maintain the suspension of the effectiveness of Articles 2.3, 5.4 and 7 and Article 6.5, for that pertaining to the use of Occitan, Aranese in Aran, established by the law.

Finally, with regard to the organisational structure of the Government of Catalonia, several new developments need to be mentioned, albeit briefly. The first, of a legal nature, relates to the fact that, at the beginning of the year, a couple of regulatory provisions were approved which would impact on this issue. The first is Decree 23/2013, of 8 January, for the appointment of Ester Franquesa as Director General of Linguistic Policy,¹²⁶ replacing Yvonne Griley. The second is Decree 89/2013, of 29 January, for the restructuring of the Ministry of Culture.¹²⁷ For the purposes of our interests here, the latter regulatory provision would not modify either the structure or the functions entrusted to the General Directorate for Language Policy. Moreover, Article 10 of the Decree stipulates that Language Policy Direction maintains the structure and functions set out in Articles 68 to 76 of Decree 304/2011, of 29 March, for the restructuring of the Ministry of Culture.

Meanwhile, Consell Social de la Llengua de Signes Catalana (Social Council of Catalan Sign Language) and Consell de Política Lingüística de l'Occità Aranès (Council of Occitan Aranese Language Policy), both set up by the Government of Catalonia in 2012, began working in their respective areas of authority. Thus, the media would report on the presence of Minister Ferran Mascarell at the constitutive meeting of the Consell Social de la Llengua de Signes Catalana held on 21 February 2013. Meanwhile, Decree 12/2014, of 21 January, granted the Institut d'Estudis Aranès (Institute of Aranese Studies) academic status and linguistic authority in the Occitan language.

Northern Catalonia

Two influential initiatives of particular significance are worth noting for the 2013 period regarding the process of recognition and legal protection of Catalan and other languages, known as "regional", in France.

The first of these initiatives was the creation, in March 2013, of the Advisory Committee for the promotion of regional languages and internal linguistic diversity. Convened at the request of the French Minister for Culture and Communication, Aurélie Filippetti, it would be assigned the task of studying and advising public authorities on the methods of implementing the commitments made by the French State in the signing of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. More specifically, it would be commissioned with making recommendations aimed at promoting internal linguistic plurality. A specific notice was issued that the Committee, under no circumstances, would be commissioned with the function of "resolving the issue of constitutional order" that the ratification of the agreement posed. In fact, its main objective would be to redefine public policy in this area and formulate recommendations therein. On 15 July 2013, the Committee would submit the findings

126. See DOGC, no. 6290, of 10 January, p. 1577.

127. See DOGC, no. 6305, of 31 January, p. 5506.

from its interesting studies to the Ministry, which are available online and are referenced in full here.¹²⁸

The second of the initiatives worth looking at, albeit briefly, would be implemented on the parliamentary stage. On 28 January 2014, the National Assembly adopted, on its first reading, a constitutional law bill authorising the ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which it should be remembered was signed by France in 1999, albeit pending ratification. In the parliamentary debates that took place with regard to the processing of this initiative,¹²⁹ arguments were put forward in favour of undertaking a reform of the French Constitution in order to comply with the objections brought by the Constitutional Council on 15 June 1999, when it warned that the ratification of this agreement at the European Council headquarters would require a prior constitutional reform. The aim of the initiative lies, specifically, in compliance with the provisions of the Constitutional Council, as well as amending the Constitution with the addition of a new Article, 53.3¹³⁰ to allow for the Republic's ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages according to the interpretative declaration made by France at the time of signing the document. For the purposes of relevance here, the bulk of parliamentary debate would demonstrate irreconcilable differences in political positioning on the area of management of linguistic diversity and the Republic's stance in relation to the so-called "regional languages".¹³¹

Suffice to say that during the course of 2013, various parliamentary initiatives were put forward to promote the legal recognition and protection of regional languages. At parliamentary level, most of these initiatives would argue in favour of ratifying the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. This was one of the election commitments made by Francois Hollande in the French presidential elections held in 2012. Moreover, the legal protection of regional languages and the eventual ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages had been the focus of a number of political and media debates during the electoral process. Thus, while Nicolas Sarkozy openly expressed opposition to the ratification of the Charter at certain meetings, such as that held in Marseille on 19 February, Francois Hollande positioned himself clearly in favour of it.

128. See <http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Actualites/Missions-et-rapports/Redefinir-une-politique-publique-en-faveur-des-langues-regionales-et-de-la-pluralite-linguistique-interne>.

129. Complete initiative available at <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/14/propositions/pion1618.asp>.

130. The sole article to incorporate the new article 53.3 reads as follows: "Art. 53-3. – La République peut ratifier la Charte européenne des langues régionales ou minoritaires adoptée à Strasbourg le 5 novembre 1992, complétée par la déclaration interprétative exposant que : 1. l'emploi du terme de "groupes" de locuteurs dans la partie II de la Charte ne conférant pas de droits collectifs pour les locuteurs des langues régionales ou minoritaires, le Gouvernement de la République interprète la Charte dans un sens compatible avec le Préambule de la Constitution, qui assure l'égalité de tous les citoyens sans distinction d'origine, de race ou de religion, et que : 2. l'article 7-1, paragraphe d, et les articles 9 et 10 de la Charte posent un principe général n'allant pas à l'encontre de l'article 2 de la Constitution selon lequel l'usage du français s'impose aux personnes morales de droit public et aux personnes de droit privé dans l'exercice d'une mission de service public, ainsi qu'aux usagers dans leurs relations avec les administrations et services publics".

131. See the [complete initiative](#).

That said, other governmental and parliamentary initiatives with an emphasis on linguistic matters were promoted in 2013. One of the issues that attracted the most controversy were the unsatisfactory provisions for the teaching of regional languages in the Republic's education system, an issue particularly debated during the processing of the Bill on the restructuring of schools. It would cause controversy, and be the subject of parliamentary questions and debate. Some good indicative examples of this are provided by the questions asked by Members of Parliament, Phillippe Folliot on 22 January,¹³² Alain Marc on 29 January,¹³³ Florent Boudié on 19 February,¹³⁴ Pierre Morel-A-L'Huissier on 5 March,¹³⁵ and Marc Le Fur on 4 June.¹³⁶

Balearic Islands

2013 marked the halfway point of the VIII legislature of the Balearic Islands, constituted as per the Autonomous Community elections held on 22 May 2011. A legislature, let us remember, marked by the political hegemony reflected by the absolute majority obtained by the Partido Popular. As already demonstrated in previous editions of this report, the composition of this Chamber would decisively condition the evolution of Balearic linguistic rights, as a sharp change of direction in language policy would begin, which would have an obviously regressive impact with regard to the recognition and legal status of the Catalan language. The various parliamentary groups of the opposition in Parliament explicitly denounced this in the Islands' Parliamentary Plenary Session held on 26 November 2013 in the debate on the direction of the Government of the Balearic Islands' general policy, which presented a very critical and negative view of the Executive Committee's language policy under the leadership of José Ramón Bauzá.¹³⁷

That said, during the course of 2013, a number of noteworthy Government and Parliamentary initiatives were processed and approved which were influential on the legal status of the language. Firstly, it should be noted, for its legal significance and the social opposition it generated, the passing of Decree 15/2013, of 19 April, regulating the integrated treatment of languages in the Islands' non-university centres of education.¹³⁸ A few months later, the Balearic Executive would approve the Decree-Law 5/2013 of 6 September, by which specific urgent measures would be adopted with regard to the implementation, for the 2013-2014 academic year, of the system for the integrated treatment languages in the non-university centres of education in the Balearic Islands.¹³⁹ Suffice to say that the content and scope of the provision, clearly

132. See <http://questions.assemblee-nationale.fr/q14/14-15899QE.htm>.

133. See <http://questions.assemblee-nationale.fr/q14/14-16545QE.htm>.

134. Text available at <http://questions.assemblee-nationale.fr/q14/14-18682QE.htm>.

135. See <http://questions.assemblee-nationale.fr/q14/14-20136QE.htm>.

136. See <http://questions.assemblee-nationale.fr/q14/14-28205QE.htm>.

137. For further information, see the *Diari de Sessions del Ple del Parlament de les Illes Balears*, of 26 November 2013.

138. See BOIB, no. 53, of 20 April 2013.

139. See BOIB, no. 124, of 7 September 2013.

regressive in terms of ensuring the use of the Catalan language in education, would provoke heated political and social debate. The mass demonstrations that took place against the linguistic and educational policy of the Executive led by José Ramón Bauzá are well documented in the archives. For the Government, the provisions of this Decree would constitute an urgent and unwavering commitment from the Executive. For the opposition, it would constitute another unacceptable attack on the country's own language.¹⁴⁰ Organisations such as the Obra Cultural Balears and the Islands' Assemblea de Docents (Educators' Assembly) reported that the aim of the Decree was to reduce the number of hours taught in Catalan to a minimum, breaking with a model, defined by the Decree of Minimums, which had been a success, both with regard to the results achieved and because of the consensus it had generated within the educational community. Suffice to say that this regulatory provision would be contested in constitutional law with an appeal of unconstitutionality being filed, declared admissible in January 2014.

And in connection with the regulatory production affecting the legal status of the language, throughout the course of 2013, a number of laws and regulatory standards were adopted that should be reviewed as, amongst their respective Articles several explicit references to the language issue were made. Regarding the legal regulations, some notable indicative examples are Law 4/2013, of 17 July, regarding local police coordination in the Balearic Islands¹⁴¹ and Law 5/2013, of 1 October, regarding audiovisual matters in the Balearic Islands.¹⁴² Notable among the regulatory standards was the passing of Decree 6/2013, of 2 May, by the president of the Balearic Islands, establishing the responsibilities and basic organisational structure of the Ministries of the Government of the Autonomous Community of the Balearic Islands.¹⁴³ It introduced substantial changes in the organisational structure of the Government. For the purposes of our interests here, the Direcció General d'Ordenació, Innovació i Formació Professional (Directorate General of Planning, Innovation and Professional Training) was given responsibility for, among other functions, "the teaching of Catalan and linguistic normalisation in the area of education; teaching of foreign languages; coordination, monitoring and implementation of projects on the treatment of languages". Similarly, the Direcció General d'Universitats, Recerca i Transferència del Coneixement (Directorate General of Universities, Research and Knowledge Transfer) was given responsibility, among other provisions, for the task of "normalising the Catalan language", "promotion and defence of linguistic rights". The transfer of the Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics (Institute of Balearic Studies) to the Ministry of Education, Culture and Universities was also confirmed.

140. For further information on the arguments for and against put forward in Parliament, see the *Diari de Sessions del Ple del Parlament de les Illes Balears*, of 26 November 2013.

141. BOIB, no. 106, of 30 July 2013. See articles 32.1.j and 68.n of the Law.

142. BOIB, no. 136, of 3 October 2013.

143. BOIB, no. 60, of 2 May 2013.

With regard to the Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics (Institute of Balearic Studies), in accordance with its Governing Council of 19 July 2013, the amendment of the statutes would be authorised.¹⁴⁴ In addition, during the course of the year, several collaboration agreements would be signed, notable among which are the agreements signed with the Inca City Council and the Insular Council of Ibiza for the maintenance of the respective Catalan self-learning centres for 2013, signed respectively on 8 January and 27 March 2013.¹⁴⁵ Also, on 29 November 2013, a collaboration agreement was signed with Palma City Council for the organisation of Catalan language courses for the 2013-2014 academic year.

And still in the area of issues related to the organisational structure of the Government pertaining to linguistic matters, in 2013, various organisations such as the Cultural institution, Obra Cultural Balear, would denounce the disappearance of the Servei d'Ensenyament del Català (Service for the Teaching of Catalan) and its replacement with the Servei de Tractament Integrat de Llengües (Service for the Integrated Treatment of Languages), responsible for implementing trilingualism in classrooms. The Servei d'Ensenyament del Català fulfilled an important role in advising the centres of education of the Balearic Islands in terms of the treatment of languages, in the study of language needs and, in particular, in supporting linguistic projects in the centres, as well as coordinating the committees on language normalisation and for Programa Xarxa (programme for the provision of Baccalaureate-level educational materials via the Internet). It also fulfilled tasks related to the preparation of educational materials for pre-primary, primary and secondary centres of education, issuing the centres with the materials required to meet the needs of newly arrived students with regard to the teaching of languages. Critics of the replacement system warned that the Servei de Tractament Integrat de Llengües would eliminate the function with regard to working for the use of Catalan in education that the Servei d'Ensenyament del Català fulfilled.

That said, during the course of 2013, there would be other notable new developments that are worthwhile reviewing, albeit briefly. On 28 June 2013, the Board of the Fundació Ramon Llull, meeting in Ordino, agreed to incorporate the Xarxa de Municipis Balears (Balearic Island Municipalities Network). Up to twenty-seven Balearic Island municipalities had expressed their wish to actively participate in the activities implemented by the Fundació Ramon Llull. This agreement came a few months after the Government of the Balearic Islands' decision to formalise its exit from Fundació Ramon Llull.

Meanwhile, the regulatory status of the Catalan language in accessing the Islands' civil service would continue to be the focus of parliamentary debates and initiatives throughout the year, particularly in the context of the control function of government

144. BOIB, no. 101, of 20 July 2013.

145. BOIB, no. 72, of 21 May 2013.

action.¹⁴⁶ These initiatives were formalised the same year in which the Constitutional Court issued a particularly damaging ruling to the regulatory status of Catalan in the Balearic Islands. On 26 September 2013, the Plenary Session of the Constitutional Court issued a ruling that dismissed the unconstitutionality appeal filed by more than fifty senators of the Grup Parlamentari Socialista of the Senate against certain provisions of Law 9/2012 of 19 July, amending, simultaneously, Balearic Law on the civil service (Law 3/2007 of 27 March), certain provisions of the Law on normalisation (3/1986, 19 April), some legal regulations regarding the Autonomous Administration (Law 3/2003, of 26 March) and the precept of the Law regarding local police coordination (Law 6/2005, of 3 June).¹⁴⁷

Alghero

The year 2013 coincided with the first year that Stefano Lubrano held the position of Mayor of the City of Alghero. Although no regulatory reforms were produced affecting the legal status of Algherese, a number of initiatives were formulated and promoted in order to normalise its use, that are worth reviewing.

Firstly, during the course of 2013, the collaboration agreement signed on 14 November 2012 between the Government of Catalonia and the City Council of Alghero started to be implemented. As we mentioned in the previous edition of this report, this agreement had been conceived with the aim of promoting the economic and trade relations between both territories over a period of eight years, strengthening school and academic exchange programmes, and extending and consolidating the social use of the Catalan language in its variant form of Algherese. Within the context of this intent to promote normalisation, on 21 March 2013, the language campaign entitled 'En alguerés, té més gust' (It sounds better in Algherese) was launched, addressed mainly at disseminating the rich linguistic heritage of Algherese. This initiative would be supported by the Alghero City Council, the Government of Catalonia and organisations defending the use of the language and promoting its extended social use.

Meanwhile in Italy, the future ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages would continue to be the focus of political debates and parliamentary initiatives. A good example of this is provided by the submission the Bill by several Members of Parliament on 21 October 2013 in the State Parliament, on the ratification and implementation of the agreement.¹⁴⁸

146. By way of indicative example, see the parliamentary questions published in *Butlletí Oficial del Parlament de les Illes Balears*, no. 107, of 12 July 2013.

147. See http://www.tribunalconstitucional.es/Documents/NOTA_INFORMATIVA_56_2013/2012-05868STC.pdf.

148. For further information on the content and processing of the initiative, see <http://www.camera.it/leg17/126?tab=&leg=17&idDocumento=1712&sede=&tipo=>.

Finally, we should mention that on 8 August 2013, a legislative initiative was submitted to the Regional Council of Sardinia which addressed the amendment of Article 1 of the Special Statute of Sardinia in order to ensure the official status of Sardinian and Catalan in the region.¹⁴⁹ More specifically, the initiative proposed to add five sections to Article 1 of the Constitutional Act, of 26 February 1948, no. 3. The first paragraph 1 *bis*, proposed that in the Autonomous Region of Sardinia, the Sardinian language should be the region's own, official language, and enjoy the same status as the Italian language. The provision that the inhabitants of Sardinia have the right to knowledge and use of both languages was included. It also proposed the addition of other paragraphs to the precept, which provides a written explanation that in the region of Alghero, Catalan would enjoy similar recognition. It added that the same protection should be granted to Gallurese, Sassarese and to Logudorese Sardinian in their respective territories and areas where they are spoken. The proposal added that, by law, the Republic and the Region would ensure the use of the Sardinian language and of the other languages spoken in the regional area and would employ the measures and instruments necessary to ensure their knowledge and use. It concluded by pointing out that Sardinian history, culture and language would be compulsory subjects in the education system.¹⁵⁰ This initiative, submitted to the Sardinia Assembly by the Partit Sard d'Accio, however, only represented a preliminary parliamentary step, as any reform of the regional Statute requires the difficult challenge of a parliamentary majority and consensus, not only in the regional Assembly, but also in Italian Parliament.

The Valencian Community

The year 2013 marks the chronological halfway point of Valencian Parliament's VIII legislature. A legislature defined, let us remember, by the absolute majority obtained by the Partido Popular led by Alberto Fabra.

The regulatory status of the Catalan language did not undergo significant change in 2013 and the trend of previous years was maintained.

149. See the [PROPOSTA DI LEGGE NAZIONALE N. 24 presentata dal Consiglieri regionali, l'8 agosto 2013, Modifica dell'articolo 1 della legge costituzionale 26 febbraio 1948, n. 3 \(Statuto speciale per la Sardegna\) concernente la parificazione della lingua sarda con la lingua italiana.](#)

150. Specifically, the following amendments were proposed: "Art. 1. Modifica dell'articolo 1 della legge costituzionale 26 febbraio 1948, n. 3 (Statuto speciale per la Sardegna) 1. All'articolo 1 della legge costituzionale 26 febbraio 1948, n. 3 (Statuto speciale per la Sardegna), dopo il primo comma, sono aggiunti i seguenti:

"1 bis. Nel territorio della Regione autonoma della Sardegna la lingua sarda è lingua propria, ufficiale e parificata alla lingua italiana, gli abitanti della Sardegna hanno diritto di conoscere e di usare entrambe le lingue.

1 ter. Nel territorio d'Alghero, il catalano gode analogo riconoscimento. Stessa tutela è riconosciuta al gallurese, al sassarese e al tabarchino nei rispettivi territori di competenza e ambiti di diffusione.

1 quater. Sulla base di apposite leggi, la Repubblica e la Regione garantiscono l'uso della lingua sarda e delle diverse lingue parlate nel territorio regionale e adottano misure e strumenti necessari per assicurarne conoscenza e uso.

1 quinquies. La storia, la cultura e la lingua sarda sono materie obbligatorie d'insegnamento nelle scuole di ogni ordine e grado dell'Isola.""

At a more politological level, Valencian Parliament would be the scene of intense debate on the unity of the Catalan language. A good example of this is provided by the general policy debate that took place in Parliament on 24 September 2013 where, once again, the division surrounding this issue in the Chamber was highlighted.¹⁵¹ Following the trend of the general policy debates held in previous years, the discrepancies would go beyond those strictly terminological disputes developing into deeper issues of political identity. Particularly significant Parliamentary speeches that took place at the Plenary Session of 15 May 2013 are that for the passing of the Non-legislative Motion by special urgency procedure regarding the dispute over the content of the Barcelona City Council agreement of 25 June and that for the defence of our character as a people, of 30 January 2013.¹⁵² The linguistic issue was ever present in this initiative, submitted by the Partido Popular Parliamentary Group of Parliament, and the debates provide good examples of the systematic denial, once again, of the unity of the Catalan language by its promoters.¹⁵³

Similarly, other parliamentary initiatives would be processed during the course of the year which would impact on this issue of linguistic unity. An example is provided by the processing of the Non-legislative Motion on Valencian being recognised by the RAE in its status as a tongue or language typical of the Valencian people, presented by the Partido Popular Parliamentary Group. The Motion argues that Parliament should urge the Ministry to address the RAE, "requesting that, in accordance with the agreements made by the institution in 1959, by which the current Statute of Autonomy of the Valencian Community was established, Valencian be recognised in its status as a tongue or language typical of the Valencian people, being spoken by the majority of the Valencian Community, and thereby include it in the next edition of the dictionary".¹⁵⁴

Meanwhile, on 16 July, the Parliamentary Bureau agreed to process the legislative Bill, from the Government of Valencia on the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua (Valencian Academy of Language).¹⁵⁵ A number of opposition parliamentary groups - Grupo Parlamentario Socialista, Compromís i Esquerra Unida - would amend the Bill as a whole, citing, among other arguments, its return to the Ministry due to not agreeing with the timing and explicit opposition to the spirit and objective through which it was created.¹⁵⁶ Further related to the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua, a couple of

151. *Diari de Sessions de les Corts Valencianes* (DSCV), no. 95, Plenary Session held on 24 September 2013.

152. Published in *Butlletí Oficial de les Corts Valencianes* (BOCV), no. 139, of 5 March 2013.

153. See the Parliamentary speech by member of Parliament, Rafael Maluenda Verdú, in the Plenary Session of 15 May 2013, in DSCV no. 84, of 15 May 2013.

154. BOCV, no. 171, of 27 June 2013.

155. BOCV, no. 183, of 13 September 2013. The initiative's explanatory statement said that the new regulation aimed to fulfil four objectives: "Firstly, the reduction of twenty-one academic staff down to eleven [...] Secondly, the structuring of the regulation's contents through the use of a system that attempts to facilitate the reading and integrated interpretation thereof. Thirdly, the adaptation of certain references to regulations and names to the demands arising from the 2006 statutory reform and the rest of the current existing legal system. Fourthly and finally, in compliance with article 48 of Law 9/2003, of 2 April, of the Government of Valencia, regarding equality between women and men, which obliges Valencian Public Administration to implement the necessary measures to ensure that each regulation or administrative act respects the standards relating to the use of non-sexist language in its wording".

156. BOCV, no. 191, of 18 October 2013.

resolutions should also be mentioned that were put through during the course of the year and impacted on linguistic issues. The first is the Resolution, of 16 January 2013, by which the Academy's Plenary Session Agreement, adopted on 11 January, was published, which called for "grants to promote the use of Valencian on local radio stations, in local or regional or specialist subject publications, and in digital news publications in Valencian".¹⁵⁷ The second is the Resolution of 18 December 2013, from the President of the Academy, publishing the agreement of 13 December adopted by the Plenary Session, regarding the awarding of scholarships for undertaking practical training in Lexicography and Terminology, in Onomastics and in the Editing and Digitisation of Documents.¹⁵⁸

Remaining in the area of parliamentary activity, several questions put forward by the Executive regarding incidents or complaints related to the right to use the region's own language are also noteworthy. This is the case, for example, of the question asked by Member of Parliament, Enric Morera, representing the Compromís Parliamentary Group, and addressing the Minister of the Interior and Justice "over infringement of the right of expression in Valencian";¹⁵⁹ and representative of all, the question asked by Member of Parliament, Josep Maria Pañella, also representing the Compromís Parliamentary group, addressing the Minister of Health on the provision of children's health records in both co-official languages.¹⁶⁰

That said, few regulations were approved during the course of the year that impacted, either directly or tangentially, on linguistic matters. The most significant, due to the strong political and social opposition it generated, was the adoption of Law 4/2013, by the Government of Valencia, on the abolition of the provision of regional radio broadcasting and television services, owned by the Government of Valencia, as well as the dissolution and liquidation Radiotelevisió Valenciana. As detailed in Article 1 of the law, its objective was to abolish the provision of Government of Valencia-owned radio broadcasting and television services and, therefore, authorise the Ministry to affect the cancellation, dissolution and liquidation of the Radiotelevisió Valenciana public company, SAU, which managed these services. Among other consequences, this political decision would lead to the cancellation of employment contracts affecting the company's entire workforce.

This decision would be viewed as a serious mistake by the world of linguistic and cultural activism. The Federació Llull, which includes Òmnium Cultural, Obra Cultural Balear and Acció Cultural del País Valencia, provides an example of this. It opposed the move, warning it represented the dismantling of that which should be one of the main instruments of cohesion in the Valencian Community, of promoting the region's own language and culture, and of its own audiovisual industry. The criticism emphasised

157. *Diari Oficial de la Comunitat Valenciana* (DOCV), no. 6953, of 29 January 2014.

158. DOCV, no. 7178, of 23 December 2013.

159. BOCV, no. 192, of 23 October 2013, p. 30206.

160. BOCV, no. 192, of 23 October 2013, p. 30249.

that this decision represented a step backwards in the process of consolidating quality public media in Catalan.

Meanwhile, another decision would enter the public domain that would once again affect the area of communications in the Catalan language. The Ministry of Industry, Energy and Tourism would, at the end of the year, initiate sanctioning procedures against Acció Cultural del País Valencià, which would be picked up by the media in January 2014. As a result of this procedure, the organisation's Board of Directors would agree to stop Catalunya Ràdio and Catalunya Informació broadcasting in the territory.

With regard to regulatory legislative provisions, a number were approved that would be influential in the area of linguistic issues, and these would be reflected across a variety of public spheres. Thus, noteworthy in the area of education, was the example of the Resolution of 24 July 2013 by the General Directorates of Teaching Centres and Personnel, and of Innovation, Planning and Language Policy, issuing instructions on the organisation and operation of Second Cycle Pre-primary schools and Primary schools during the 2013-2014 academic year;¹⁶¹ Order 90/2013, of 6 November, by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport, which regulates the listing of the Valencian language requirement for certain teaching positions in public education centres and in the educational support services or units that fall under the jurisdiction of the Government of Valencia;¹⁶² and, indicative of all, the Resolution of 4 June 2013, by the Directorate General for Innovation, Planning and Language Policy, dictating instructions on the issuing of administrative qualifications required for teaching in Valencian, about Valencian and in foreign languages in non-university education in the Valencian Community.¹⁶³ All the regulatory provisions mentioned include, in their respective articles, a number of specific references to the issue of language.

With regard to the issue of encouraging the use of the region's own language, a number of calls for grants and subsidies were approved. This is the case of Order 69/2013, of 28 June, from the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport, which gave notice of the funding provided for in the Government of Valencia's annual budget for 2013, aimed at companies, businesses and industries, based in Valencia, engaged in activities for the promotion of Valencian;¹⁶⁴ and for, as an example indicative of all, Order 25/2013, of 21 April, from the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport, which gave notice of funding aimed at municipalities and groups of municipalities engaged in activities for the promotion of the use of Valencian in 2013.¹⁶⁵

161. DOCV, no. 7079, of 31 July 2013, p. 22407.

162. DOCV, no. 7148, of 8 November 2013.

163. DOCV, no. 7054, of 26 June 2013, p. 19073. Also see Order 17/2013, of 15 April, from the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport, regulating the administrative qualifications required to teach in Valencian, about Valencian, and in foreign languages in non-university education in the Valencian Community (DOCV no. 7006, of 18 April 2013).

164. DOCV, no. 7058, of 2 July 2013, p. 19601.

165. DOCV, no. 7012, of 26 April 2013, p. 11411.

As for names, there are a number of new developments to mention. Some of these are, Decree 164/2013, of 25 October, by the Ministry, approving a name change for the town of Montroy to the bilingual form Montroi/Montroy;¹⁶⁶ Decree 60/2013, of 17 May, by the Ministry, approving a change of name for the village of Villalonga to the bilingual form Vilallonga/Villalonga;¹⁶⁷ and, as an example indicative of all, Decree 59/2013, of 10 May, by the Ministry, approving a change of name for the town of Callosa d'En Sarrià for its name to exclusively appear in the Valencian form, Callosa d'en Sarrià.¹⁶⁸

A Ruling of note with regard to the jurisprudence issue is that of the High Court of Justice of the Valencian Community no. 4/2013, of January 15, as it endorses, once again, the unity of the Catalan language. It upheld the administrative appeal brought by the Acció Cultural del País Valencià organisation against two Orders of the Government of Valencia's Ministry of Education, published in the *Diari Oficial de la Comunitat Valenciana* (Official Gazette of the Valencian Community) on 15 May 2009, which called for eligibility tests for teachers in Secondary, Official Language and Vocational Training Schools, in which a Degree in Catalan Philology is not recognised as proof of "knowledge of Valencian". The appellant party challenged both Orders, citing the preferability of respecting the unity of the Catalan language, from both a philological and a legal perspective. For the purposes of our interests here, the High Court of Justice ruled for the nullification of the Annexes to the Orders related to the call, as they did not exempt graduates with a Degree in Catalan Philology from the Valencian test, thereby once again explicitly endorsing the unity of the language. In doing so, the High Court of Justice referred to the Jurisprudence doctrine established in this area in the legal grounds of the Ruling.¹⁶⁹

And in conclusion, it is worth noting, if only briefly, a couple of Government of Valencia initiatives related to collaborative tools. The first was published in the *Diari Oficial de la Comunitat Valenciana* on 24 July 2013. This documents the Resolution of 22 July, by the Director General of the Secretariat for the Ministry and Parliamentary Affairs, which provides for the publication of the amendment addendum in the collaboration agreement between the Spanish Government and the Government of Valencia for the publication of laws in the Valencian language. For the purposes of our interests here, the addendum regulates the basic characteristics that the BOE Valencian language supplement must meet, including that of only being published on

166. DOCV, no. 7140, of 28 October 2013, p. 31397.

167. DOCV, no. 7027, of 20 May 2013, p. 14648.

168. DOCV, no. 7054, of 13 May 2013, p. 13332.

169. To quote the legal grounds for the ruling, "it must be noted that the question raised has been repeatedly addressed by pronouncements of this Chamber and Area, which have been considered favourably by the Supreme Court and with regard to the above, we have to be, for obvious reasons of consistency and legal certainty" referring to the long list of favourable court rulings on the recognition of the unity of the language. On this basis, the grounds of the third party right of the ruling explicitly states that "As has already been established by Ruling 28 April/2006 (rec. 873/04) and again must be expressly reiterated that only the stubbornness of ignorance and rejection of the scientific criteria that support linguistic unity, is manifested as the sole reason for Government of Valencia maintaining its contrary position, particularly when there are repeated legal pronouncements that disavow such arguments, which forces this Court to offer a reminder that one of the most basic requirements of the rule of law enshrined in our Constitution is the imperative compliance with judicial decisions, particularly on the part of the public authorities, which must objectively serve the general interest."

the Internet, in a new format that would be in keeping with the new digital BOE.¹⁷⁰ Secondly, on 9 May 2013, an institutional collaboration agreement was signed between the Public Audit Office and the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua (Valencian Academy of the Language), whereby it was agreed that the Academy would provide support to the Public Audit Office's language services. This collaboration would consist of advising on linguistics and facilitating translations whenever the Audit Office required the Academy's assistance. Furthermore, both institutions agreed to collaborate in the organisation of training courses across a variety of subjects, including "Valencian courses specifically aimed at the economic-financial field." The agreement concludes by stating that the two institutions would establish specific collaboration agreements in other areas than those mentioned within the clauses of the agreement.¹⁷¹

2.2.4. Cooperation between Territories

A number of collaboration initiatives between regions were formalised over the course of 2013, with the aim of extending the use and promoting the legal protection of the Catalan language.

In the Horizontal Cooperation Plan, of 15 October 2013, the factions responsible for language policy in Catalonia, Galicia and the Basque Country met to monitor the collaboration protocol on the issue of language policy in which the three Governments had been involved for the past two years. The media would report on the key agreements adopted at the summit, where issues of common interest were discussed relating to promoting the use of the Catalan, Galician and Basque languages, as well as a future agreement with the Spanish State Government, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, for mutual recognition of competency certification tests to accredit the professional role of translator and legal interpreter; the ISBN linguistic index and the report on the performance of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages covering the 2010-2013 period, on which it was agreed to undertake a joint follow-up of the final report for the European Council. Similarly, they pledged their intention to meet the objectives set out in the Collaboration Protocol with regard to language policy, signed by the three Governments in 2007, through which the Award for the Promotion of Spain's Multilingualism would be established, which aims to recognise the work of individuals, organisations and companies that contribute to the promotion and incorporation of linguistic diversity in Spain.

Suffice to say that the Government of Catalonia, Government of Galicia and the Basque Government - Eusko Jaurlaritza - would also, once again, take part in the

170. DOCV, no. 7074, of 24 July 2013, p. 21822.

171. BOCV, no. 159, of 22 May 2013.

European Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity (NPLD), a project which carries out joint activities aimed at promoting the use of the Catalan, Galician and Basque languages. At the meeting held on 15 October, progress made on this project was also evaluated, with the pooling of different methods for boosting the regions' own languages with regard to the European roadmap for linguistic diversity.¹⁷²

At a more political level, on 27 September 2013, the Parliament of Catalonia Plenary Session approved Resolution 323/X on the direction of the Government's general policy. This resolution would become particularly relevant with regard to its position on a variety of issues related to collaboration between regions in terms of linguistic rights. To begin with, it would encourage the Government to defend, with all means at its disposal, the unity of the Catalan language, its use and its normal development as an essential element within the country, and of social cohesion. It would propose several measures in this regard, specifically encouraging the Executive to: a) Promote cooperation activities with the communities and territories with which Catalonia shares Catalan as a common language and work together for the unity of the language; b) Promote the international reach of the Catalan language and the recognition of Catalan in Spanish and European institutions; c) Work towards the international community's recognition of Catalan as a language that should be included within the cultural exception framework when negotiating new free international trade agreements; d) Promote measures to ensure the normal and customary use of the Catalan language. It also urged the Government to "support the work of the educational community of the Catalan-speaking territories in protecting Catalan and in favour of Catalan as the vehicular language of the educational system, and express opposition to attacks from the various political and legal arenas on the Catalan language and culture".

Similarly, the Resolution took a stand on a number of Balearic Island and Aragon Government legislative initiatives, explicitly stating that "they do not meet either the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, signed by the Spanish Government, nor the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights, which was unanimously approved by Spain's Congress". The Resolution adds that, in accordance with the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, "the geographical area of languages must be respected in addition to the relationships between the regions where each is spoken, and the criteria established by the scientific, academic and cultural institutions must also be respected, which support the unity of the Catalan language". That said, the Resolution calls the recognition of Catalan-speaking territories as a shared cultural, linguistic and historical reality, currently scattered across different states and, in the case of Spain, across different Autonomous Communities, and urges the Government "to stress the recognition of Catalan language unity and defend, with all means at its disposal, the common heritage of all its speakers, its use and normal development as an essential structural element in the

172. See <http://www.npld.eu>.

country, of social cohesion and its legal framework". To this end, the Plenary Session of the Chamber stated that the best course of action would be: a) To demand that the Spanish Government act in accordance with the constitutional mandate regarding special respect and protection of the various languages of Spain established in Article 3 of the Spanish Constitution; b) To demand the Spanish Government move for the recognition of the unity of the Catalan language, protecting its historic territorial area and its scientific name, without prejudice to other traditional or historical local names, and that it adopt the corresponding measures; c) To continue to defend the model of linguistic immersion in the education system regulated by the Education Act; d) To demand the Spanish Government complies with all the recommendations of the Expert Committee and the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe issued in the third report for monitoring compliance with the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages Treaty; e) To request that the Government of Aragon use scientific criteria when regulating language policy and, therefore, respects and uses the international scientific name of the language spoken in La Franja, 'Catalan', as a cultural heritage asset that must be protected and promoted, shared with Catalonia, the Valencian Community, the Balearic Islands, Northern Catalonia, Alghero, Carche and Andorra.¹⁷³

Suffice to say that this Resolution would be passed by a large majority in the Parliamentary chamber. It received the votes of the *Convergència i Unió*, *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya*, *Partit Socialista de Catalunya*, *Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds - Esquerra Unida i Alternativa* and the *Candidatura d'Unitat Popular*. That is, 106 of the 135 Parliamentary seats, which demonstrates its broad parliamentary support and, concurrently, that of society.

That said, the collaboration between institutions in the different territories would continue to be promoted and reinforced throughout the year. Without creating new organisational structures, those in existence produced some reasonably positive results.

This is the case of the *Institut Ramon Llull*, which continued implementing its programme of activities for the promotion of the Catalan language during that period. The Institute would continue to particularly promote initiatives for the extension of Catalan studies in universities outside the Catalan linguistic domain throughout the course of the year. A good indicative example of this is provided in the collaboration agreements signed with the Graduate Center of the City University of New York,¹⁷⁴ the *Freie Universität Berlin*,¹⁷⁵ the Queen Mary University of London,¹⁷⁶ the University of Zadar,¹⁷⁷ the *Alma Mater Studiorum University of Bologna*,¹⁷⁸ the University of

173. [BOPC, no. 160, del 2 October](#) 2013.

174. [Collaboration agreement of 30 September 2013](#).

175. [Collaboration agreement of 18 February 2013](#).

176. [Collaboration agreement of 16 December 2013](#).

177. See the [collaboration agreement document](#).

178. [Collaboration agreement of 30 September 2013](#).

Chicago,¹⁷⁹ the Université des Sciences Humaines et Sociales Lille 3,¹⁸⁰ the University of Glasgow,¹⁸¹ the M.V Lomonosov Moscow State University,¹⁸² the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies¹⁸³, the Hosei University in Tokyo,¹⁸⁴ among many other universities around the world. Suffice to say that, during the course of 2013, the Institut Ramon Llull would be particularly active with regard to the signing of agreements, which allowed stable collaboration frameworks to be established with partners featuring a broad spectrum of legal structures, ranging from organisations and public entities - such as the Government of Andorra itself and the Government of Catalonia's Presidential Department and Ministry of Culture - to private companies and foundations.¹⁸⁵ The collaboration agreement signed with the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua (Valencian Academy of the Language), is worthy of a mention for the maintenance of Valencian lectureships abroad, signed on 10 July 2013.¹⁸⁶

The Institute would also promote a number of initiatives throughout the year designed to strengthen the reach of the Catalan language and culture outside Catalonia which would be expressed through various modalities, materials and means of expression. As part of the regulatory plan, many of these initiatives would be articulated in the form of resolutions, announcing public tenders for the awarding of scholarships and grants. These calls for tender would include, as an indicative example, subsidies for the translation, adaptation and localisation of subtitles for original feature films, short films and documentaries, either in Catalan or bilingual, produced in Catalonia,¹⁸⁷ residential bursaries for translators of Catalan literature in 2013,¹⁸⁸ subsidies for the translation of Catalan literary and scholarly works in 2013;¹⁸⁹ or, all subsidies for travel outside the linguistic domain of Catalan writers, Catalan literary translators in 2013.¹⁹⁰

As for the Government of Catalonia, it once again approved funding applications aimed at Catalan communities abroad. Resolution PRE/187/2013, of 27 June, is worthy of a mention, which approved the basic regulatory procedure for awarding grants for activities promoting and disseminating information on Catalonia, its culture, the Catalan language, and welfare benefits, supporting the recent emigration and operation of Catalan communities outside the region.¹⁹¹

In the field of university education, it is also worth mentioning, albeit briefly, the activities promoted by the Vives Network of Universities. During the course of 2013,

179. [Collaboration agreement of 18 December 2013.](#)

180. [Collaboration agreement of 30 September 2013.](#)

181. [Collaboration agreement of 27 June 2013.](#)

182. [Collaboration agreement of 25 December 2013.](#)

183. [Collaboration agreement of 30 September 2013.](#)

184. [Collaboration agreement of 30 September 2013.](#)

185. Further information on all the collaboration agreements signed by the Institut Ramon Llull throughout the year are available at http://www.llull.cat/catala/quisom/convenis_collaboracio.cfm.

186. [Collaboration agreement of 10 July 2013.](#)

187. DOGC, no. 6393, of 10 June 2013.

188. DOGC, no. 6381, of 23 May 2013.

189. DOGC, no. 6519, of 11 December 2013.

190. DOGC, no. 6381, of 23 May 2013.

191. DOGC, no. 6408, of 2 July 2013.

on the threshold of celebrating its twenty year anniversary, it continued to promote various initiatives aimed at interuniversity promotion of the Catalan language. A good example is provided by the Vives Forum "University Networks: Opportunities and Strategies", which took place on 15 March 2013 at the University of Barcelona, bringing together representatives of some of the leading international university networks in a session for evaluation and debate, and the publication, on 1 May, of the language course guide on the Network's website, a joint programme of language courses at universities across the Vives region. Other events, such as the shared closing event of the 2012-2013 academic year at the University of Alicante on 12 July 2013 would, once again, provide an illustration of collaboration between territories driven by the Network. Meanwhile, there was continued promotion of the measures set out in the 2012-2014 Language Policy Plan, produced by the Language Commission¹⁹² representatives of the Network's twenty-one member universities and approved by the General Council¹⁹³ in the meeting which took place at the Universitat Jaume I¹⁹⁴ on 28 February 2012. Indeed, the presentation of the results of this plan took place in Prades on 21 August 2013.

Suffice to say that, during the 2012-2013 academic year, the Vives university area consolidated its position as one of the preferred destinations for European students participating in the Erasmus program. The hosting of universities from all the European Union Member States would, once again, provide an excellent opportunity to give the language and culture greater visibility. For the purposes of our interests here, there were twenty courses available during the 2012-2013 academic year and 1,260 applications were received. Thus, the trend detected in previous reports were consolidated, in the terms outlined therein, with the demand for places repeatedly exceeding availability, which has prompted the European Commission to give the go-ahead for a growing number of courses in Catalan.

Finally, with respect to vertical cooperation, very few initiatives were promoted in 2013 affecting the area of language. The BOE of 25 March 2013 provides us with an example here, in which the Resolution of 11 March by the Secretary of State for Public Administration was published, providing details of the cross-border cooperation agreement for joining the Andorran Cross-Border Cooperation Organisation as part of the Pyrenean Work Community Consortium. In its list of Articles, this Resolution provides some explicit references to language use.¹⁹⁵

192. See <http://www.vives.org/ca/qui-som/estructura/directori-2/?com=9>.

193. See <http://www.vives.org/ca/qui-som/estructura/directori-2/?com=20>.

194. See <http://www.vives.org/ca/les-universitats/universitat-jaume-i>.

195. Article 20.6 stipulates that institutional documents and events be translated and interpreted, "at least into the five official languages of the territory of the Pyrenean Work Community" and adds that internal working documents and events be translated and interpreted solely in French and Spanish. It advises that "the delegations who wish to may pay for the translation of some of the documents in the territory's own language".

2.3. Education

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2.3.1. Alghero

As indicated in previous reports, the Catalan language classes in the Algherese variant, previously organised through the Palomba Project, had disappeared during the academic year 2011-2012. Aside from isolated initiatives carried out by certain teachers, the only presence of the language in regulated education continued to be “La Costura” project (the Weaving together project); a plurilingual educational approach adopting Algherese, Italian and English, initiated during the year 2004-2005 in the private Nursery and Infant school of San Giovanni Bosco, thanks to an agreement between the Government of Catalonia, Òmnium Cultural of Alghero, the Municipality of Alghero and the school itself. In 2012-2013, nineteen pupils followed this educational model. It should be noted, however, that the school has not received any support from the institutions to maintain classes in Catalan for two academic years now, and that the continuity of the project is down to the school’s own initiative. Some activities of “La Costura” – such as singing songs in Catalan – are also shared with the other pupils in the school (a hundred pupils all together).

The presence of Catalan in schools in Alghero today is therefore the result of specific initiatives carried out by certain teachers or through extra-curricular activities. In the latter case, it is worth highlighting the project of the Angelo Roth Higher Education Institution in Alghero titled “L’alguerés, una llengua per treballar” (“Algherese, a language for work”), funded by the Province of Sassari, which began in the year 2011-2012 and also continued in 2012-2013,¹⁹⁶ which presented the conversation manual, *L’alguerés, una llengua per treballar (Algherese, a language for work)*,¹⁹⁷ the objective of which is to include the study of Algherese Catalan in the city’s professional training institutions, especially in those where students are learning professions related to tourism, the hotel and catering business and commerce.

¹⁹⁶. See the news item at <http://cat.alguer.it/noticies/n?id=54728> (consulted: 20 March 2014).

¹⁹⁷. INSTITUT D’INSTRUCCIÓ SUPERIOR ANGELO ROTH WORKING GROUP (2013), *L’alguerés, una llengua per treballar (Algherese, a language for work)* (online): *Manual de conversació (Conversation manual)*, 1st edition, l’Alguer, I. I. S. Angelo Roth, <<http://www.youblisher.com/p/530575-L-Alguerese-una-llengua-per-treballar-1era-edicio>> (consulted: 20 March 2014).

It is also worth highlighting the Barçakids¹⁹⁸ experience in Alghero, which involved language learning activities in schools (160 pupils between 6 and 12 years old carried out activities in Catalan over a three-day period).¹⁹⁹

With regard to university education, Catalan (and Catalan literature) is taught at the University of Sassari as an optional subject and also as a foreign language for Erasmus students at the university. As well as these subjects, two language levels (A2 and B1) are offered and also a Catalan language and literature subjective as part of the degree programme, and a Catalan literature subject as part of the Master's programme (postgraduate course or *Specialist* course, according to the Italian term).

As for Catalan courses for adults, different associations continue to provide courses, although not all of them in a systematic way: for example, the Alguerés Pasqual Scanu School offers courses in Algherese Catalan for the general public and the Ateneu Alguerés provides a course on Contemporary Catalan poetry and translation.

2.3.2. Andorra

The three educational systems²⁰⁰ that co-exist in Andorra have not undergone any significant changes since 2012. Alongside the principality's own system, the Andorran system, which depends completely on the Government of Andorra and includes twelve schools (the so-called Andorran schools) and one professional training institution, we find the Spanish system, with five secular state schools which are regulated by the Spanish Ministry of Education, three religious schools and one private school, and the French system with thirteen schools, which follow the systems regulated by the respective Ministries of Education of Spain and France.

Nevertheless, and as provided for in the Andorran Law of General Regulation of the Education System,²⁰¹ the Government of Andorra intervenes in all these systems through a specific programme known as Formació Andorrana (Andorran Education), the objective of which is to educate students to be able to form part of the society in which they live and to provide them with a basic knowledge of Andorran culture.

In addition to teaching staff, the Andorran Education system also has the figure of the teaching assistant, who supports the nursery teachers and early years teachers in the French and Spanish schools.

In October 2013, the Ministry of Education and Youth published the Strategic Plan or the Renovation and Improvement of the Andorran Education System, which is divided into three main lines of action: teaching, assessment in competency-based education, and the curriculum framework of compulsory education.

198. See <http://www.fcbkids.cat/ca/content/fcbkids> (consulted: 12 April 2014).

199. See <http://www.algheronotizie.it/articolo/18490-successo-per-il-barakids-ad-alghero.html> (consulted: 12 April 2014).

200. For more information see <http://www.educacio.ad/sistemes-educatius> (consulted: 19 March 2014).

201. Llei d'ordenament del sistema educatiu andorrà (Andorran Law of General Regulation of the Education System), 9 June 1994 (BOPA, no. 48, 13 July 1994).

As for the distribution of students across the three systems, the tendency towards the increase in numbers of students in the Andorran educational system (40.98%) is continuing, while the number of students in the French (31.21%) and Spanish (28.69%) system is practically the same, with a slight decrease of the latter (0.53% compared to the previous year). [Chart 1](#) shows the evolution over the last four years:

CHART 1. *Students per education system*

Education system	2010-2011	2011-2012	2012-2013	2013-2014
Andorran	4,157	4,250	4,270	4,301
French	3,402	3,369	3,335	3,379
Spanish	3,243	3,191	3,149	3,106
Total	10,802	10,810	10,774	10,786

We can also see the distribution by system and by educational stage in [chart 2](#):

CHART 2. *Year 2013-2014*

Education system	Nursery	Primary education	Secondary education	Further education	Higher education/ Professional training	Total
Andorran	891	1,765	1,218	254	173	4,301
French	919	1,034	894	341	191	3,379
Spanish	622	1,232	946	306	0	3,106
Total	2,432	4,031	3,058	901	364	10,786

Source: Government of Andorra. Ministry of Education and Youth. *Efectius de l'alumnat per al curs escolar 2013-2014* (Number of students for 2013-2014 academic year), also available online at <<http://www.educacio.ad/images/stories/estudis/estadistiques2013-14.pdf>> (consulted: 19 February 2014).

To get a better understanding of the complex linguistic reality in which young people in Andorra live, both inside and outside the school system, it is worth mentioning the study carried out by Estel Margarit i Viñals, *L'escenari sociolingüístic de la població escolar d'Andorra* (The sociolinguistic scenario of the school population of Andorra).²⁰² The study provides a representative sample of the Andorran school population of between 12 and 16 years old for the year 2011-2012. At the same time, it is representative of the three education systems and proportional to the number of students at each centre and each age group. The study aims to identify the students' linguistic knowledge of Catalan, Spanish and French, while also showing how the

202. Estel Margarit i Viñals, *L'escenari sociolingüístic de la població escolar d'Andorra* (Assisted by Lúdia Armengol Vila 2010-2012), also available online at <<http://www.educacio.ad/formacio-adults>> (consulted: 19 February 2014). A summarised version can be found at Xarxa CRUSCAT - IEC (2013), *VI Informe sobre la situació de la llengua catalana (2012)*. Barcelona: Observatori de la Llengua Catalana (p. 36 and following).

students experience this multilingual reality. The study also inquired into the more subjective elements of the sociolinguistic dimension that led young people to perceive the role of Catalan in Andorran society (knowledge about real use) and assessed the languages present in the Principality according to the uses made of them and the social prestige ascribed to them.

No new data is available on adult education and the number of users of the five Catalan self-access centres (CAA), which can be accessed freely by the general public and have continued to function throughout 2013.

According to the Annual Report of the Andorra University,²⁰³ there were 454 students enrolled on regulated courses during 2012-2013, the majority (236) at the Escola d'Informàtica i Gestió (IT and Management School), as well as 643 students on higher education programmes (postgraduate courses, refresher courses and seminar programmes). The report does not mention use of the official language or of the other languages used as languages of instruction in any of the courses or programmes. As a result of this, no specific data is available on this question.

The two private universities who started to deliver courses in 2012-2013, La Salle Open University (UOLS) and the University of les Valls, continue to operate without delivering virtually any classes in Catalan, despite the Andorran regulations on this matter.²⁰⁴ According to UOLS's website, Catalan is only used on one of the eight subjects taught and one of the seven master's and postgraduate subjects, while Spanish is the language used on the other twelve subjects.²⁰⁵

Neither has the UDV Dental School changed its Study Programme, which specifies that the languages used on the programme are Spanish and English,²⁰⁶ which seems to contradict the aforementioned law.

2.3.3. Catalonia

As discussed in previous reports, in light of the Spanish Constitutional Court ruling on the appeal against unconstitutionality presented by ninety nine MPs of the Partido Popular (centre-right political group) against the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia of 2006, a veritable legal (and media) battle commenced to (re)introduce Spanish as a vehicular language which continued up to 2013. Notwithstanding this, no significant changes arose in the management of the languages used in the education system in Catalonia up to that point, aside from some cases of Spanish being used in particular

203. 2012-2013 Annual Report available online at <http://www.uda.ad/images/stories/documents/memoria1213.pdf> (consulted: 19 February 2014).

204. Law 12/2008, of 12 June, on the regulation of higher education (BOPA, no. 54, of 16 July 2008) available online at <http://www.uda.ad/images/stories/documents/bop20054.pdf> (consulted: 19 February 2014).

205. UOLS. Què vols estudiar? (What would you like to study?), available online at <http://www.uols.org/ca/estudiar-a-la-uols/que-vols-estudiar> (consulted: 19 February 2014).

206. Universitat de les Valls. Study programme available online at <http://www.udv.ad/pla-d-estudis> (consulted: 19 February 2014).

instances where this had been requested. In fact, despite the fervent media campaigns, only 32 families (48 students) asked to be taught in Spanish during the 2013-2014 year.

With regard to the legal action taken, and following on from the points we discussed in last year's REPORT, the High Court of Justice of Catalonia (TSJC)²⁰⁷ issued various interlocutory rulings which agreed on interim measures to be taken (fourteen rulings were issued between January and March; all of which were in an initial phase), i.e., measures in which the linguistic regimes of the schools involved were to be adapted to the new situation which emerged from the ruling on the Statute. The High Court of Justice of Catalonia has turned down all the appeals from the Ministry of Education (even appeals on points of law have been submitted to the High Court), as a result of which the interim measures have had to be applied during the 2013-2014 year, adapting the individual linguistic attention model indicated in article 11.4 of the Catalan Education Act (LEC).

These interlocutory rulings are highly relevant since no interim measures had been imposed previously. It is important to remember what this means. Two requirements must be met for the imposition of interim measures: *fumus boni iuris* (the prospect of good law, i.e. when the Court thinks that the appeal will be granted in the long run) and *periculum in mora* (when irreparable damage is expected to be caused to a party if the measures are not applied before the case is resolved).

On 19 February 2013, the High Court of Justice ratified the TSJC interlocutory ruling of 8 March 2012 (this resolution had settled on the side of the Government of Catalonia and established that the cases in which a ruling had been passed did not mean that the entire system needed to be changed and that only the children of the claimants were affected by the ruling). The system was assured, but the resolution also said that the execution of particular cases had to be carried out "alongside their co-pupils". In other words, Spanish had to be used as the vehicular language in the classrooms where the children of the claimants were schooled (i.e., language classes would have to be given in Spanish), insofar as the Government of Catalonia deemed appropriate. We do not have any information to suggest that the Ministry of Education has taken much notice of this.

It should be noted that measures such as these, that required the language of the whole class to be changed on the basis of one single request, provoked the defiance of a good majority of the Catalan political parties (CiU, ERC, PSC, ICV-EUiA and CUP) who defended schooling in Catalan, as well as Catalan civil society who, with the group of entities that make up *Somescola.cat*, adopted a clearly oppositional position to the proposed measures.

On 29 May 2013, the High Court issued two rulings, the first in relation to events that had occurred prior to July 2009 (under the Catalan Education Act in effect at that

207. See http://www.poderjudicial.es/cgpj/es/Poder_Judicial/Tribunales_Superiores_de_Justicia/TSJ_Cataluna.

time). The Government of Catalonia opted to submit an appeal to the Constitutional Court, on the basis that the resolutions overrode provisions of the LEC (article 11.4 on individualised linguistic attention) and the Statute of Autonomy (article 35.3 which regulates the right not to be separated in different schools or different classes on the basis of habitual language use), and breached the rights of the families of the co-pupils of the claimants' children by subjecting them to changes in the language regime. This claim calls for the suspension of the execution until the case is resolved.

In October 2013, in three of the cases in which a ruling had been passed, which had been executed without any opposition from the High Court from May 2012, and in two cases with interim measures in place, interlocutory rulings have been passed stating that the execution carried out by the Ministry (the adaptation of the individualised linguistic attention model) is inadequate and that measures need to be taken to specify "*which subjects will be taught in Spanish to those students alongside their classmates*". The argument of the ruling of 19 February 2013 is starting to be applied. These resolutions present new development insofar as, up to now, the disobeying of such resolutions was met with the threat of criminal proceedings. Now this threat has turned into a reality and is expressed directly: "in the event that this proportion is not fixed, or if it should be shown to be insufficient in terms of understanding that Spanish is also a vehicular language of the classroom, the Court will proceed to judge the case".

It is also worth remembering that the Organic Law (8/2013, 9 December) on Improvements to Educational Quality,²⁰⁸ popularly known as the Llei Wert (Wert's Law), with the name of the MP responsible for it, continued to make its parliamentary rounds and was ultimately approved.

With regards to the subject of language, the Law establishes the legal requirement to offer teaching contexts in which Spanish is the vehicular language across the entire State. Although article 1.99 recognises that "non-language subjects" may be taught exclusively in the co-official language, it warns that in this case the "Educational Authorities must guarantee the provision of adequate teaching staff and resources provided by public funds in which Spanish is used as a vehicular language in reasonable proportions".

The additional provisions also insist that "Fathers, mothers and legal guardians are entitled to ask for their children to be taught in Spanish within the framework of the school's educational programme. If the annual programme of the competent Education Authority failed to guarantee a reasonable level of teaching resources sustained by public funding in which Spanish was used as a vehicular language, the situation would be looked into and the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport would assume all the costs involved on behalf of the Local Education Authority in schooling these children in private schools where such resources exist, under the conditions and

208. See the text at https://www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-2013-12886 (consulted: 12 April 2014).

procedures established by law, and the costs would be passed on to the Education Authority.

The financial obligation of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport shall be of an exceptional nature and shall end when the Education Authority adopts adequate measures to guarantee the individual linguistic rights of all students. To this effect, the measures that imply individualised attention in Spanish or the separation into groups according to habitual language use shall not be considered adequate.”

It does not need to be pointed out that the application of this point of the Law could signal a Copernican revolution in the educational system of Catalonia.

Nevertheless, and despite the Sword of Damocles we have just witnessed, the situation of the language in the Catalan education system has continued along the same lines as previous years. With regard to the linguistic policy of the Ministry of Education, this has remained the same: immigrant reception classrooms continue to function (there were 723 in 2012-2013);²⁰⁹ practically the same *Plans Educatius d'entorn* (PEEs, social cohesion educational plans) have remained in place,²¹⁰ and the Pla per a l'Actualització del Programa d'Immersion Lingüística (Plan to Update the Linguistic Immersion Programme)²¹¹ has continued to be developed, albeit with less resources for training.

In addition, and in reference to secondary education which provides us with an indication of knowledge levels of the two official languages in Catalonia by way of the university access tests, we have collected the average scores of Catalan language and literature and Spanish language and literature over the last three years. We can see in [chart 3](#) that levels of Catalan have increased in comparison to the previous year and levelled out with Spanish, since the results are now exactly the same for the two languages:

CHART 3. *University Access Tests. Average score*

Subject	June 2011	June 2012	June 2013
Catalan language	6.20	5.99	6.18
Spanish language	6.34	6.43	6.18

Source: Ministry of Economy and Knowledge. Available to consult online <http://universitatsirecerca.gencat.cat/ca/detalls/Article/Estadistiques-de-les-PAU> [date retrieved: 29/7/2014]

209. More information at http://www.xtec.cat/alfresco/d/d/workspace/SpacesStore/7192e6a8-1bb3-4030-b7f8-562ecd7ff933/annex1_aules_nov_09.pdf (consulted: 12 April 2014).

210. More information on PEEs at http://www.xtec.cat/web/comunitat/entorn_pee (consulted: 12 April 2014).

211. More information on the Pla d'Actualització del Programa d'Immersion Lingüística at <http://www.xtec.cat/web/projectes/llengues/catala/immersio> (consulted: 12 April 2014).

With regard to adult education, 8,875 people enrolled on Catalan language courses at initial, elementary and intermediate levels²¹² during 2012-2013, within formal teaching contexts at adult education centres.

It is worth highlighting that in 2012 the Ministry of Social Welfare and Family organised Catalan literacy courses for immigrant adults so that they would be able to attain the minimum levels needed to follow the initial courses in Catalan provided by the Consortium for Linguistic Normalisation. 433 people enrolled on the courses.²¹³

As for the language learning courses organised by the Consortium for Linguistic Normalisation (CPNL), and according to the *Informe de política lingüística 2012 (Report on linguistic policy 2012)*,²¹⁴ the number of people enrolled on class-based courses has continued to fall. The 117,608 recorded in 2010 had dropped to 98,444 in 2012. In total, the CPNL organised 3,995 Catalan courses, 8% less than in 2011 (4,304). According to the same report, 75% of the class-based courses continued to play an essential role in helping the immigrant population to integrate in the community, since the courses held were for elementary and basic levels and 66% of those enrolled were born outside Catalonia.

Also, another 251 courses were organised by the CPNL in collaboration with the General Directorate for Immigration in immigrant associations, which were attended by 5,863 people.

While the number of people enrolled on class-based courses may have dropped, there were around 30,000 more people registered as users on the virtual learning platform Parla.cat,²¹⁵ which provides educational material and courses for learning Catalan (130,413 in 2012). Courses taught with the support of a tutor have been taken up by 2,352 students (a thousand more than in 2011).

Furthermore, according to the same report, 138,818 searches for resources for learning the language were made.

Also during 2012, a total of 21,342 people obtained a certificate in knowledge in Catalan in accordance with the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, by taking tests organised by the General Directorate for Linguistic Policy (2,322 certificates), the Consortium for Linguistic Normalisation (18,232) and the Ramon Llull Institute (788), which are the three bodies responsible for these certificates. The tests organised by the Ramon Llull Institute took place in 76 locations in 30 countries across the world.

The use of Catalan in the universities of the Catalan-speaking territories does not present any significant changes in relation to the previous report and is outlined more

212. Ministry of Education Adult education. <http://www20.gencat.cat/portal/site/ensenyament/menuitem.3dd9b85c5a6aa43356159f10b0c0e1a0/?vgnextoid=0d3d8c247ee98310VgnVCM2000009b0c1e0aRCRD&vgnnextchannel=0d3d8c247ee98310VgnVCM2000009b0c1e0aRCRD&vgnnextfmt=default> (consulted: 05 April 2014).

213. GOVERNMENT OF CATALONIA, MINISTRY OF CULTURE, GENERAL DIRECTORATE OF LINGUISTIC POLICY (2013), *Informe de política lingüística 2012 (Report on linguistic policy)* (online), Barcelona, Government of Catalonia, <http://www20.gencat.cat/docs/Llengcat/Documents/InformePL/Arxius/IPL2012.pdf> (consulted: 10 March 2014).

214. See the aforementioned Report on linguistic policy 2012.

215. See http://www.parla.cat/pres_catalaenlinia/AppPHP/login/index.php?lang=ca (consulted: 10 March 2014).

specifically in the *Pla de Política Lingüística 2012-2014 (Linguistic Policy Plan)*,²¹⁶ drawn up by the Language Commission of the General Council of the Xarxa Vives d'Universitats, a network which brings together the universities of the Catalan-speaking territories. The Plan contains the general linguistic policy criteria which are common to all the universities and the working plan for 2012-2014, as well as the specific language plans of each university.

The 2012 Linguistic Policy Report provides us with data on the use of Catalan as the language of instruction in the degree classes of the seven public universities in Catalonia during the 2011-2012 academic year. The average percentage of classes is 77.2%, oscillating between 54.9% at the Pompeu Fabra University and 92.2% at the Rovira i Virgili.²¹⁷

At the same time, if we compare this data with that of the Secretariat for Universities and Research for the 2012-2013 year,²¹⁸ we see that the use of Catalan has dropped in this year (75.4% average), oscillating between the 55.8% of the Pompeu Fabra University²¹⁹ (which has increased its figures slightly) and the 92.1% of the Rovira i Virgili, while teaching in third languages was on the increase. The use of Catalan as a language of instruction has only increased at the UPF (Pompeu Fabra) and the UdL (University of Lleida), although only slightly.

The average percentage of classes given in Spanish is 16.0% and in third languages 8.6% (1.3% more than in the previous year). This is shown in more detail in [diagram 20](#):

216. See <http://issuu.com/xarxavives/docs/ppl2012-2014> (consulted: 10 March 2014).

217. See the aforementioned Report on linguistic policy 2012, p. 15.

218. Data and sociolinguistic statistics from the Secretariat for Universities and Research, available online at <http://www20.gencat.cat/portal/site/ur/menuitem.7f9c2004924f29cf642d3010b0c0e1a0/?vqnextoid=0a5e7ff1301bd310VqnVCM1000008d0c1e0aRCRD&vqnextchannel=0a5e7ff1301bd310VqnVCM1000008d0c1e0aRCRD&vqnextfmt=default#Bloc1d2b18bf2e599310VqnVCM1000008d0c1e0a> (consulted: 19 February 2014).

219. The data found at the UPF (Pompeu Fabra University) does not correspond with that of the Secretariat, but is instead slightly higher: 56.72 % in Catalan, 30.20 % in Spanish and 13.08 % in English. Source: Languages at UPF (Pompeu Fabra University). Linguistic data on language of instruction. Available online at http://www.upf.edu/llengues/infosocio/dades_grau (consulted: 19 February 2014).

DIAGRAM 20. Linguistic proportions of classes taught on the university degrees at Catalan universities in 2012-2013.



Source: Data and sociolinguistic statistics from the Secretariat for Universities and Research, available online at

<http://www20.gencat.cat/docs/ur/home/03%20Ambits%20dActuacio/Les%20llengues%20a%20la%20universitat/Dades%20i%20estadistiques%20sociolinguistiques/docs/1.%20Graus%202012-13.pdf> (consulted: 01 April 2014).

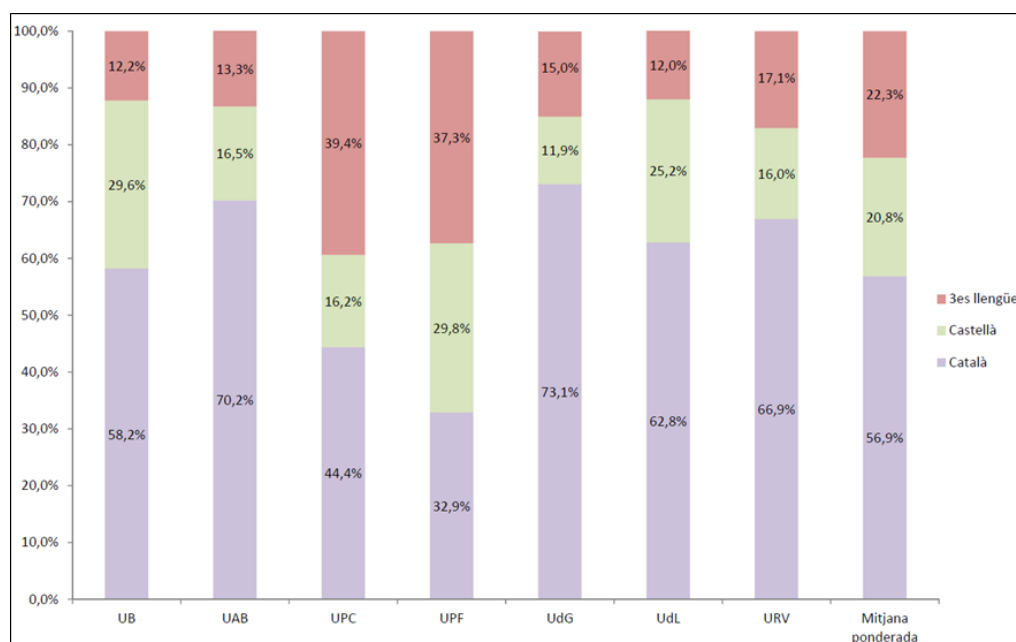
In general, the use of Catalan has gradually dropped on Master's and doctoral programmes and, in particular, in doctoral theses and research, where the use of Spanish and third languages has increased, especially English.

According to the *Informe de política lingüística 2012 (Linguistic Policy Report)*, the average percentage of classes on Master's programmes at Catalan universities was 61.3% in 2011-2012, a percentage lower than the previous year and, according to the Secretariat for Universities and Research,²²⁰ this dropped to 56.9% in 2012-2013, signalling a downward trend in favour of third languages, basically English (20.8% of classes were in Spanish, 22.2% in English and 0.1%, in other languages).

The percentage of classes given in Catalan stood between 34.8% at the Pompeu Fabra university (where the use of third languages represents 39.3%) and 73.1% at the University of Girona. This is shown in more detail in [diagram 21](#):

220. Data and sociolinguistic statistics from the Secretariat for Universities and Research, available online at <http://www20.gencat.cat/portal/site/ur/menuitem.7f9c2004924f29cf642d3010b0c0e1a0/?vqnextoid=0a5e7ff1301bd310VqNVCM1000008d0c1e0aRCRD&vqnextchannel=0a5e7ff1301bd310VqNVCM1000008d0c1e0aRCRD&vqnextfmt=default#Bloc1d2b18bf2e599310VqNVCM1000008d0c1e0a> (consulted: 01 April 2014).

DIAGRAM 21. Linguistic proportions of classes taught on the university Master's degrees at Catalan universities in 2012-2013.



Source: Data and sociolinguistic statistics from the Secretariat for Universities and Research, available online at <http://www20.gencat.cat/docs/ur/home/03%20Ambits%20dActuacio/Les%20llengues%20a%20la%20universitat/Dades%20i%20estadistiques%20sociolinguistiques/docs/4.%20Evoluci%C3%B3%20M%C3%A8sters.pdf> (consulted: 01 April 2014).

With regard to doctoral theses, global data is not available for 2012-2013, but, according to the Secretariat for Universities and Research²²¹, in 2011-2012 the percentage of doctoral theses according to the language in which they were written, out of a total of 2,062 theses, was as follows: 17.5% in Catalan, 40.0% in Spanish, 38.7% in English, 1.5% in other languages, and 2.3% bilingual.

In 2012-2013, Catalan was the language used in 17% of the theses presented at the Rovira i Virgili University (3% more than in the previous year), while those written in Spanish amounted to 35.1% and in English 46.7%. A total of 1.2% were presented in other languages.²²²

A total of 16.7% of the theses presented at the UdL during the same year were in Catalan (nearly 4% less than the previous year), 42.8% in Spanish and 39.3% in English (which increased considerably). A total of 1.2% were presented in Portuguese.²²³

At the UPC, 8.2% were presented in Catalan, 32.7% in Spanish and 58.5% in English.²²⁴

221. Data and sociolinguistic statistics from the Secretariat for Universities and Research, available online at <http://www20.gencat.cat/portal/site/ur/menuitem.7f9c2004924f29cf642d3010b0c0e1a0/?vgnextoid=0a5e7ff1301bd310VqVCM1000008d0c1e0aRCRD&vgnextchannel=0a5e7ff1301bd310VqVCM1000008d0c1e0aRCRD&vgnextfmt=default#Bloca7f118bf2e599310VqVCM1000008d0c1e0a> (consulted: 19 February 2014).

222. Data from the Rovira i Virgili university, available at http://www.urv.cat/dodellenques/us_de_llengues.html#catalunya (consulted: 19 February 2014).

223. Data from the Linguistic Services of the University of Lleida, available at <http://www.udl.cat/serveis/sl/pl/pldadestes.html> (consulted: 19 February 2014).

2.3.4. Northern Catalonia

A significant development which is worth highlighting this year is the announcement on 9 July 2013 of the Schools of the Republic Reform Law,²²⁵ article 40 of which recognises regional languages and cultures (such as Basque, Catalan, Alsatian and Occitan) as an integral part of France's cultural heritage, promotes the teaching of these languages in the regions where the language is spoken, and proposes the optional teaching of the languages in two ways: teaching of the regional language and culture and bilingual teaching in French and the regional language. The article also states that the families will receive information on the classes and courses offered in these languages.

The law thus provides, for the first time and in an explicit way, for the bilingual teaching of French alongside the languages of each region, but does not allude to the linguistic immersion applied by networks of schools such as La Bressola. The previous legislation approved in 2005 only mentioned the possibility of teaching other languages on the basis of agreements signed with regional governments.

We shall see how the law develops in the future and if it has positive results. At the moment, however, the situation of Catalan language teaching in Northern Catalonia has not varied substantially in relation to the previous report. The different ways in which the language is present in public and state schools continues on the same lines as previously. We recall that in state education, regulated by the Academy of Montpellier,²²⁶ we find the modalities of initiation classes, living language and the bilingual sections, in which, in addition to teaching the language, some subjects are taught in Catalan (in primary education, half the classes are taught in Catalan and half in French, which is to say that the timetable is shared, with 12 hours in Catalan and 12 in French).

We can see the immersion model applied in the state school of Arrels, the only school of the French state that follows an early years linguistic immersion programme in a so-called *regional* language, since immersion is carried out between 2 to 7 years; equal bilingualism from 7 to 8, and bilingualism with predominance given to French (6 hours in Catalan out of 24 hours per week), from 9 to 11.

Apart from the modalities mentioned above, in private education - which is much more popular in this area - we see the application of linguistic immersion programmes in the network of schools known as La Bressola,²²⁷ at the Jordi Pere Cerdà school in

224. Data from the Linguistic Services and Resources of the Polytechnic University of Catalonia, available at <http://www.upc.edu/sit/pla-lleagues-upc/indicadors-linguistics> (consulted: 19 February 2014).

225. Law no. 2013-595 of 8 July 2013 on planning and reform of the Schools of the Republic (published in *JO* n° 157 9 July 2013).

226. For more information see <http://www.crdp-montpellier.fr/lanquesregionales/catalan/accueil.html> (consulted: 26 March 2014).

227. More information on la Bressola at <http://www.bressola.cat> (consulted: 20 March 2014).

Sallagosa (opened in 2012-2013) and, up to the end of last year, at the Comte Guifré secondary school in Perpignan which has now closed.

APLEC²²⁸ (the Association for Education in Catalan) continues to work with schools in Northern Catalonia to promote beginner classes as well as advanced classes in Catalan, through the Alberes project, within the framework of which, 5,925 hours of Catalan classes were given to 4,423 students in 2012-2013, and the “Parlem català a escola” programme (“We speak Catalan at school”) in Perpignan, where 2,400 hours were taught with 2,151 students.

If we take into account all the different teaching modalities, the number of students who learn Catalan in one way or another is on the increase in state infant and primary schools. Figures have increased two points in relation to the previous year (from 27.58% to 27.75%) and also in absolute numbers (10,748 students out of 38,727,²²⁹) although this increase is not particularly significant. What is significant, though, is that the increase in bilingual education is increasing while the LVR model (in the regional language) is decreasing. This is shown in more detail in [chart 4](#):

CHART 4. Year 2013-2014 State schools. Infant and Primary level.

	<i>Initiation / LVR (Reg Lang)</i>	<i>Bilingual education</i>	<i>All students</i>
Nursery	3,512	800	4,312
Primary	4,007	1,615	5,622
All students	7,519	2,415	10,748

Source: Academic Inspection of the Eastern Pyrenees.

In terms of private education, the figures have recovered again after the drop seen in the previous year, although the figures are still low compared to the total: 814 infant and primary students out of a total of 3,840. Of these, 127 are taught with the initiation or LVR models in a religious school, and 687 in the five associative schools (Catalan schools). As is the case in state education, the increase is seen most acutely in the linguistic immersion model. The distribution can be seen in [chart 5](#):

CHART 5. Year 2013-2014 State schools. Infant and Primary level

	<i>Religious Sant Josep (Prada)</i>	<i>Associated with La Bressola (Catalan schools)</i>
	<i>Initiation</i>	<i>Linguistic immersion in Catalan</i>
Nursery	41	368
Primary	86	319
Total partial	127	687
All students	814	

Source: Academic Inspection of the Eastern Pyrenees.

228. More information on APLEC at <http://aplec.cat> (consulted: 20 March 2014).

229. See Vade-mecum statistique at <http://www.ac-montpellier.fr/dipes/Vade2013.pdf> (consulted: 19 March 2014).

As for the second level, 16 state secondary schools and all the 9 colleges of further education teach Catalan language in one or more modalities (as language and culture —LCR—, as an optional course —LV Reg— or as a living language —LV2 or LV3—) and 3 further education colleges teach it as an optional subject within the professional sections (BAC professional / BTS) (28 centres in total).²³⁰ Bilingual education is provided at 15 institutions (12 secondary schools and 3 colleges of further education). This represents 2,000 students out of a total of 21,000. We can also see the number of students who follow each option in [chart 6](#):

CHART 6. Year 2013-2014 State schools. Second level of education and professional training

	Secondary schools	Colleges of further education	Professional training	Vocational	All students
LCR / LV Reg / LV2-LV3	793	309	75	36	1,213
Bilingual education	702	131			833
All students	1,495	440	75	36	2,046

Source: Academic Inspection of the Eastern Pyrenees.

In the second level of state schooling, the number of students following any modality of teaching in Catalan has dropped slightly (LCR, LV Reg, LV2 and LV3), with a total of 168 students. Bilingual teaching with immersion in Catalan is only carried out at the Pompeu Fabra school (secondary school of La Bressola) given that the Comte Guifré has now disappeared, as mentioned above, even though the number of students remains the same. This is shown in more detail in [chart 7](#):

CHART 7. Year 2013-2014 State schools. Second level

	Religious schools	Colleges of further education	Catalan schools
	LV Reg / LV3	LV2/LV3	Bilingual immersion education
Students	74	94	140
Total partial	168		140
All students	308		

Source: Academic Inspection of the Eastern Pyrenees.

[Chart 8](#) provides a summary of the data discussed. In total, we see that just over 13,000 students receive some kind of education in Catalan and that the majority of these are within the state system. This figure is lower than the previous year by nearly a thousand students, according to the data published by the Academy of Montpellier

230. See *Le catalan dans l'Académie de Montpellier (Catalan within the Academy of Montpellier)*, available at <http://www.crdp-montpellier.fr/languesregionales/catalan/enseignement/LR.html> (consulted: 19 March 2014).

(11,350 students at primary level and 2,670 at secondary level, amounting to a total of 14,020 students):

Chart 8. *Summary of education in Catalan in Northern Catalonia (2013-2014)*

State education			Private education	
	CATALAN		Religious	Associative
	Initiation /LV Reg / LCR / LV2 / LV3	Bilingual education	Initiation / LV Reg / LV2 / LV3	Immersion
Nursery	3,512	800	41	368
Primary	4,007	1,615	86	319
Total partial students at first stage of education	7,519	2,415	127	687
Total students at first stage of education	9,934		814	
10,748				
Secondary schools	793	702	74	140
Colleges of further education	309	139	94	
Bac. Prof.	75			
Vocational	36			
Total partial students at second stage of education	1,213	440	168	140
Total students at second stage of education	2,046		308	
2,354				
Total students first-second stages of education	11,980		1,122	
Overall total	13,102			

Source: *Les formations en langues régionales dans l'académie de Montpellier* (Education in regional languages within the Academy of Montpellier, available at [http://www.ac-montpellier.fr/sections/ia66/actualites-ia66/formations-en-langues6234/downloadFile/file/Les formations en langues régionales dans l'Académie de Montpellier](http://www.ac-montpellier.fr/sections/ia66/actualites-ia66/formations-en-langues6234/downloadFile/file/Les%20formations%20en%20langues%20regionales%20dans%20l'Academie%20de%20Montpellier) (consulted: 20 March 2014).

We also see the continuation of the “Albera sense frontera” (Albera without borders) project²³¹, coordinated by the two education authorities of the Inspecció d'Acadèmia de Perpinyà (Academic Inspectorate of Perpignan) as well as the Government of Catalonia, which began in 2010-2011 and is discussed in the 2011 report, which includes educational institutions from the north to the south.

²³¹. For more information on the project, see <https://sites.google.com/a/xtec.cat/alberasensefrontera> (consulted: 20 March 2014).

With regards to university education, it should be noted that the University of Perpignan, the only university of the French State with a faculty (Institut Franco-Catalan Transfrontalier-IFCT)²³² of a so-called *regional* language, continues to offer education in Catalan and to develop cross-border relations with universities in the rest of the Catalan-speaking territories (the University of Perpignan is part of the Xarxa Vives university network). Aside from this, it is worth mentioning that Catalan is also taught at twenty French universities within the context of Romanic (Hispanic) studies.²³³

With regards to Catalan classes for adults, this has a long tradition in Northern Catalonia, as noted in previous reports, and there are many different organisations providing them (the organisation who offers by far the most classes is, however, Òmnium Cultural, who organises classes for almost a thousand people).

The Collective of Catalan language Teachers for Adults has been delivering courses all over Northern Catalonia for the last 30 years, in order to promote Catalan language and culture. Since 13 years ago, its members have also been charged with helping students pass the official language tests in Perpignan. Over this period, thousands of students have taken and continue to take these courses.

2.3.5. La Franja

On 8 May 2013, the Government of Aragon, with votes exclusively from the Partido Popular (centre-right political party) and PAR (Aragonese political party) approved the Law on the uses, protection and promotion of languages and linguistic models specific to Aragon,²³⁴ abolishing the previous Law on languages which had been in place since 2009. The most controversial aspect of this law is that it avoids naming the languages spoken in Aragon at all times and only mentions the “languages and modalities specific to Aragon”, linking these with the areas where they are used. Thus, article 5b states that there is an area “where, historically, the use of the Aragonese language from the eastern area of the Autonomous Community is predominant, with its specific linguistic modalities” (this phrasing thus avoids the use of the term Catalan).

Notwithstanding the name given to the language, the law recognises (in chapter V) the right to receive education in it (while always being understood on a voluntary basis) and the fact that the Government must guarantee the adequate provision of classes in schools, fostering life-long learning as well as courses for adults and the ongoing training of teachers.

232. More information can be found on ICTF at http://www.univ-perp.fr/fr/UFR_et_instituts/ifct.html (consulted: 01 April 2014).

233. See L'enseignement supérieur du catalan en France (Catalan in Higher Education in France), available at <http://france-catalaniste.com/fr/enseignement-superieur> (consulted: 26 March 2014).

234. Law 3/2013 of 9 May on the use, protection and promotion of the languages and modalities specific to Aragon (BOA, no. 100, of 24 May 2013).

According to data provided by the Ministry of Education of the Government of Aragon, in a parliamentary address of 16 June 2013, in 2012-2013, 42 teachers taught classes “in the linguistic modality of the eastern area known as Catalan”, on a part-time or full-time basis, in 20 primary and secondary schools, as well as in three official language schools (in the towns of Pena-roja de Tastavins, Favara, Fraga, Tamarit de Llitera, Montsó, Torrent de Cinca, El Torricó, Saidí, Faió, Castellot, Beseit, Vall-de-roures, Mequinensa, Maella and Saragossa). The subject was offered as an instrumental language on an optional basis in some schools and at bilingual Catalan schools as an integral part of the curriculum. The announcement also stated that no provisions were being made for any substantial change for the 2013-2014 academic year, since the Law required further development.²³⁵ On these lines, and rather surprisingly, on 3 July 2013 a coordination agreement was signed between the Government of Aragon and the Government of Catalonia to develop coordinated actions related to education,²³⁶ for a renewable period of three years. One of the different actions they have agreed to carry out is to facilitate Catalan language learning (the name appears repeatedly in the text) and to establish agreements for accrediting Catalan studies carried out in regulated education.

For the purpose of ongoing training and to coordinate teaching practices, teachers of Catalan attend seminars which are held four times each year. For the 2013-2014 school year, all the sessions are to be held outside class teaching times.

With regard to adult education, the Catalan language courses have been traditionally organised by the cultural institutions of the La Franja (the Baix Cinca Institute for Studies —IEBC—, the Matarranya Cultural Association —ASCUMA— and Casal Jaume I in Fraga). Furthermore, since 2005-2006, those attending the courses are able to obtain the corresponding certificate of the language in the exams organised in Fraga by the General Directorate for Linguistic Policy of the Government of Catalonia; exams which have continued in 2013. In many cases in previous years these courses had been co-funded by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Government of Aragon.

In 2013, the IEBC decided not to offer them due to a lack of funding and due to the low number of pre-enrolments in Fraga and Mequinensa. In the same year, only ASCUMA organised intensive Catalan courses in order to promote skills among workers in the tourist industry and for general business purposes.

In 2013-2014, only the political party *Convergència Democràtica de la Franja* (CDF) has organised advanced and proficiency classes in Catalan in Fraga.

235. *Segre. Comarques*. 5 July 2013.

236. BOA, no. 211, of 24 October 2013).

2.3.6. The Balearic Islands

The worse case scenarios that we predicted in the 2012 Report for the situation of the language in the education system of the Balearic Islands have come to fruition in 2013. Turning a deaf ear to the voices challenging its linguistic policies, which have resulted in the highest rejection levels on record, not only from the teaching community but also from the entire Balearic society, the Autonomous Government has continued its policy against the language with measures that we had already anticipated, as well as others.

The first attempt was to announce that all the textbooks used in the 2013-2014 academic year would be “in Balearic, in the variants of Mallorcan, Menorcan and Ibizan” (in the words of the president); an attempt which failed after teachers declared that they would not request nor purchase any books that did not follow regulated norms and after publishers decided not to run the risk of publishing books in a non-scientific linguistic modality through fear of losing money.

Not long after, on 19 April, the decree²³⁷ regulating the integrated treatment of the languages (TIL) used in schools was passed, which effectively eliminated linguistic immersion and meant that Catalan was no longer the preferred language of education on the Balearic Islands. The decree overrides Decree 92/1997, popularly known as the “decret de mínims” (decree of minimum levels), whereby schools were required to deliver at least 50% of class content in Catalan, and established that pre-primary students must receive classes in both official languages and start to learn a foreign language in the second cycle of pre-primary education. In all other stages, they were to be taught in the two official languages and in a foreign language.

For the 2013-2014 academic year, the decree must be applied in at least the first year of Infants/pre-primary education, the first, third and fifth year of primary and the first year of secondary education. And for further education and professional training courses it should be applied in line with the resources available.

The instructions given by the Ministry for the application of the TIL (published on 9 May) establish that any other plan that involves a different distribution of the hours (which is to say that wishes to continue teaching in Catalan) must be submitted to the families and approved by two thirds of the school board (point 7 and article 20 of the Decree).

Both the decree and the instructions have been rejected unanimously by the educational community and the *Anuari de l'educació de les Illes Balears 2013 (Annual Report on Education on the Balearic Islands)* states in writing and in reference to the decree that: “In our opinion, the TIL decree represents just one more obstacle to the process of improving the teaching of languages; creating problems where there are

237. Decree 15/2013 of 19 April, regulating the integrated treatment of languages at non-university schools on the Balearic Islands (BOIB, no. 53, of 20 April 2013).

none; failing to resolve existing problems; not taking into account the resources needed to improve the language skills of our students; not specifying the timescale in which the decree must be applied; not taking into account the existing cuts in education; ignoring the increases in class sizes; leaving aside many questions that could be developed in an arbitrary fashion, etc.”.²³⁸

Additionally, in the month of May, and so that no further linguistic and cultural support could be given to schools, the elimination was announced of the Servei d’Ensenyament del Català (Catalan Teaching Service) – an emblematic service for the recovery of the language created in 1998, when the Balearic Islands were invested with authority in relation to educational matters.

On 6 June, the union organisations STEI-i, FETE-UGT and CCOO presented an appeal against the timetable for applying the decree to the High Court of Justice of the Balearic Islands (TSJIB), claiming that the Government had not provided prior notice to the School Councils, the Board of Education, or the Advisory Board, and requesting the suspension of the application until a final ruling on its legality was passed. The High Court accepted the request and suspended the decree of the 6 September as a precautionary measure, but the same day (two hours after the interlocutory ruling of the TSJIB) the Government approved a new decree²³⁹ that would enable it to override the ruling and continue with the application of the TIL as originally provided for. This decree states that the educational inspectorate is authorised to impose the linguistic project in schools, in accordance with the Ministry of Education, as long as the school does not have its own project approved by the school council in line with current legislation. This overrides the annex of the TIL decree, with the timetable for developing the new linguistic model, and modifies article 20 on the balance between the two official languages and a foreign language in classrooms.

Moreover, during the summer, the Ministry started disciplinary proceedings with three school heads in Menorca and suspended them from their duties and salary for not having applied the linguistic plan which requires that a third of subjects be taught in Catalan, a third in Spanish, and a third in English; a measure that results in a drastic reduction in the number of teaching hours dedicated to the native language and also forces schools to apply a linguistic plan different from the one approved by the school council. These actions led to more serious grievances with the Balearic Government.

The result of all this was a strike – the longest teacher strike known since the start of the democracy – in the educational sector that has included the support of all social parties, political parties, etc., with the exception of the Partido Popular. The start of the 2013-2014 academic year was thus considered to be the most chaotic and conflictive year on historical record.

238. Anuari de l’educació de les Illes Balears 2013 (p. 58), available at <http://www.colonya.com/i/ANUARI2013.pdf> (consulted: 24 March 2014).

239. Decree X/2013 of 6 September, which adopts certain urgent measures in relation to the implementation of the system of the integrated treatment of languages in non-university schools in the Balearic Islands in 2013-2014.

The strike started on 16 September and lasted until 4 October: three weeks of continuous strike which also saw the support of parents under the “Aules Buides” (empty classrooms) campaign, which consisted in not taking children to school on two days of the week so that classes would be stopped and meaning that protest efforts were also shared with teachers.

The support given to the striking educational community from civil society was seen in the mass participation in one of the largest demonstrations seen on the Islands against the TIL - not only in Mallorca, but also in Menorca, Ibiza and Formentera – which was described as historic by its organisers. But the Government has not backed down in the slightest from its initial position and the conflict continues.

As in the previous Reports, we do not have data from the Balearic Government on the distribution of students according to the linguistic model followed up to 2012-2013. To continue having an overall picture of the development of the current educational model up to the current year, we have therefore included the data published in the last report of the Ministry of Education for the year 2011-2012, which is shown here in charts [9](#), [10](#) and [11](#).

CHART 9. Year 2011-2012. Percentage distribution of students. All schools

	<i>Only Spanish</i>	<i>Spanish as language of instruction and Catalan as a subject</i>	<i>Bilingual education</i>	<i>Catalan as language of instruction and Spanish as a subject</i>
Infant Ed.	0.1	1.3	25.5	73
Primary Ed.	0.0	1.0	28.6	70.4
Special Ed.	1.5	0.0	69.6	29.0
Secondary Ed.	1.6	0.5	33.0	64.9
Further education	2.2	0.2	27.8	69.7
Professional Training	1.1	0.0	29.8	69.1
Initial professional qualifications	0.0	5.5	22.3	72.1
Total	0.6	0.9	29.0	69.5

Source: Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport. General Subdirection of Statistics and Studies (2014) “Los modelos lingüísticos” (Linguistic models), on *Las cifras de la educación en España (Figures on education in Spain). Year 2011-2012.* (2014 Edition) (online), <<https://www.mecd.gob.es/dms/mecd/servicios-al-ciudadano-mecd/estadisticas/educacion/indicadores-publicaciones-sintesis/cifras-educacion-espana/2014/E1p.pdf>> (consulted: 04 March 2014).

CHART 10. Year 2011-2012 State schools.

	<i>Only Spanish</i>	<i>Spanish as language of instruction and Catalan as a subject</i>	<i>Bilingual education</i>	<i>Catalan as language of instruction and Spanish as a subject</i>
Infant Ed.	0.2	1.1	8.8	90.0
Primary Ed.	0.0	0.8	8.4	90.9
Special Ed.	5.6	0.0	43.8	50.6
Secondary Ed.	2.6	0.0	13.4	84.0
Further education	3.1	0.0	12.4	84.5
Professional Training	1.3	0.0	24.8	73.9
Initial professional qualifications	0.0	1.6	21.3	77.1
Total	1.0	0.6	11.4	87.0

Source: Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport. General Subdirection of Statistics and Studies (2014) "Los modelos lingüísticos" (Linguistic models), on *Las cifras de la educación en España (Figures on education in Spain). Year 2011-2012.* (2014 Edition) (online), <https://www.mecd.gob.es/dms/mecd/servicios-al-ciudadano-mecd/estadisticas/educacion/indicadores-publicaciones-sintesis/cifras-educacion-espana/2014/E1p.pdf> (consulted: 04 March 2014).

CHART 11. Year 2011-2012. Private schools.

	<i>Only Spanish</i>	<i>Spanish as language of instruction and Catalan as a subject</i>	<i>Bilingual education</i>	<i>Catalan as language of instruction and Spanish as a subject</i>
Infant Ed.	0.0	1.8	57.6	40.6
Primary Ed.	0.0	1.3	62.8	35.9
Special Ed.	0.0	0.0	78.8	21.2
Secondary Ed.	0.0	1.2	64.4	34.4
Further education	0.0	0.7	68.0	31.3
Professional Training	0.0	0.0	59.4	40.6
Initial professional qualifications	0.0	19.2	26.1	54.7
Total	0.0	1.5	62.0	36.5

Source: Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport. General Subdirection of Statistics and Studies (2014) "Los modelos lingüísticos" (Linguistic models), on *Las cifras de la educación en España (Figures on education in Spain). Year 2011-2012.* (2014 Edition) (online), <https://www.mecd.gob.es/dms/mecd/servicios-al-ciudadano-mecd/estadisticas/educacion/indicadores-publicaciones-sintesis/cifras-educacion-espana/2014/E1p.pdf> (consulted: 04 March 2014).

In relation the previous Report, it is worth highlighting that, for the first time, 1% of schools (all of the state schools) provide the entirety of classes in Spanish and do not even teach Catalan as a subject. Almost 1% of the schools breach the decree on minimum levels, since they only teach Catalan as a subject. We can only assume that those who define themselves as providing "bilingual education" deliver at least 50% of subjects in Catalan, although no data is provided in the chart specifying this. In any event, we see that instruction in Catalan stands in the majority position (69.5%), especially in state schools where it reaches 87%, representing an increase of 2.5% in

relation to the previous year. In private schools we also see a slight increase in instruction in Catalan (1.5%) and a reduction of the other two options.

As for university education, the data for the 2013-2014 year²⁴⁰ shows that 53.49% of teachers deliver classes in Catalan (which represents a slight increase), 38.2% in Spanish and 7.47% in English. The percentage use of other languages is not of particular significance.

These percentages vary slightly in relation to whether we are talking about degree programmes, where the use of Catalan drops slightly (53.2%) or postgraduate programmes, where use increases (54.7%).

On the other hand, Catalan is the predominant language in online education, since it is used in 80% of subjects, while Spanish is used in 17.5%, and English in 2.5%.

Its use by students taking university access tests has dropped slightly from 81% in 2012 to 80.4% in 2013.²⁴¹

As for Catalan courses for adults, according to data provided by the Ministry of Education,²⁴² in 2012-2013, 1,549 people enrolled on Catalan language courses,²⁴³ within the framework of formal education (35% less than the previous year). No data is available for the courses provided by the Consorci Institut d'Estudis Balearics²⁴⁴ and the Escola Balear d'Administració Pública, as the official authorities responsible for its teaching within non-regulated language teaching contexts, nor of the other organisations who offer courses: Paraula, Escola de Mallorquí, Institut d'Estudis Eivissencs.

2.3.7. The Valencian Community

As discussed in previous Reports, unlike the other two large Catalan-speaking regions, the Valencian Community is the only autonomous community to maintain different educational lines of approach depending on the language used as the main language of instruction.

Likewise, the three traditional lines will be gradually replaced by two new plurilingual programmes - the PPEV and the PPEC - established in the so-called Decree

240. University of the Balearic Islands. Servei d'estadística i Qualitat Universitària (Statistics and University Quality Services). *Statistical Report. Llengua de la docència a les assignatures de la UIB (Language of Instruction on subjects at UIB). 2013-2014 year*, available at http://slq.uib.cat/digitalAssets/280/280181_Llengua_docencia_13_14.pdf (consulted: 30 June 2014).

241. Sociolinguistic Research Group of the Balearic Islands (GRESIB). Statistical data. *El català a la selectivitat 2013 (Catalan in university access tests 2013)*, available at <http://www.uib.es/depart/dfc/gresib/selectivitat.htm#evoluci%F3> (consulted: 10 April 2014).

242. See the Statistics Office of the Ministry of Education at <http://www.educacion.gob.es/educabase/menu.do?type=pcaxis&path=/Educacion/Alumnado/Matriculado/2012-2013DA/Comunidad/Adultos&file=pcaxis&l=s0> (consulted: 19 March 2014).

243. The website states "other Spanish languages". Since the data was for the Balearic Islands, we have interpreted this to mean Catalan.

244. The previous COFUC.

on Plurilingualism,²⁴⁵ approved on 3 August 2012, and which has started to be applied with students in the first and second year of infant education (P3 and P4). The base language of the PPEV (Plurilingual Programme for Education in Valencian) is Valencian, and it replaces the current educational line of approach in Valencia (PEV and PIL). The base language of the PPEC (Plurilingual Programme for Education in Spanish) is Spanish, and this replaces the PIP. Both programmes also include a requirement to teach at least one non-language subject in English, as well as part of the instruction to be given in Spanish in the PPEV as a minimum, and another part in Valencian in the PPEC, also as a minimum.

No recent data is available from the Ministry on the number of students following each linguistic model. The latest official data published is for the year 2011-2012 and no significant variations are observed in relation to previous years, except for a slight increase in PEV/PIL,²⁴⁶ which does not amount to one percent (0.7%). This data is presented below in [chart 12](#):

CHART 12. Year 2011-2012. Percentage distribution of students. All schools

	<i>Spanish as language of instruction and Valencian as a subject</i>	<i>Bilingual Education (PIP)</i>	<i>Valencian language of instruction and Spanish as a subject (PEV/PIL)</i>
Infant Ed.	13.7	49.7	36.6
Primary Ed.	12.7	51.8	35.6
Special Ed.	84.7	13.4	1.8
Secondary Ed.	13.8	55.3	30.9
Further education	21.0	60.4	18.6
Professional Training	33.4	61.3	5.4
Initial professional qualifications	27.1	55.3	17.6
Total	16.2	53.4	30.4

Source: Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport. General Subdirection of Statistics and Studies (2014) "Los modelos lingüísticos" (Linguistic models), on *Las cifras de la educación en España (Figures on education in Spain). Year 2011-2012.* (2014 Edition) (online), <<https://www.mecd.gob.es/dms/mecd/servicios-al-ciudadano-mecd/estadisticas/educacion/indicadores-publicaciones-sintesis/cifras-educacion-espana/2014/E1p.pdf>> (consulted: 04 March 2014).

245. Decree 127/2012 of 3 August, of the Council, regulating plurilingualism in non-university teaching in the Valencian Community, available at http://www.docv.gva.es/datos/2012/08/06/pdf/2012_7817.pdf (consulted: 26 March 2014).

246. For more information on the bilingual education programmes in place in the Valencian Community, see http://www.edu.gva.es/ocd/sedev/val/pro_edu_bil.htm (consulted: 18 March 2014).

The distribution across state and private schools can be seen in charts [13](#) and [14](#):

CHART 13. Year 2011-2012 State schools.

	<i>Spanish as language of instruction and Valencian as a subject</i>	<i>Bilingual Education (PIP)</i>	<i>Valencian language of instruction and Spanish as a subject (PEV/PIL)</i>
Infant Ed.	13.6	34.9	51.5
Primary Ed.	14.0	37.9	48.1
Special Ed.	85.8	11.8	2.3
Secondary Ed.	13.7	42.6	43.7
Further education	17.1	59.1	23.8
Professional Training	26.3	66.9	6.8
Initial professional qualifications	25.6	55.4	18.9
Total	15.9	43.2	40.9

Source: Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport. General Subdirection of Statistics and Studies (2014) "Los modelos lingüísticos" (Linguistic models), on *Las cifras de la educación en España (Figures on education in Spain). Year 2011-2012. (2014 Edition)* (online), <https://www.mecd.gob.es/dms/mecd/servicios-al-ciudadano-mecd/estadisticas/educacion/indicadores-publicaciones-sintesis/cifras-educacion-espana/2014/E1p.pdf> (consulted: 04 March 2014).

CHART 14. Year 2011-2012. Private schools.

	<i>Spanish as language of instruction and Valencian as a subject</i>	<i>Bilingual Education (PIP)</i>	<i>Valencian language of instruction and Spanish as a subject (PEV/PIL)</i>
Infant Ed.	13.9	76.8	8.8
Primary Ed.	9.7	82.9	7.4
Special Ed.	81	19.0	0.0
Secondary Ed.	14.0	80.2	5.8
Further education	34.9	64.8	0.3
Professional Training	59.7	40.3	0.0
Initial professional qualifications	44.6	53.6	1.8
Total	16.7	76.8	6.5

Source: Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport. General Subdirection of Statistics and Studies (2014) "Los modelos lingüísticos" (Linguistic models), on *Las cifras de la educación en España (Figures on education in Spain). Year 2011-2012. (2014 Edition)* (online), <https://www.mecd.gob.es/dms/mecd/servicios-al-ciudadano-mecd/estadisticas/educacion/indicadores-publicaciones-sintesis/cifras-educacion-espana/2014/E1p.pdf> (consulted: 04 March 2014).

These figures are slightly higher than those of the previous year of 2011-2012 provided by STEPV (Union of Workers in the Education Sector in the Valencian Community)²⁴⁷ and presented in the 2011 Report (27.74% average).

In any event, and in lieu of official data, education in Valencian continues to grow since, according to the Escola Valenciana, the percentage of educational provision in Valencian for the 2013-2014 year is 33% of the total, mainly delivered in state schools

247. For more information on STEPV, see <http://www.intersindical.org/llengua> (consulted: 18 March 2014).

(93%), in which 67.43% of the students of the Valencian Community study.²⁴⁸ In absolute numbers, 235,970 students (30%) are provided with education in the native language in the year 2013-2014. In the year 2010-2011, this figure stood at 222,236 (29%).

As to the provision in schools, according to the same entity, 643 schools offer education in Spanish, 451 schools offer it in Valencian, and 279 schools offer a dual line approach PPEC/PPEV.²⁴⁹

In fact, in addition to the 34 lines that have Valencian as a base language for the 2012-2013 year, those of 44 more schools have been added for the year 2013-2014, after they submitted a request and were authorised to do so by the Ministry, which, in the words of the president of the Escola Valenciana, “is a very significant change of direction with regard to the systematic and groundless refusals of the Font de Mora phase”. The president also believes that “dialogue is starting to take effect in favour of students and with a view to the gradual establishment of the best educational programme possible, the Plurilingual programme for Education in Valencian”.

It seems that the “*Marca’t un punt. Matricula en valencià, matricula en qualitat*” (*Give yourself a point. Enrol in Valencian, enrol for quality*) launched by the same entity has been decisive in terms of counterposing the lack of information the families were given on current educational programmes and in promoting awareness that the PPEV was the one to guarantee teaching in the two official languages as well as a third language such as English.

Nevertheless, these provisions do not cover all the demand, since, according to the spokesperson on Commitment of the Valencian Parliament, Enric Morera, there will still be 14,000 children left without the option to study in Valencian. The key weak points in terms of the educational provision in Valencia continue to be the large cities: in Valencia, for example, only 19% of students are able to receive education in Valencian.

As for the use of Valencian as the language of instruction in the different universities, the latest data we have is for the year 2012-2013.²⁵⁰

The demand for education in Valencian continues to fall as we had already mentioned in the 2010 Report (dropping from 18.12% on average in 2008-2009 to 10.93% in 2012-2013, if we include UV-EG, for which data is not available, or 13.54% if we do not include this). This does not, however, coincide with the data on classes taught in Valencian, which has increased slightly (from 11.62% on average in 2008-2009 to 12.13% in 2012-2013), thanks in particular to an increase in classes at UV-EG. We can see this in detail in relation to recent years in [chart 15](#):

248. See https://www.escolavalenciana.com/arxiu/upload/informes/informe_elimincio_unitats_2014_2015.pdf (consulted: 18 March 2014).

249. See http://www.ara.cat/paisvalencia/ensenyament-valencia-alumnat-Escola_Valenciana-curs_2013-2014_0_995900616.html?print=1# (consulted: 18 March 2014).

250. University Jaume I. Servei de Llengües i Terminologia (Language and Terminology Services), <https://www.uji.es/bin/serveis/slt/triam/triam13/uvdemof.pdf> (consulted: 18 March 2014).

CHART 15. Demand for Catalan and credits taught in Catalan. *Percentages 2010-2013*

	<i>Credits delivered in Catalan, 2010-2011</i>	<i>Credits delivered in Catalan, 2011-2012</i>	<i>Credits delivered in Catalan, 2012-2013</i>
U. Jaume I	20.77	19.89	20.61
Valencia Univ – General Studies	21.88	29.70	29.65
Polytechnic Univ. Valencia	6.18	5.1	4.8
U. Miguel Hernández	0	0	0
Alicante University	6.68	4.9	5.6
Average	11.10	11.92	12.13

Source: Jaume I University Servei de Llengües i Terminologia (Languages and Terminology Services), <http://www.uji.es/bin/serveis/slt/triam/triam11/adoval.pdf>, <https://www.uji.es/bin/serveis/slt/triam/triam13/uvdemof.pdf> (consulted: 18 March 2014).

As for Valencian classes for adults, in 2012-2013, only 269 students (305 in the previous year) enrolled on the language courses provided at adult education centres.²⁵¹

2.3.8. Carche

As we have highlighted in previous Reports, a beginner's course in Valencian started to be taught at the Popular University of Yecla in 2005. Initially, this course was going to be delivered in the schools of Raspai, a Catalan-speaking segment of this Murcian population, but, as these were not authorised, they were delivered instead in the municipal capital which falls outside the linguistic domain. This change was to overturn the initial profile of students. It is worth remembering that the main reason behind this initiative was to meet the needs of the inhabitants of Raspai to learn to write their own language, to learn about the popular literature and culture of the area and the local toponymy, to learn about the geographic extension of Valencian, the dialectal nature of the Valencian spoken in the Carche area, as well as learning the orthographic and grammatical rules of the language at a beginners level.

In spite of this, the course in Valencian was very well received, with people enrolling for different reasons: to learn Valencian to have more job opportunities and to discover another language and culture for pleasure. The course, of one single level only, has continued to be delivered until now, but from 2011 onwards the provision was extended and a new course of elementary-intermediate level started to be delivered for those who had already passed the beginner's level and wanted to continue learning Valencian.

The AVL is responsible for paying the teachers of this course and the Popular University of Yecla provides the classroom facilities and the student material through

251. See the Statistics Office of the Ministry of Education at <http://www.educacion.gob.es/educabase/menu.do?type=pcaxis&path=/Educacion/Alumnado/Matriculado/2012-2013DA/Comunidad/Adultos&file=pcaxis&l=s0> (consulted: 19 March 2014).

the City Council. In 2013-2014, twenty students enrolled on the beginner's course in Valencian and eight on the elementary-intermediate course. It should be noted that none of these students are initial Catalan-speakers.

2.3.9. Teaching of Catalan abroad

The Government of Catalonia promotes the teaching of our language abroad, basically through the Ramon Llull Institute (IRL), which, among other functions, works to promote and coordinate the teaching of Catalan in universities and other higher education institutes across the world, encouraging research studies on Catalan language and culture. In 2012, the network of universities with Catalan studies abroad saw a reduction in its number of universities as a result of the general redefinition of the network in line with the application of new strategic lines, falling from 123 to 114 universities in 30 states across the world, in which a total of 6,889 students have studied Catalan language, literature and culture.²⁵²

The IRL has signed new collaboration agreements for the 2012-2013 year with the University of Granada (Spanish State) and the London School of Economics (United Kingdom).

It also signed agreements in 2012 (which continue in force for the 2013-2014 year) with the Valencian Language Academic (AVL), the University of Valencia and the Jaume I University, and with Cambridge University (England), Torí (Piemont) and Amiens (France): On the other hand, it has stopped contributing towards the maintenance of Catalan studies in 7 other universities.

As for the International projection from the Valencian Community, it should be noted that 2011-2012 saw the end of the joint programme "Lectorats de llengua, literatura i cultura valencianes en l'exterior" (Assistantships in Valencian language, literature and culture abroad) between the Valencian Academy of the Language, the Ministry of Education of the Government of Valencia and the Universities of Valencia, Alicante and Jaume I of Castelló, created in 2008.

At the same time, throughout 2012, and with the support of the Government of Catalonia, the Catalan communities²⁵³ abroad, organised 145 language courses in 53 centres in 25 countries; a figure which represents an increase in relation to 2011 of 38%.

252. GOVERNMENT OF CATALONIA, MINISTRY OF CULTURE, GENERAL DIRECTORATE OF LINGUISTIC POLICY (2013), *Informe de política lingüística 2012 (Report on linguistic policy)* (online), Barcelona, Government of Catalonia, <http://www20.gencat.cat/docs/Llengcat/Documents/InformePL/Arxius/IPL2012.pdf> (consulted: 10 March 2014).

253. For more information on the Catalan communities abroad see the website <http://www20.gencat.cat/portal/site/afersexteriors/menuitem.548116b848978a59fea66dfbb0c0e1a0/?vqnextoid=6121b2e76e550310VqnVCM2000009b0c1e0aRCRD&vqnextchannel=6121b2e76e550310VqnVCM2000009b0c1e0aRCRD> (consulted: 12 April 2014).

2.4. Media and Cultural Industries

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2.4.1. Introduction

The elaboration of this section has been hampered by the recent changes at the Baròmetre de la Comunicació i la Cultura (Barometer of Communication and Culture). In late December 2012, Fundacc, the entity that manages Baròmetre, signed an agreement with the Asociación para la Investigación de Medios de Comunicación (Media Communications Research Association), the organisation responsible for producing the nationwide study of audiences, known as the Estudio General de Medios (EGM).²⁵⁴ In practice, this agreement has led to a drastic reduction in the number of interviews carried out by Fundacc for Baròmetre, which has therefore been reduced to a mere expansion of the EGM sample in Catalonia. In fact, as a result of this collaboration, the new study is called EGM Baròmetre Catalunya.

This reduction in sample size, together with the change resulting from the adoption of the EGM methodology, means that the audience figures of the new study are not comparable with previous editions of the Baròmetre de la Comunicació i la Cultura. In addition, Fundacc has refused to provide Xarxa CRUSCAT - IEC with cultural consumption data for 2013 on the grounds of commercial policy. The combination of all these factors have inevitably led to a reduction in the clarity of the deeper picture we have presented in previous editions of this section.

2.4.2. Daily Press

The aforementioned limitations do not affect the analysis of the daily press in Catalonia in terms of the publications' main language, because the corresponding data came from another source, the Oficina de Justificación de la Difusión (OJD). The trend begun in 2011 was seen to continue in 2013²⁵⁵, with an increase in the ratio of copies of newspapers in Catalan circulated in the Principality in relation to newspapers completely or mainly in Spanish.²⁵⁶ In the subsector of paid general newspapers, therefore, the 2013 ratios were 42.3% for newspapers in Catalan and 57.7% for those

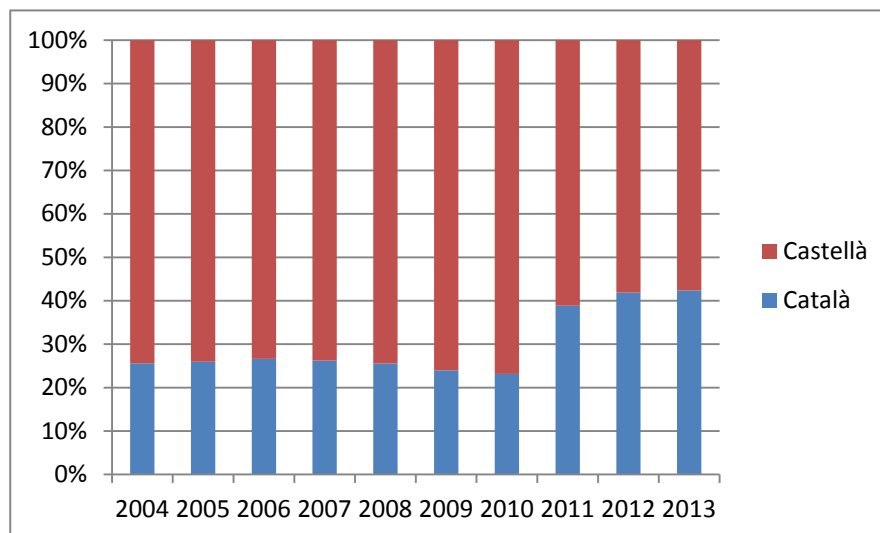
254. See <http://comunicacio21.cat/2012/12/egm-i-barometre-segellen-la-unificacio-de-les-audiences-a-catalunya>, consulted: March 2014.

255. The 2013 data actually corresponds to the period from July 2012-June 2013, the most recent available to the OJD at the time of writing this report.

256. Despite an overall reduction in the number of copies circulated, following a trend that started more than 10 years ago, the circulation of newspapers in Spanish seem to have been affected to a greater extent than those in Catalan.

in Spanish. The ratio for newspapers in Catalan had been at 41.9% in 2012 and 23.2% in 2010, before the introduction of *Ara* and the Catalan edition of *La Vanguardia*.

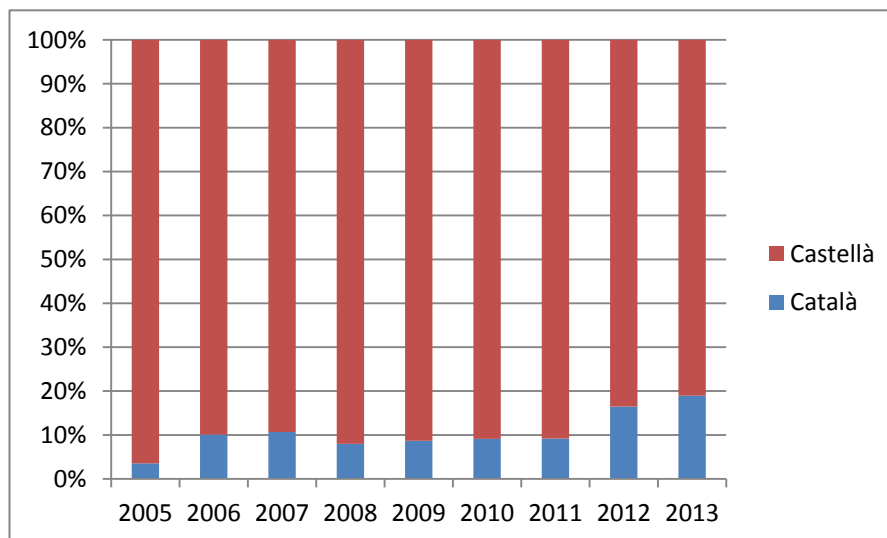
DIAGRAM 22. *Ratio of paid general newspaper copies circulated in Catalonia, by principle language of the publication*



Source: Own elaboration with data from the OJD. 2013 data for the period July 2012 - June 2013 (most recent available).

In the subsector of free daily newspapers, the circulation figures for 2013 indicate a ratio of 19% for newspapers published in Catalan (*Més* in Tarragona and *Bon Dia*, in Lleida), which, in 2012, was 16.5%, and 9.1% in 2010. In this case, the significant percentage increase can be explained by the demise of titles *Què!* and *ADN*, published mostly in Spanish. Conversely, no changes were seen with regard to the daily specialised press (sports and economics), which continued to be entirely or mostly published in Spanish, with the exception of *El 9 Esportiu de Catalunya*, published entirely in Catalan but not under the control of the OJD.

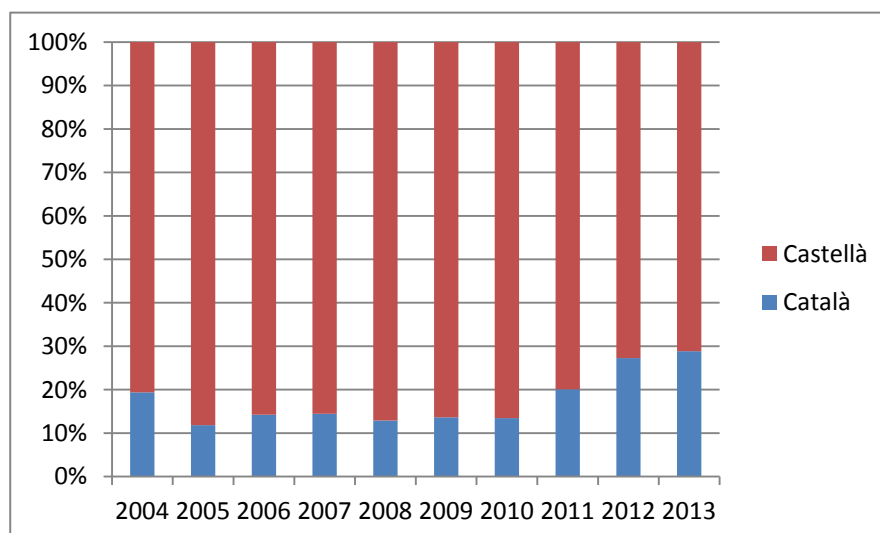
DIAGRAM 23. *Ratio of paid general newspaper copies circulated in Catalonia, by principle language of the publication*



Source: Own elaboration with data from the OJD. 2013 data for the period July 2012 - June 2013 (most recent available).

Thus, if we put together both the free and paid daily newspaper circulation in Catalonia for 2013, 28.9% of the copies were newspapers published in Catalan, while the ratio of newspapers entirely or mainly published in Spanish was 71.2%. These figures were respectively 27.3% and 72.7% in 2012, and 13.4% and 86.6% in 2010. A sharp increase in recent years can therefore be observed in terms of the proportion of copies of daily newspapers circulated in Catalan, a trend that continued, albeit less dramatically, in 2013.

DIAGRAM 24. *Ratio of copies of newspapers circulated in Catalonia, by principle language of the publication (general press, specialist press and free press)*



Source: Own elaboration with data from the OJD. 2013 data for the period July 2012 - June 2013 (most recent available).

Of the other territories of the domain, it was the Balearic Islands that experienced the most significant changes regarding the daily press, where, at the end of May 2013, the print edition of the only newspaper published in Catalan, *Diari de Balears* or *dBalears*, stopped circulating, having been running for the past 17 years. However, this project has now been replaced by a new newspaper, *Ara Balears*, owned by Grup Serra, publisher of the former *Diari de Balears*, and Edició de Premsa Periòdica Ara, which publishes the newspaper of the same name in Catalonia. The new title includes some of the content of this latter publication, with a national and international remit. The *dBalears* title continues to exist in digital format²⁵⁷. According to the OJD, the average daily circulation of *Ara Balears* was 1,560 copies for the period of June-August 2013 (most recent data available).

The Valencian Community remained without having a single newspaper published in Catalan in 2013, while in Andorra the four local newspapers published in their own language continued to circulate: *Diari d'Andorra* and *El Periòdic d'Andorra* (paid), *Bon Dia* and *Més Andorra* (free).

2.4.3. Non-daily publications

The changes previously mentioned at the Baròmetre de la Comunicació i la Cultura prevent us from providing a clearer picture of the changes that took place in the sector of Catalan press with different publication frequencies in relation to 2012, particularly from the perspective of readership and in comparison with the Spanish periodical press circulated in Catalonia. However, the predominance of Spanish language consumer magazines remained intact across all areas of the linguistic domain, particularly with regard to the dominance of the nationwide magazines.

The agreement between the three Catalan press associations is one of the most significant noteworthy events of the period, made in order to establish a single federation encompassing the titles published by the Associació Catalana de la Premsa Gratuïta i Mitjans Digitals (Catalan Association of Free Press and Digital Media, ACPG), the Associació Catalana de la Premsa Comarcal (Catalan Association for Regional Press, ACPC) and the Associació de Publicacions Periòdiques en Català (Association of Periodical Publications in Catalan, APPEC). This agreement had to be reached, according to media consultant and regional press expert, Estanis Alcover, under "the long shadow of the Secretariat of Communications" of the Government of Catalonia,²⁵⁸ i.e., under its patronage and direction. One of the initial results of this agreement was the creation of a unified Catalan press award, but this new initiative corresponds to

257. See <http://comunicacio21.cat/2013/05/1/%E2%80%99arabalears-relleva-dbalears-com-a-unic-diari-en-llengua-propia-de-les-illes>, consulted: March 2014.

258. Complete article available at <http://comunicacio21.cat/2013/09/avantatges-de-la-federacio-d%E2%80%99associacions-de-premsa>.

2014 and therefore falls outside the chronological framework of this section, focused on the year 2013.

At the beginning of 2014 the ACPG had 99 associated print publications in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Andorra, most of them published in Catalan. There were 94 titles in the digital media area. It can be said, therefore, that this sector is in a relatively good health, despite the crisis, and that it plays a central role in promoting the public use of Catalan. Meanwhile, for the same period, APPEC was publishing some 140 associated titles, also in the different regions of the linguistic domain but predominately magazines circulated in the Principality. As the name suggests, 100% of the member publications are published in Catalan. The website of the Associació Catalana de la Premsa Comarcal listed 107 associated publications, all published in Catalan. It should be noted that quite a few publications are members of more than one of these associations.

The situation regarding the non-daily press in the Valencian Community continued to be quite precarious which was mainly the result, according to studies and to professor Francesc Martínez, of "political constraints and lack of institutional support".²⁵⁹ At the beginning of 2014, the Associació de Publicacions Periòdiques (Association of Periodical Publications) in Valencia had 32 associated publications, according to their website (<http://quioscvalencia.wordpress.com>), the same as at the start of 2013. The website of the Associació de Premsa Forana de Mallorca (Mallorca Foreign Press Association) listed 37 associated publications for the same period (<http://www.premsaforana.cat>).

2.4.4. Radio

The upward trend in the proportion of radio audiences listening in Catalan in relation to those listening in Spanish continued across Catalonia throughout the course of 2013. The average aggregate audience of general radio stations with national or territorial coverage broadcasting in Catalan reached 1.186 million listeners,²⁶⁰ while similar radio stations broadcasting in Spanish collectively reached 815,000 listeners. This equates to 59.3% and 40.7%, respectively, of the aggregate average general national and territorial radio audience in Catalonia. Although, as we said before, the changes at the Baròmetre de la Comunicació i la Cultura make comparisons with other years difficult, it may be useful to point out that these percentages were 58.7% and 41.3%, respectively, in 2012, with the previous Baròmetre sample and methodology.²⁶¹

259. See <http://comunicacio21.cat/2014/01/per-que-el-pp-no-tanca-mitjans-de-comunicacio-publics-en-castella>, consulted: March 2014.

260. Not individuals, as the same individual may listen to a number of channels.

261. As this is macro data relating to the whole of Catalonia, the possible sample and methodology differences between the Baròmetre de la Comunicació i la Cultura prior to 2013 and the EGM Baròmetre would definitely not have such an impact on the comparability of the data.

In 2007, the first full year for which Baròmetre data is available, these percentages were, 48.3% and 51.7%, respectively.

We do not have access to data collected for the local, regional, municipal or private radio sectors in Catalonia, but we can say that the vast majority of the original content produced by these stations are in Catalan, thus these are sectors in which the region's own language is the most normalised across the Principality. The economic crisis does not seem to have affected this overwhelming predominance of own language broadcasting.

With regard to Valencia, the most remarkable and controversial development of this period in the area of radio was the closure of the *Radiotelevisió Valenciana*, *Ràdio 9* and *Sí Ràdioradio* stations, forced off air by the Government of Valencia on 29 November 2013 as part of the closure of all Radiotelevisió Valenciana media, in response to a ruling by the High Court of Justice of the Valencian Community that nullified the ERE put forward by the broadcaster Radiotelevisió Valenciana.²⁶² In addition to this, on 21 January 2014, the court enforced the ruling that the Catalunya Ràdio and Catalunya Informació broadcasts to the Valencian Community via the Acció Cultural del País Valencià network of in-house repeaters should follow the decision made by the Spanish Ministry of Industry. Thus, Valencian language radio in that community can now be considered to be in a state of emergency.

On the Balearic Islands, the reduction in the use of the region's own language across the radio waves following the closure of *Ona Mallorca* in December 2011 was offset in part by the January 2014 launch of the *Ona Mediterrània* radio station. This station, supported by the Obra Cultural Balear and the Associació Voltor, broadcasts entirely in Catalan across the island of Mallorca, and adds to the selection of radio available in this language from *IB3 Ràdio*, *Catalunya Ràdio* and a few local stations. Catalan radio programming, however, is still in the minority on the Islands.

In Andorra, the supply of own language radio is provided by *Ràdio Nacional d'Andorra* and *Andorra Música*, presented in Catalan. Added to this is the wide range of Catalan language radio broadcast from the Principality. It can therefore be said that Catalan language radio continues to be well represented in the Pyrenees country.

2.4.5. Television

By 2013 there were no major changes regarding the supply of television in Catalan in Catalonia. The range of Televisió de Catalunya's DTT television channels, broadcast entirely in the region's own language, remained unchanged. The same can be said of Emissions Digitals de Catalunya, the Godó group company that manages the *8TV*, *Bom*, *Rac 105 TV* and *Barça TV* channels (the latter being owned by Barcelona Football Club, which is broadcast through the multiplex belonging to the Godó group). The *8TV* and

262. See <http://comunicacio21.cat/2013/11/rtvv-se%E2%80%99n-va-a-negre>, consulted: March 2014.

Bom channels have stuck with their policy of broadcasting a mixture of Catalan and Spanish language content, although the vehicular language on both is Catalan.

The viewing figures provided by Kantar Media reflect the popularity of the Catalan programming broadcast by Televisió de Catalunya. The Principality's joint audience share across its DTT channels reached 17.8% in 2013, seven tenths up on 2012. This is a remarkable result in the current context of audience fragmentation caused by the proliferation of channels and screens. The 8TV channel won an audience share of 3.4% in the Principality, two tenths up on 2012. We do not have access to the figures for local DTT channels, most of which broadcast their content entirely or mostly in the region's own language. Despite these positive results, it should be noted that Spanish language programming is clearly dominant both in the supply and consumption of television in Catalonia due to the number and power of the national DTT channels.

2013 was a black year for television broadcasting in Valencian in the Valencian Community. As explained in the section on radio, on 29 November, the Government of Valencia ordered the definitive closure of all Radiotelevisió Valenciana broadcasting following the dissolution of the public entity decreed by the Government of Valencia and ratified by State Parliament shortly beforehand. Meanwhile, negotiations between the Catalan and Valencian Governments stalled with regard to resuming TV3 broadcasting in the Valencian Community. In the spring of 2013, both governments approved a collaboration agreement so that the respective Autonomous Community television channels could be watched in the two territories, but the Government of Valencia made the activation of the agreement subject to the Spanish Government granting another DTT multiplex, despite the fact that Radiotelevisió Valenciana had three unused channels in its multiplex. This condition has yet to be fulfilled at the time of writing this report, and in the meantime the aforementioned closure of *Canal 9* has been affected, which suspends the agreement in question indefinitely.²⁶³

Meanwhile, the online publication *La Veu del País Valencià* became the focus of a controversy surrounding the reasons why the organisation Acció Cultural del País Valencià failed to reactivate TV3 broadcasting through its network of repeaters, after the Supreme Court nullified the Government of Valencia provisions against these broadcasts in mid-December 2012, due to the latter's lack of authority to do so. Journalist Manuel S. Jardí published an article in September 2013 entitled "Without TV3,"²⁶⁴ in which he raised questions about ACPV's real commitment to resuming the broadcasting of TV3 programming. The Secretary of ACPV, Toni Gisbert, responded in an "Open Letter to Manuel S. Jardí on TV3 in the Valencian Community",²⁶⁵ citing technical reasons and a lack of political support from the Government of Catalonia with regard to sending the TV3 signal to ACPC's Bartolo repeater, located in the hills of

263. See <http://comunicacio21.cat/2013/04/la-reciprocitat-entre-tv3-i-canal-9-queda-supeditada-a-la-concessio-de-mes-canals-al-pais-valencia>, consulted: March 2014.

264. See <http://opinions.laveupv.com/manuel-s-jardi/blog/1539/sense-tv3>, consulted: March 2014.

265. See <http://www.laveupv.com/noticia/4998/carta-oberta-a-manuel-s-jardi-sobre-tv3-al-pais-valencia-per-toni-gisbert>, consulted: March 2014.

Benicassim. He also stressed ACPV's desire to resume broadcasts as soon as possible, despite the risk of sanctions from the Ministry of Interior, the only body with authority over such matters, as established in the Supreme Court ruling. In any case, the fact is that, by the end of 2013, Valencian language television was at an all time low, represented only by a few local channels.

There were no significant changes regarding the supply of own language television broadcasting in the other Catalan-speaking territories.

2.4.6. Cultural industries: film and books

With regards to film, the 2012 data, the latest available, shows a slight increase in the proportion of audiences watching Catalan films (VO films, dubbed or subtitled in Catalan) with respect to the total cinema audience figures: 4.4%, five tenths up on 2011.²⁶⁶ This proportion is the highest of recent years, although it is still tiny in comparison to films in Spanish and other languages.²⁶⁷ Other indicators also seem to suggest a slight increase in the popularity of Catalan cinema in Catalonia within the general limitations of the figures available: in 2012 there were 39,590 screenings of films in Catalan (30,252 in 2011), and the region's own language film productions brought in €5.3 million, €300,000 more than in 2011.²⁶⁸

The most recent data available on publishing corresponds to the year 2012, in which 8497 own language titles were published in Catalonia, 26.8% of the total, while 20,114 titles were published in Spanish, 63.3% of the total (the rest was accounted for by titles published in other languages). In 2011, the ratio of titles in Catalan was 24.7%, therefore, a slight increase in the proportion of publishing in the region's own language can be observed in relation to the total number of titles published annually in Catalonia, motivated mainly by the reduction of the number of titles published in Spanish (22,881 in 2011), since the number of titles published in Catalan has remained virtually stable from one year to another.²⁶⁹ In 2008, the proportion of titles in Catalan in relation to the total was 26%. Other indicators also point to a stabilisation in the production of Catalan language books in Catalonia: the number of editorial members of the Catalan Publishers Association (85 in 2011, 86 in 2012) and turnover (€242.4 million in 2011, €221.5 million in 2013).

Across the whole of Spain, the total number of titles published in Catalan/Valencian in 2012 was 10,813, representing 11.1% of the total number of titles published. These

266. In general terms, the audience for films in Catalan has increased: from 785,892 in 2011 to 846,253 in 2012, an increase of 7.7%, significant in the context of the overall reduction in the number of cinema goers in Catalonia, which fell by 4.9%.

267. GOVERNMENT OF CATALONIA. MINISTRY OF CULTURE. DIRECCIÓ GENERAL DE POLÍTICA LINGÜÍSTICA (2013), *Informe de política lingüística* 2012 (online), Barcelona, Generalitat de Catalunya, <http://www20.gencat.cat/docs/Llenqcat/Documents/InformePL/Arxius/IPL2012.pdf> (Consulted: 10 March 2014).

268. See the 2013 Catalan Cultural Statistics, available at http://www20.gencat.cat/docs/CulturaDepartament/SSCC/GT/Estad%C3%ADstiques/EstCultCat_2013.pdf, consulted: March 2014.

269. See the 2013 Catalan Cultural Statistics, available at http://www20.gencat.cat/docs/CulturaDepartament/SSCC/GT/Estad%C3%ADstiques/EstCultCat_2013.pdf, consulted: March 2014.

figures for the previous year had been, respectively, 13,383 and 12.8%.²⁷⁰ We can see, therefore, a considerable decline in absolute terms (rather than in relative terms, regarding the decline of titles in other languages) of Catalan publishing between 2011 and 2012, which could be explained by the significant influence the economic crisis has had on publishing in Catalan, given its relatively small market and greater dependence on public funding.

2.4.7. Internet and online media

The inroads made with regard to the presence of Catalan on the Internet continued during the year 2013. A year in which the Internet seemed to be the medium or communicative area through which the Catalan language was best represented, along with radio. Several indicators confirm this optimistic view. In early 2014, the number of .cat registered domains reached 71,065, which represents a 15.7% increase over the preceding year and is almost 80% more than in 2010.²⁷¹ On 1 March 2014, the number of Twitter users tweeting in Catalan reached 150,520, 65% more than the previous year.²⁷² For the same period, Viquipèdia, or Wikipedia in Catalan, featured 423,680 articles, 6% more than the preceding year and 37.8% more than in 2011. The Catalan language was ranked number 17 with regard to the number of articles published per language. This represents a slight drop from fifteenth place in March 2013, but Catalan still ranks above other languages with a much larger number of speakers, such as Chinese, Indonesian, Persian and Arabic.²⁷³ Finally, the WICCAC organisation has also recorded an increase in the percentage of companies and institutions based in the Catalan-speaking territories with a website in Catalan: specifically the amount has risen from 61.8% in December 2012 to 62.9% a year later.²⁷⁴ Progress is, however, modest, and these figures also highlight the fact that almost 40% of companies and organisations located in the territory still do not have a website in the region's own language.

In the area of online news media located in Catalonia, an overwhelming predominance of content being produced in Catalan has also been observed. In March 2014, of the 94 ACPG associated digital media, only three published their content in Spanish (entirely or mainly), and in all three cases, the publications concerned were located on the island of Mallorca. Two other associated media published their content in both Catalan and Spanish in similar proportions, while the others, a total of 89, published exclusively or almost entirely in Catalan. It should, however, be remembered

270. Source: Panorámica de la Edición Española de Libros 2012, available at https://sede.educacion.gob.es/publiventa/descargas.action?f_codigo=14452C&codigoOpcion=3, consulted: March 2014.

271. See <http://fundacio.cat/ca/observatori/infografia/creixement-interanual-2013>, consulted: March 2014.

272. See <http://twitterencatala.org>, consulted: March 2014.

273. See http://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/List_of_Wikipedias#All_Wikipedias_ordered_by_number_of_articles, consulted: March 2014.

274. See http://wiccac.cat/hist_resums.html, consulted: 2014.

that those Catalan online media with the widest audiences publish their content in Spanish (specifically, the digital versions of the *Sport*, *Mundo Deportivo* and *La Vanguardia* newspapers).

Conversely, of the 21 online media members of the Associació de Mitjans Digitals de la Comunitat Valenciana (Digital Media Association of the Valencian Community), only one publishes its content in Valencia. All the rest are entirely or mostly in Spanish.²⁷⁵

According to the audience figures available from the OJD, the top 10 Catalan media, ranked by audience, increased their audience as a whole (unique monthly users) by 30.4% between December 2012 and December 2013,²⁷⁶ although this growth should be interpreted within the context of a general increase in online media audiences, regardless of the language used.

275. Three sites were not operational at the time of writing this report. See <http://www.amdcomval.com/miembros>, consulted: March 2014.

276. See <http://comunicacio21.cat/2014/01/la-majoria-de-diaris-digitalis-en-catala-van-perdre-lectors-al-desembre>, consulted: March 2014. Excluding *Elsingulardigital.cat*, due to figures not being available for December 2012.

2.5. Public Institutions: international reach of the language Between the public and the private: socioeconomics, health and protection

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2.5.1. Public Institutions

The Spanish State

At a judicial level, the year 2013 began with six new rulings by the High Court of Justice of Catalonia,²⁷⁷ which expanded on the seven that were issued the preceding year and that recognised the right of new students of the claimant families to receive the education with Spanish as the vehicular language, without any segregation of those students based on language. According to the HCJC, the purpose of these resolutions is for the Department of Education to provide the two vehicular languages of instruction in "the proportions deemed reasonable". In addition, these rulings also urged the Government to consider Spanish as the vehicular language of instruction, as ruled by the Constitutional Court in 2010.

These rulings would again incite another period of political confrontation between the parties in Catalonia. On one side, the Minister of Education, Irene Rigau, announced that she would appeal against these new rulings;²⁷⁸ and on the other, the Partido Popular (PP) and Ciudadans (Cs) urged the Government to comply with the maximum possible speed to ensure the "language rights" of the families demanding to have their children schooled in Spanish, and went as far as to call for the resignation of the Minister, who they believed was guilty of "contempt of court and violation of citizens' rights".²⁷⁹

Not all the legal resolutions, however, were excessively negative for the Catalan education model as, in February, the Supreme Court backed the HCJC's 2012 endorsement with regard to not questioning the conjunction model of education in Catalan but, having said that, requesting that the rulings on the implementation of Spanish as the vehicular language should only be applied to students who had filed a complaint.²⁸⁰

Another positive development for the interests of the Government of Catalonia came in April, when the Council of State ruled out the Government of Catalonia having

277. Europa Press, 4 January 2013.

278. Vilaweb, 4 January 2013.

279. EFE, 4 January 2013.

280. *Nació Digital*, 26 February 2013.

to pay for a private school for those students demanding to be schooled in Spanish.²⁸¹ This ruling was not connected to the families requesting the right to have their children schooled in Spanish in Catalonia, but to one of the points of the Organic Law for the improvement of educational quality (LOMCE). Minister Wert, however, responded to this Council of State's ruling by introducing an amendment to the law: it would not be the Autonomous Government that paid for the private education, but the State. This cost would, however, be deducted from the Autonomous Community's public spending budget.²⁸²

In fact, as noted in last year's report, the new Education Act proposed by Minister Wert has been the focus of extensive political controversy. Thus, the Minister and his party (PP) ended up being the only parties in favour the education law amendment. This is why a certain shift in their discourse can be perceived, which have changed from last year's focus on making Catalan students "more Spanish" to offering to open talks with the Government of Catalonia to negotiate a way of introducing Spanish instruction into Catalonia²⁸³ based on the principle, however, that the main objective of the Act is "to address the exclusivity of monolingualism"²⁸⁴ and with the proviso that the Government of Catalonia also respects Spanish as a vehicular language.²⁸⁵

This change in discourse, however, did not result in a change in practice and, finally, the Organic Law for the improvement of educational quality (LOMCE) was passed in Congress on 10 October, with only the PP voting in its favour.²⁸⁶

The Government of Catalonia and the main Catalan political parties were not the only ones to have opposed this law. Organisations and parties from different fields such as the Associació Catalana de Municipis i Comarques (ACM), the website Enllaçats per la Llengua,²⁸⁷ the main trade unions and all the opposition parties²⁸⁸ - who made a written commitment to repeal the law if they returned to government – also made a stand against it.²⁸⁹ This law was even rejected by the organisations that advocate the use of Spanish in Catalan schools, as they see it is as a quick fix that fails to change the Catalan linguistic system.²⁹⁰ Aside from this, and based on data from the Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió (Opinion Research Centre, CEO) in October, 81% of Catalans were in favour of the Catalan conjunction model of education and opposed to the LOMCE.²⁹¹

The actions of the PP Government, however, were not solely limited to education, as actions were carried out by other Ministries which were seen as an outright attack on the Catalan language. Thus, for example, the Minister of Public Administration, Cristóbal Montoro, submitted an amendment to local regulations removing the right

281. *La Vanguardia*, 24 April 2013.

282. Europa Press, 17 May 2013.

283. Europa Press, 5 March 2013.

284. *Ara*, 24 February 2013.

285. *Ara*, 16 September 2013.

286. ACN, 10 October 2013.

287. ACN, 13 March 2013.

288. *El País*, 25 April 2013.

289. *Segre*, 18 July 2013.

290. *ABC*, 20 May 2013.

291. *El Singular Digital*, 7 October 2013.

that City Councils hitherto had to ask for knowledge of Catalan as a requisite in the civil service posts where it was required: i.e., those for the Secretariat, Comptroller and Treasury. City Councils may not make Catalan a requisite when recruiting for these positions under the new regulation.²⁹²

The area of law is another sector where Catalan has historically been sidelined. In this case, and in response to demands from some of the Catalan parties, the Secretary of State for Justice, Fernando Román, acknowledged the precarious situation of Catalan in this area and admitted that it would be advantageous to "normalise" the use of Catalan in the Justice Administration, but ruled out the possibility of the Central Government taking action to resolve the situation.²⁹³

The third major area where Catalan has become the subject of discord surrounds the courses offered to the unemployed by the employment service, Servei d'Ocupació de Catalunya (SOC). Following the Ministry of Labour's requisite issued in December 2012 regarding the fact that these courses were only offered in Catalan, it was decided to take things one step further and submit a contentious administrative appeal to the High Court of Justice of Catalonia.²⁹⁴

Finally, there have also been developments in this regard in the institutional arena, more specifically in reference to the Spanish Senate and Congress. Firstly, regarding the use of "co-official" languages in the Senate, it is remarkable that the PP accepted their, *de facto*, use after the great belligerence demonstrated at the time it was approved. Thus, the proposal submitted by UPyD was rejected with regard to the removal of translators from the Senate.²⁹⁵ In addition, and by way of an anecdote, Jorge Fernández Díaz was to become the first ever PP Minister to use Catalan in the Senate.²⁹⁶ With regard to allowing Catalan to be used in Congress, the Catalan parties CiU, PNB, BNG, ERC, Compromís i Amaiur made it clear they intended to lodge another application as part of the new Chamber Reform Regulation that was being processed,²⁹⁷ although the other parties (PP, PSOE, IU and UPyD) conversely made it clear that they did not want the regulatory reform hampered by this issue.

Regarding the legislative proposals submitted both in Congress and the Senate, the PP was equally uncompromising with regard to the introduction of Catalan and the other co-official languages outside their own territory. Thus, it rejected a proposal submitted by the Entesa pel Progrés de Catalunya group to promote Catalan, Galician and Basque across the whole Spanish State and allow citizens to study and use them within government administrations outside of the Autonomous Communities where they are co-official languages.²⁹⁸

292. *El Singular Digital*, 25 February 2013.

293. Europa Press, 25 February 2013.

294. *El Punt Avui*, 26 March 2013.

295. Europa Press, 6 November 2013.

296. *Eldiario.es*, 23 April 2013.

297. *La Vanguardia*, 14 April 2013.

298. Europa Press, 23 April 2013.

Similarly, the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) asked Central Government to promote instruction in the co-official languages as optional subjects across all the Spanish State education systems.²⁹⁹ Minister Wert, although he did not reject the proposal, failed to include it within the LOMCE.

It is also worth highlighting the 13 cases of discrimination and humiliation that, according to Plataforma per la Llengua, have been suffered by Catalan citizens during the year 2013, and which have been documented and reported by Plataforma per la Llengua. Some of these cases have been particularly serious and have even culminated in physical aggression or complaints brought before the courts. In view of this, in June 2013, Plataforma per la Llengua presented a report “En español o nada” (In Spanish or not at all) with 40 cases of linguistic discrimination to the public administrations,³⁰⁰ drawn up with the support of the Fundació Catalunya, in which the most serious cases in recent years in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and the Valencian Community were reported. In January 2014, the director of Plataforma per la Llengua presented a report to Brussels, in a joint act with members of the European Parliament from the political parties Iniciativa per Catalunya, Convergència i Unió and Partit Socialista de Catalunya, Partit Nacionalista Basc and Aralar on linguistic discrimination in Europe.³⁰¹ Following this act, the aforementioned EU members of parliament asked the European Commission to consider linguistic discrimination at the same level as that related to sexual, religious or ethnic origin, and to provide the same protection against such discrimination. They also asked for “tools to combat” the attacks against linguistic rights still suffered by groups of European citizens.

The Spanish government has promulgated new laws in the socio-economic field that impose the exclusive use of Spanish in companies: for example, Law 20/2013, guaranteeing market unity, article 3 of which establishes: “All economic operators shall have the same rights across the whole territory with regards to the competent authorities, without any discrimination on the basis of residence or establishment”, which could contradict the linguistic requirements established by the Government of Catalonia for companies operating in the territorial area of Catalonia and, as such, represents a new obstacle for the linguistic normalisation of Catalan in the socio-economic field.

2.5.2. The Territories: State, Autonomous Community and local administration

Catalonia

299. Servimedia, 25 March 2013.

300. Plataforma per la Llengua (2013) “En español o nada” (In Spanish or not at all) 40 cases of linguistic discrimination <https://www.plataforma-llengua.cat/media/assets/4269/InformeCAT-2014-web.pdf>

301. Catalan members of the European Parliament ask the EC to protect against linguistic discrimination. El Punt Avui 29 January 2014 <http://www.elpuntavui.cat/noticia/article/2-societat/5-societat/712728-els-eurodiputats-catalans-reclamen-a-la-ce-proteccio-contra-les-discriminacions-lingueistiques.html>

The present situation in Catalonia has also been affected by the major developments as described in the section on the Spanish State: thus, the judicial rulings and the LOMCE have marked much of the Catalan political agenda. In both cases they have been interpreted as a direct attack on the Catalan language educational model. The reaction from the Government of Catalonia, as well as the parties and the Catalan social agents, has been outright rejection of these developments: both in public statements made and votes cast in Parliament, as has been the case with the proposals put forward by the PP and Ciutadans with the aim of adapting the LEC to the court rulings.³⁰² Meanwhile, civil society also came out against the "Wert Law" and the judicial rulings. The public declaration by the heads of schools and colleges,³⁰³ the trade unions, UGT and CCOO,³⁰⁴ with regard to opposing the attacks against Catalan and calling for disobedience with regard to the law, are two good examples of this.

As for Government action, the main demand here was for the increased use of Catalan in the area of justice. According to data from the Baròmetre de la Comunicació i la Cultura,³⁰⁵ the field of law is the only area where the use of Catalan is declining, going from 20.1% of rulings made in Catalan in 2005, to 12.7% in 2013. In a bid to change this situation, the Government, through the Minister of Justice, Germà Gordó, called for Catalan to be set as a requisite for holding the positions of judge and public prosecutor in Catalonia.³⁰⁶ Similarly, the parliamentary group CiU al Congrés, on the one hand, and the Consell de l'Advocacia Catalana (Catalan Council of the Bar) on the other, lodged to same petition in Central Government. As noted, a negative response was received.³⁰⁷

Despite this, and in the light of the Spanish Government's rebuttal, the Government of Catalonia implemented a number of actions. Firstly, it went ahead with signing agreements with five professional bodies within the world of law for promoting the use of Catalan in the legal field³⁰⁸ that would affect over 25,000 professionals. These agreements were aimed at providing information, training and language tools for these professionals.

Moreover, the Observatori Català de la Justícia (Observatory of Justice of Catalonia) published the *Manual de bones pràctiques lingüístiques a la justícia*³⁰⁹ (Manual of Linguistic Good Practice in Law), which presents a set of actions and attitudes towards the habitual use of Catalan in the area of law and makes some recommendations with regard to practices related to citizens' linguistic rights.

302. Vilaweb, 18 July 2013.

303. *Diari de Girona*, 7 November 2013.

304. *Diari de Tarragona*, 12 April 2013.

305. *La Vanguardia*, 26 November 2013.

306. *El Mundo*, 17 December 2013.

307. *Diari de Girona*, 24 September 2013.

308. CNL News, 23 July 2013.

309. DGPL, 4 April 2013.

In purely administrative terms, the Government of Catalonia implemented several actions. Firstly, and with regard to the promotion of the language in the area of communication, the Government decided to remove all media subsidies, aside from those media organisations that promote the use of Catalan.³¹⁰ This action, rather than a measure for the support of Catalan, was seen by the opposition parties - from the PP to the ERC - more as an attack on communicative plurality than as an action to protect and promote the language.

The Government also approved a line of public funding for 2013 aimed at the Catalan dubbing and subtitling of films³¹¹, given the impediments regarding the application of the Film Act. Similarly, the Minister of Culture, Ferran Mascarell, announced in May that he would submit amendments to that Act, in response to the European Commission ruling in 2012 that nullified certain points of the Act.³¹²

Also on film, the Government announced three further measures to increase cinematic production and consumption: requiring online video clubs to offer a quota of 15% of films in Catalan,³¹³ a tax on ADSL to finance audiovisual production in Catalan³¹⁴ and, finally, the launch of a web page listing all the programming of films in Catalan.³¹⁵

In other areas, the Government has also developed various measures to promote the language, such as €60,000 of public funding for university projects promoting language,³¹⁶ the support of 66 projects within organisations and 14 business projects that promote Catalan,³¹⁷ the training of Agència Tributària (Spanish Tax Agency) personnel through the online tool Parla.cat³¹⁸ and the joint agreement between the governments representatives responsible for language policy in Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia to implement joint actions to promote the respective co-official languages.³¹⁹

In purely institutional terms, referring to the Parliament of Catalonia, there were two developments, which, though symbolic, are also noteworthy: firstly, the celebration and commemoration of the 30th anniversary of linguistic normalisation,³²⁰ and, secondly, the recognition, for the first time, of the Catalan-speaking territories as a cultural, linguistic and historical reality. Based on CUP's proposal, and with the support of CIU, PSC, ICV-EUiA, this recognition was carried out in conjunction with vindicating the unity of language and denouncing the Government of Aragon's measures on the LAPAO and those of the Balearic Island Government against linguistic immersion.

310. *Ara*, 8 February 2013.

311. *Cultura21*, 9 April 2013.

312. See the *Informe sobre la situació de la llengua catalana (2012)*.

313. *Expansión*, 5 December 2013.

314. Europa Press, 4 November 2013.

315. See www.gencat.cat/llengua/cinema.

316. DGPL, 24 July 2013.

317. Government of Catalonia, 29 November 2013.

318. DGPL, 2 December 2013.

319. Government of Catalonia, 16 October 2013.

320. *La Vanguardia*, 16 July 2013.

Despite these actions, and as reported by Plataforma per la Llengua, the Government of Catalonia has taken no steps to resolve its failure to apply the linguistic requirements established in Law 22/2010 of the Consumer Code, particularly in relation to the inclusion of Catalan in labelling and instructions for using products and services distributed in Catalonia.

The final development of note is that regarding policies aimed at deaf people. In this area, the Consell Social de la Llengua de Signes Catalana (Social Council of Catalan Sign Language) was established in February, which aims to study and analyse issues related to the promotion and dissemination of Catalan Sign Language.³²¹ Similarly, the Federació de Sords de Catalunya (Catalan Federation for the Deaf) and the DGPL signed an agreement to open new avenues of collaboration focused on specialised courses for deaf people and analysis of the legal regulatory requirements for working as a professional interpreter training practitioner in Catalan sign language.³²² Finally, the adoption of Agreement 19/2013, of 20 February, by the Plenary Session of the Consell de l'Audiovisual de Catalunya (Audiovisual Council of Catalonia) is worth noting, which requires public television broadcasters to subtitle 90% of its programming.³²³

However, groups for the deaf complained that, because of the crisis, there was a lack of development of policies required for upholding their rights. Thus, for example, it was reported that, in Catalonia, there were only nine interpreters and that a minimum of 40 was the number required.

The Valencian Community

Two very different trends could be observed in the Valencian Community during the 2013 period: firstly, in the political field, the PP Government, led by Alberto Fabra, continued to pursue its policy of attacks on the use of Valencian across almost all spheres of society. Secondly, however, there were more positive developments, such as in the area of law, as some of the actions that the same Government had implemented in the preceding years were overturned, and the recent social movement in defence of the language and against the Government's policies.

The most important and significant development of 2013 in the Valencian Community was, without a doubt, the closure of the region's public broadcasting service in November. Thus, after the HCJV rejected the ERE submitted the previous year and forced Radiotelevisió Valenciana to reinstate the 1,000 employees that had

³²¹ . ACN, 21 February 2013.

³²² . DGPL, 17 June 2013.

³²³ . *El Punt Avui*, 8 March 2013.

been dismissed, the Government of Valencia decided to cease broadcasting immediately and decisively under the pretext that the cost was unsustainable,³²⁴ thereby violating the Statute of Autonomy of the Valencian Community and the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages. This decision meant that the Valencian Community would be left without any media service - either public or private - broadcasting in its own language, following the decision to also stop broadcasting TV3. This decision generated widespread social discord and prompted large-scale social action from a huge proportion of the population.³²⁵

However, the Government of Valencia underlined the fact that it was looking to find new ways to prevent the Valencian Community from having access to any Valencian television channels by, for example, changing the model for TVE in Catalonia, disconnecting its broadcasts in the Valencian Community.³²⁶

Staying in the audiovisual arena, and with regard to the TV3 signal into the Valencian Community, the High Court of Justice of the Valencian Community (HCJV) ruled in favour of the appeal filed by Acció Cultural del País Valencià (ACPV)³²⁷ a month after the Supreme Court had also done the same. Following the verdict, members of the ACPV voted in the majority in favour of restarting TV3 in the Valencian Community. Months after the ruling, the Catalan and Valencian Governments signed a new reciprocal agreement for their public television channels.³²⁸ This agreement included some controversial issues (particularly from the point of view of the Principality), for example, the Government of Valencia's requirement that the "Valencian Community" was the "name respected" on TV3.

Even before the decision to close *Canal 9* was taken, however, the reciprocal agreement fell by the wayside due to a lack of political support from the Spanish Government in its capacity to authorise a new multiplex for the broadcasting to go ahead.³²⁹

Education is another area in which developments were seen, more specifically in the Valencian Government's failure to promote and/or maintain the lines of education available in Valencian. Thus, as has become customary over recent years, the 2013-2014 academic year began with 14,000 students left without the option of being enrolled in the Valencian line model.³³⁰ In fact, according to data from Plataforma per la Llengua (Pro-language Platform), included in *InformeCAT 2013*, the total number of pre-primary and primary students wishing to study in Valencian and unable to do so reached 126,000.³³¹

324. *La Vanguardia*, 6 November 2013.

325. *El Punt Avui*, 10 November 2013.

326. *Levante*, 2 December 2013.

327. *Vilaweb*, 15 January 2013.

328. *El Punt Avui*, 1 May 2013.

329. *Vilaweb*, 30 October 2013.

330. *La Veu del País Valencià*, 21 August 2013.

331. *Racó català*, 5 April 2013.

Similarly, however, the Government of Valencia received the first court rulings in favour of parents and teaching faculties of the schools that were asking for students in some schools to have their right to be educated in a Valencian line met. Thus, in January, the HCJV issued its first ruling in favour of the 'concertada' (government-subsidised) school of Sant Cristòfor de Picassent (Horta Sud), shortly afterwards doing the same for the schools of Jaume de Xirivella and CEIP Ramón i Cajal.³³² The Government stood firm in their position, however, and in December, Alberto Fabra announced that he intended to withdraw 187 pre-primary places from the Valencian line education model, by which the Xirivella school was affected.³³³

Beyond the Government of Valencia's actions, however, a growing social network continued to call for schooling in Valencian, with examples from the Escola Valenciana³³⁴ demonstrations - which represented the successful completion of a micropatronage campaign to tackle their economic difficulties -³³⁵ to local government actions, such as that of Villareal,³³⁶ implementing school campaigns for the promotion of Valencian to fight against the cuts.

This civil society led action and the independent political opposition to the government was also embodied in the signing of the declaration of 4 December as the Day of Linguistic Rights of the Valencian Community by the Escola Valenciana, 19 entities, unions and political parties.³³⁷ One of the points highlighted in this agreement³³⁸ was the intention to present an annual report on this date, on the linguistic aggressions suffered by Valencian speakers. Furthermore, legal advice on the violation of linguistic rights in society shall also be offered.

We end on a Government decision worth of mentioning: that of regulating the language skills of teachers in secondary schools. Specifically, a four-year term was set for the 17% of teachers that had no training in Valencian to qualify.³³⁹

Amongst all this, another element making a splash in the arena of public debate was, once again, the unity of the language. The Government and the PP continued to pursue their linguistic secessionism based on the RAE definition, which gave Valencian and Catalan equal status,³⁴⁰ even going as far as pronouncing that Valencian was a variant of the Iberian language.³⁴¹ Both the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua (Valencian Academy of the Language, AVL), criticising the Government's position with regard to the RAE definition, as well as the Valencian legal establishment, which ruled,

332. *Racó Català*, 20 December 2013.

333. *El Punt Avui*, 21 December 2013.

334. *Racó Català*, 5 February 2013.

335. *El Punt Avui*, 1 December 2013.

336. *Elperiodic.com*, 31 January 2013.

337 ACPV, ACV Tirant, Escola Valenciana, Castelló per la Llengua, Ca Revolta, Confederació Gonzalo Anaya, FAPA-València and Societat Coral El Micalet; the trade unions A Contracorrent, BEA, CCOOPV, COS, Intersindical Valenciana and UGTPV; and the political parties PSPV-PSOE, EUPV, Compromís, ERPV, Els Verds del País Valencià and PSAN.

338 <http://escolavalenciana.com/noticies/detall/1822/4-de-desembre-dia-dels-drets-linguistics-alpais->

339. *El Punt Avui*, 9 November 2013.

340. *La Mañana*, 20 June 2013.

341. *Segre*, 20 June 2013.

twice over, that the unity of language was not open to question, stood against this discourse: the former³⁴² giving validity to the title of Catalan for official Valencian examinations, the latter³⁴³ endorsing the terms "academically Catalan" and "Catalan linguistic area" in the Statutes for the Universitat Jaume I.

The Balearic Islands

On the Balearic Islands, the region's president, Jose Ramón Bauzá, went on playing a starring role throughout the course of 2013, with his continued implementation of policies to try to end the current language immersion model in the Islands' schools and questioning, in the same way as his Valencian Community party colleagues, the unity of language. In fact, the change in the Islands' government was the major development in 2013, during which, among other changes, Minister of Education Rafael Bosch was replaced by Joana Maria Camps.

It was, in fact, the new Minister Camps who implemented the main policies aimed at changing the educational model. For example, she decided to remove the Servei d'Ensenyament del Català (Catalan Education Service), responsible, among other things, for issuing certificates of proficiency in Catalan to students who had completed their compulsory 4 years of secondary school (4th year of ESO) and 2nd, final year of Baccalaureate studies, for publishing teaching material and implementing linguistic support programs.³⁴⁴

The main development on the Balearic Islands for 2013, however, was the passing of the Integrated Treatment of Languages Decree (TIL), which did away with the language immersion system in the schools on the Balearic Islands. This decree opened the door for primary and secondary classes to be taught in Catalan, Spanish and English from the 2013-2014³⁴⁵ academic year and thereby removed the Catalan conjunction model of education from classrooms.

This Decree was met with general opposition from the education community and a large sector of society (up to 78% according to a poll by Gadeso).³⁴⁶ Thus, some 100 schools signed a petition to prevent this Decree from coming into effect³⁴⁷ and, in particular, in four institutes in Maó, the heads made a stand against its application. In these cases they were dismissed from their posts by the PP Government.³⁴⁸ In addition, several motions were passed by different City Councils - some of which were under PP governance - which rejected the implementation of TIL.³⁴⁹

342. ACN, 7 March 2013.

343. *Diari de Tarragona*, 7 May 2013.

344. *Diario de Mallorca*, 9 May 2013.

345. *Diario de Ibiza*, 19 April 2014.

346. *Ara*, 13 September 2013.

347. *Vilaweb*, 19 March 2013.

348. *dBalears*, 2 August 2013.

349. *dBalears*, 7 August 2013.

The most significant act of opposition, however, was the indefinite strike called by the Islands' teachers, which began early that academic year and lasted for more than 15 days,³⁵⁰ when a change of strategy was decided and sporadic strikes were planned instead. The Government of the Balearic Islands, however, remained steadfast in its implementation of the TIL Decree despite the widespread opposition, the political tension - which even reached the European Parliament -³⁵¹ and as many as seven meetings with the trade unions and groups representing teachers that failed to reach any agreement.

The actions of Bauzá's Government with regard to education did not, however, stop with the passing of the TIL Decree. In a previously unprecedented move in the history of Balearic autonomy, Bauzá took the first step towards a discourse on linguistic secessionism by stating, in April, that during the 2013-14 academic year, the schools and colleges of the Autonomous Community would have to use books in "the Islands' own modalities".³⁵² Although this proposal did not take root, as no publisher wanted to publish any books in these "modalities",³⁵³ it is true that the measure served its purpose in that some organisations which had to date been relatively anecdotal - l'Institut Studies Baleàrics³⁵⁴ and the newly created Foment Cultural de ses Illes Balears,³⁵⁵ - would enjoy their share of the limelight to "defend the linguistic modalities of the Islands" against Catalan.

The last notable development with regard to the Balearic Islands refers to a Government decision from the previous year: the downgrading of knowledge of Catalan from a requisite to an advantage for exercising public functions. Firstly, confirmation came in 2013 that the law would go ahead, as ruled by the Constitutional Court in November, endorsing the fact that the reform respects the balance and equality between the two co-official languages.³⁵⁶

It is also noteworthy, however, that the government took its discourse down a notch and accepted that, while the law had to be obeyed, municipalities could choose which of the two levels (requisite or advantageous) Catalan would represent in their public employee selection process,³⁵⁷ if any council elected to ask for knowledge of Catalan as a requisite, however, it would have to be duly justified.

On these lines, it is also worth highlighting the approval of a new bilingual toponym in 2013: Maó/Mahón, which has been made possible thanks to the Amending Law on public service of 2012 approved by the PP.³⁵⁸

350. 324.cat, 5 October 2013.

351. *Ara Balears*, 10 July 2013.

352. *Diario de Mallorca*, 10 April 2013.

353. *Ara*, 18 June 2013.

354. *dBalears*, 2 August 2013.

355. *dBalears*, 2 January 2014.

356. *La Mañana*, 3 October 2013.

357. *Última Hora Mallorca*, 11 June 2013.

358. <http://www.elperiodico.cat/ca/noticias/politica/mao-mahon-canvi-nom-menorca-xarxes-socials-2348736>

Andorra

In Andorra, a study was presented by the Government of Andorra on the sociolinguistic situation in Andorran schools for the 2011-2012 academic year. This study, which looked at 2,551 students aged between 12 and 16 across the three educational systems, concluded that there had been an improvement in the language skills of students of all nationalities, especially Portuguese. In fact, all percentages regarding language skills exceeded 90%. Another conclusion drawn was that the most common language used was Catalan, whether used exclusively or in combination with other languages (with 58% of use). Catalan was the most spoken language both within the family and school environments (49% using it with parents and 64% with siblings in the first case, and 76% using it with classmates and 84% with teachers in the second).³⁵⁹

At policy level, one activity towards the promotion of the Catalan language worthy of a mention is the 10th screenplay competition, aimed at students of different school ages. The Servei de Política Lingüística (Language Policy Service) received 156 entries, 19 more than the previous year.³⁶⁰

Northern Catalonia

The main new development in Northern Catalonia was a negative one. Following the trend of recent years, heavy cuts implemented by the Government of Catalonia had a serious impact on the already precarious position of the Catalan language in Northern Catalonia.

These cuts were felt in two areas. Firstly, despite the positive development that came in 2012 with many parts of the territory now having access to TV3, the Catalan Broadcasting Corporation decided to cut the TV3 correspondent department for Northern Catalonia, along with other regions such as the Pyrenees the Ebre region and Pallars.³⁶¹

Education is the second area affected by the cuts. The Government of Catalonia withdrew the €70,000 per year subsidy (one-third of the total budget) for Catalan classes in nursery and primary school, a decision which led APLEC (the Catalan Language Teachers Association), responsible for 80% of these classes, to decide to delay the start of classes due to a lack of resources.³⁶² Finally, however, it was the French institutions (Languedoc-Roussillon Region, Eastern Pyrenees General Council, Perpignan City Council and other municipalities) that picked up the shortfall.³⁶³

359. Government of Andorra, 15 March 2013.

360. Government of Andorra, 22 January 2013.

361. *Ara*, 1 March 2013.

362. ACN, 28 October 2013.

363. *El Punt Avui*, 23 October 2013.

In fact, the withdrawal of economic support positioned civil society and its associated demonstrations as the major social actors in the protection and promotion of Catalan in the territory. Some examples of this are the complaint filed to UNESCO regarding the precarious situation facing Catalan and the other minority languages of the French State,³⁶⁴ and some populous-driven protests and actions such as the 'fourteenth 'Catalan Dictation', held in Perpignan on 2 March,³⁶⁵ and the 'Potonejada' (share a kiss) for Catalan, organised by the Col·lectiu 2 group in April.³⁶⁶

At a strictly institutional level, there were only two new developments of note: the Language Volunteers Programme in Northern Catalonia, implemented by the Casa de la Generalitat a la Catalunya del Nord (Government of Catalonia representation in Northern Catalonia³⁶⁷) and the announcement of the Perpignan City Council regarding the use of the Parla.cat website to train their personnel on the Catalan language, based on an agreement signed between the council itself, the DGPL and the Consorci per a la Normalització Lingüística (Consortium for Linguistic Normalisation).³⁶⁸

Alghero

In Alghero, the main development was the launch of the campaign 'En alguerés, té més gust' (It sounds better in Algherese), jointly promoted by the Government of Catalonia's Espai Llull in Aghero and the City Council. This campaign aimed to promote the social use of Catalan in Alghero and was significant in that it was the first initiative of its kind implemented in Alghero.

Another new development was the agreement between the Region and the Regional Scholastic Directorate of Alghero, which gave families the decision of whether they wanted their children to receive classes in Catalan in Alghero schools and in Sardinian across the rest of the island, beginning the 2013-2014 academic year. This option, despite being provided for by the 1999 law, had never before been applied and this development was seen as a big breakthrough in the normalisation of the language.³⁶⁹

La Franja

In 2013, La Franja was the focus of political and media attention due to the adoption of the new language law by its Autonomous Government, led by Luisa Fernanda Rudi (PP). With the votes of both parties supporting the Government, PP and

364. ACN, 6 November 2013.

365. *Nació Digital*, 22 February 2013.

366. *El Punt Avui*, 29 January 2013.

367. Government of Catalonia, 6 May 2013.

368. Government of Catalonia, 7 June 2013.

369. *Alguer.cat*, 8 February 2013.

PAR, the new law was passed, replacing that put through by the previous PSOE Government during the preceding legislature, the most noteworthy feature of which was Catalan being referenced as the "Aragonese language typical to the eastern area of the Autonomous Community" and Aragonese as the "Aragonese language typical to the Pyrenees and Pre-Pyrenees areas" (popularly known as LAPAO and LAPAPYP). Besides these name changes, the new law excluded these two languages from Aragon's list of official languages and promoted the creation of an Aragonese Academy of Language.³⁷⁰

This new language law was met with opposition from almost all areas, both from within the Autonomous Community of Aragon and beyond.

Thus, within the borders of Aragon, it met with, in the first instance, opposition from the other political parties in Parliament (PSOE, IU and CHA), which submitted an appeal to the Constitutional Court, along with 63 members of Spanish Congress.³⁷¹ There was also discord in the educational community with respect to uncertainty about how the new law should be implemented with regard to the linguistic models in schools in bilingual areas. For example, it was not clear if the students who were finishing their secondary education would continue to receive Catalan B as they had up to that point, since this was the product of a bilateral agreement between the Governments of Aragon and Catalonia.³⁷² The Government's answer was, however, that the law would not alter the current practices or educational models of the schools affected in any way.

At a strictly institutional level, the law was opposed by the Provincial Councils of Huesca³⁷³ and Lleida,³⁷⁴ as well as the Parliament of Catalonia,³⁷⁵ which approved several resolution proposals and motions to protect the 'Catalan' nomenclature for the language spoken in La Franja, and rejected the new language law.

It also met with opposition from some of the City Councils in La Franja, the most significant of which was Fraga, under the governance of the PP and the PAR, which passed a motion requesting that the Executive "protect and preserve the Autonomous Community's own language modalities". All the City Councils opposed to LAPAO, a total of 28, met at a summit in Mequinensa, where they signed a manifesto for the protection of Catalan in La Franja and against the LAPAO nomenclature, and also agreed to bring "the necessary actions before the Administration of Justice, the Constitutional Court and the European Authorities, to defend the name of our language and the rights of its users, as established by the Spanish Constitution and the Charter of Minority Languages ratified by the Kingdom of Spain in 2001".³⁷⁶

370. *La Mañana*, 10 May 2013.

371. *Vilaweb*, 12 August 2013.

372. *La Vanguardia*, 14 May 2013.

373. *Diari de Tarragona*, 7 June 2013.

374. *El Periódico*, 4 May 2013.

375. *La Vanguardia*, 8 May 2013.

376. *Segre*, 2 June 2013.

Other demonstrations of opposition to the law came from the University of Zaragoza³⁷⁷ and all Catalan universities,³⁷⁸ from organisations for the protection of the language, such as Plataforma per la Llengua³⁷⁹ and Acció Cultural del País Valencià,³⁸⁰ and over 8,000 signatures were collected.³⁸¹

2.5.3. International reach of the language

The activities focused on the international promotion of the Catalan language have been undertaken, primarily, by the Institut Ramon Llull, and the changes within that particular organisation are therefore worth noting.

Firstly, the Institute underwent a change at Director level: Àlex Susanna replaced Vicenç Villatoro in October, who left his post to focus on literature.³⁸² Another new development came in the form of a change of location, moving headquarters to the Palau Baró de Quadres building provided by Barcelona City Council.³⁸³ The most recent development is that, due to budgetary constraints, the IRL has decided to merge its four overseas offices (London, Paris, New York and Berlin) with those of the Catalan Institute for the Cultural Industries.³⁸⁴

Staying with the IRL, another new development was its links with those municipalities that have either joined the organisation or ceased their association. The most important falls into the former scenario, with Barcelona City Council becoming part of the Institute in December through the affirmative vote of all parties, aside from the PP. It is also noteworthy that, after the Government of the Balearic Islands opted out of the Institute, 16 municipalities from the Islands (Manacor, Artà, San Lorenzo des Cardassar, Esporles, Valldemossa, Sencelles, Capdepera, Santa Margalida, Son Servera, Algaida, Santa Maria del Camí, Puigpunyent, Petra, Ses Salines, Porreres and Alcúdia), in addition to the Insular Council of Formentera, formed a network of municipalities and institutions of the Balearic Islands that set out to promote the Institut Ramon Llull's dissemination, protection and projection activities for Catalan.³⁸⁵

On the other side of the coin, the Institut Ramon Llull lost one of its associated municipalities: Elche, due to the Ramon Llull Network of Valencian Cities' "political ties", so it's Councillor for Culture, Pablo Ruz explained.³⁸⁶

The IRL has not been unaffected by the crisis and Government cuts and its budget for grants and subsidies was reduced by 27.6% from the previous year. The total of

377. *Lafranja.net*, 26 July 2013.

378. ACN, 14 May 2013.

379. Europa Press, 26 April 2013.

380. ACPV, 22 May 2013.

381. *Nació Digital*, 5 June 2013.

382. *Ara*, 3 October 2013.

383. EFE, 25 October 2013.

384. *El Periódico*, 4 February 2013.

385. *Diari de Balears Digital*, 28 March 2013.

386. ACN, 26 April 2013.

these grants would be just over €1 million for the 2013-2014 academic year, assigned, in the main, to 65 universities outside the Catalan linguistic domain.³⁸⁷

That said, here we will focus on the activity aimed at the international projection of Catalan undertaken by the Institut Ramon Llull, as well as by other organisations.

Two events stand out with regard to 2013: a number of teacher training days on Catalan in Madrid, organised by the Government delegation in the city and the IRL. These training days, aimed at Catalan Studies teachers in universities and schools across the Iberian Peninsula consisted of practical workshops on the developments in language teaching and resources, as well as presentations from teachers working outside Catalonia talking about their experiences.³⁸⁸

The second event organised by the Institute took place at the University of Granada.³⁸⁹ In this case, commemorating 'Any Espriu' (Espriu Year), the poet provided the theme for an academic event to launch a Catalan study programme at the University. This event came out of an agreement signed between the two institutions to expand and consolidate Catalan Studies at the University of Granada.

With regard to Catalan courses, both the IRL and other organisations provided a good few. The Vives Network, in collaboration with the Institut Ramon Llull promoted, for the fifth consecutive year, the EILC courses (Erasmus Intensive Language Courses) to give overseas Erasmus students the opportunity to study Catalan during their time at Catalan universities, at the international language and culture fair, *Expolangues Paris*.³⁹⁰

These two organisations, along with the Valencian Academy of Language (AVL), staged the IV Introductory Course of Teaching Catalan as a Foreign Language. Over the course of three days, the cities of Vinaròs and Morella hosted students and professionals wanting to train as foreign language teachers in Catalan.³⁹¹

In February, the IRL also launched a programme for teachers interested in going to German universities to give classes on Catalan language and culture. This programme,³⁹² called 'Complementary Qualification in Catalan Language and Culture', provided interdisciplinary training in Catalan studies and allowed students to attain language skills equivalent to level B1. All these courses are in addition to the figure of around 160 courses delivered all over the world through the Network of Catalan Studies Abroad, with the participation of the Ramon Llull Institute.³⁹³

Finally for this section, IRL's participation as a partner in a European project for the promotion of under-translated literary classics³⁹⁴ should also be mentioned, taking part along with institutions for the promotion of literature from Poland, Finland, Wales and the Netherlands, and in collaboration with the European Society of Authors.

387. *Lavozdebarcelona.com*, 26 August 2013.

388. Institut Ramon Llull, 8 March 2013.

389. Europa Press, 29 April 2013.

390. Xarxa Vives d'Universitats, 8 January 2013.

391. Xarxa Vives d'Universitats, 21 October 2013.

392. Europa Press, 14 February 2013.

393. http://www.llull.cat/catala/aprendre_catala/mapa_llengua.cfm

394. Europa Press, 12 November 2013.

With regard to Catalan culture's representation at different shows and fairs, the most important was Barcelona's participation as Guest City at the Paris Book Fair, held from 22 to 25 March.³⁹⁵ For this event, the Institut Ramon Llull took six authors who write in Spanish, thirteen who write in Catalan and five comic writers. This shift - in bringing authors who write in Spanish – in comparison to other shows, such as Frankfurt 2007, was justified by Vicenç Villatoro, saying it was "in accordance with the organiser's rules".

Another development heading into 2014 was the announcement that Catalan literature would be a significant feature of the most important literary fair in the Nordic countries, the Göteborg Book Fair.³⁹⁶ Thus, it was announced that eight Catalan language writers translated into Swedish or other Nordic languages had been invited to take part in this fair.

Finally another two IRL projects which fall into the classic strategies group of courses, conferences, grants and subsidies are worthy of a mention. Firstly, there was the launch of the *Catapult.cat*,³⁹⁷ with the mission of disseminating the Catalan language among English speakers in an "imaginative and unconventional" way, explaining words, concepts, phrases and traditions in an attractive style and using resources such as images and drawings. Secondly, the IRL launched its first Instagram competition, *#enfoCATllull*,³⁹⁸ a photographic contest through this social platform aimed at increasing the visibility of Catalan culture in all its forms of expression across the world. Thus, participants in the competition had to take a picture related to any Catalan cultural activity taking place outside of the Catalan-speaking territories.

In terms of promoting the language abroad, the campaign led by the magazine *Sàpiens*³⁹⁹ is also worth highlighting. This consists in the mass mailing of the book "Catalonia calling", in which the situation of Catalonia and the current independence movement is discussed, as well as the linguistic situation. The book was sent to over 14,000 people of international prestige. This campaign was financed thanks to popular collaboration.

2.5.4. Between the public and the private: socioeconomics, health and protection

Socio-economics

Business is a key element of socio-economics and it is in this area where most effort has been made to promote the use of Catalan. To do so, in 2013, the Consorci per a la

395. *El País*, 12 March 2013.

396. *Nació Digital*, 19 March 2013.

397. *Vilaweb*, 15 April 2013.

398. IRL, 21 October 2013.

399. <http://www.sapiens.cat/ca/el-mon-ho-ha-de-saber.php>

Normalització Lingüística (Consortium for Linguistic Normalisation, CPNL) provided online and semi-presential courses to promote the use of Catalan in the workplace, promoting this language as a competitive tool for businesses and employees.⁴⁰⁰ It also launched a new Catalan language software programme, created by Marbore Business Solutions, aimed at developing IT solutions for professionals and businesses. This software offers the free download of a company's major products in Catalan.⁴⁰¹

For the second time, the CPNL also promoted the "I tu jugues en català" (Do you play in Catalan?) campaign,⁴⁰² aiming to raise awareness and facilitate the supply of games and toys in Catalan and promote their use among Catalan speakers, increasing the visibility of Catalan toys and games available in the shops. This time round, over 260 businesses took part. In the same way, Plataforma per la Llengua initiated the 10th edition of the "festa pel joc i pel lleure en català" (festival for play and leisure in Catalan),⁴⁰³ on 30 November at the Arc del Triomf in Barcelona, that brought together 8,000 people and consisted in a series of activities aimed at calling for the use of Catalan in toys and games and to inform consumers of their right to make a complaint when a toy does not come with instructions in Catalan.

The goal of these campaigns is to denounce the fact that only between 7% and 8% of toys had been labelled in Catalan, the rest were sold without the information established by law in the Catalan market. In addition to this, the unjustified filing away of the complaints made on this subject by the Catalan Consumer Agency has also been challenged.

Other actions carried out are, for example, the creation by the Plataforma per la Llengua (Pro-Language Platform) of an audiovisual application so that bar and restaurant personnel could "quickly and easily" learn the Catalan terms most commonly used in their work.⁴⁰⁴ In addition, it also reached an agreement with the Ferrocarrils de la Generalitat de Catalunya (FGC) Railway Network after this company rectified its refusal to adapt to the legislation of 2012.⁴⁰⁵ This agreement established the bases of the collaboration between the two organisations to promote projects that help to promote the use of Catalan, as well as making advertising space available for the promotion of the language.⁴⁰⁶

A new micropatronage platform in Catalan was also set up in 2013: totSuma,⁴⁰⁷ an initiative supported by the Catalan Digital Network (Xadica). Micropatronage - a system for financing projects through individual contributions - has been one of the most commonly used systems in recent years, but until now there had been no Catalan

400. Europa Press, 2 December 2013.

401. Government of Catalonia, 15 March 2013.

402. *La Mañana*, 24 December 2013.

403. <https://www.plataforma-llengua.cat/noticies/interior/2459>

404. *El Singular Digital*, 19 February 2013.

405. <https://www.plataforma-llengua.cat/noticies/interior/2019>

406. Europa Press, 16 May 2013.

407. Europa Press, 18 May 2013.

version. TotSuma also intends to allocate 5% of its revenue to support new Catalan projects on the Internet.

If we look at the use of Catalan in companies, however, we find that it is least represented in the large companies and multinationals, especially with regard to labelling. For years now, many organisations have implemented campaigns to improve this situation and this activity continued in 2013. To that end, the Vives Network created a guide to promote the use of Catalan in large corporations,⁴⁰⁸ which consisted of a list of recommendations for large companies in the linguistic domain to use when producing documents. The website <http://www.empresaencatala.cat> has also been presented which provides a manual of good business practices, with legislation and proposals, prepared by the Fundació Vincle and Plataforma per la Llengua, with the support of different organisations from the business world and with a specific section on labelling.

In this regard, a number of small developments should be noted in certain companies that come as a result of various campaigns and complaints of previous years. Firstly, IKEA launched its website in Catalan⁴⁰⁹ and, for the first time in its history, Font Vella labelled its bottles in Catalan, albeit for a limited edition run. There are also some other companies to mention, such as Miquel Alimentació - the leading wholesale food distributor in Spain - that made a step forward in the introduction of Catalan for its own brand labelling.⁴¹⁰ The result of this change was that six of the ten main distribution groups in Catalonia now include Catalan on their own-brand products.

Many companies, however, continue to flout the labelling law and, in fact, Plataforma per la Llengua (Pro-Language Platform) received as many as 501 complaints over lack of service and labelling in Catalan.⁴¹¹ Of these, 60% were in regard to a lack of "linguistic availability", with labelling being responsible for 17% of complaints. Similarly, we should also mention the new Law on Market Unity being proposed by the Spanish Government.⁴¹² Unlike the first drafts, the most recent proposal removes the ability to impose language requisites on the execution of any economic activity in the Autonomous Communities. This change was well received by the Catalan Government as it made no bid to amend the Catalan regulation, as it had for previous drafts.

In any event, and in relation to labelling, according to Plataforma per la Llengua,⁴¹³ the Catalan Consumer Agency held back the complaints on food products as a result of doubts concerning the applicability of the Catalan law within European regulations (Regulation 1169/2011), since Catalan is not an official language of the European

⁴⁰⁸ . Vilaweb, 21 August 2013.

⁴⁰⁹ . *Racó Català*, 25 November 2013.

⁴¹⁰ . Plataforma per la Llengua, 15 February 2013.

⁴¹¹ . Europa Press, 25 March 2013.

⁴¹² . *El Periódico*, 18 January 2013.

⁴¹³ . <https://www.plataforma-llengua.cat/media/assets/3496/InformeCAT-2013-WEB-nou.pdf>

Union . The CCA also held back complaints concerning other products on the grounds that it says it will modify the periods for applying the law in agreement with the companies who have to apply it, but without modifying the law.

This means that the law was not enforced throughout 2013 despite the fact that the deadline for applying it had come to an end. As a result of this, Plataforma per la Llengua contacted the Catalan Ombudsman, since it considered the procedure to be incorrect: the article on the periods established in the law cannot be modified without the whole law being modified.

In fact, the complaints presented by Plataforma per la Llengua go beyond the question of the application of labelling and focus on the Catalan Government's failure to enforce the law: especially in relation to the Consumer Code⁴¹⁴ and the Cinema Act, as well as various Parliamentary resolutions.

Beyond the complaints made in view of the failure to apply the laws, probably the most significant act of protest that has taken place with regard to the treatment of Catalan by large corporations was the call for Coca Cola to be labelled in Catalan.⁴¹⁵ In order to draw attention to this shortcoming, the Pro-Language Platform launched its '#reptecocacola' campaign, with the objective of breaking a Guinness World Record on 14 June 2014 by collecting 20,000 of the brand's cans of drink and piling them up in Plaça Catalunya in the centre of Barcelona as a call for labelling in Catalan.⁴¹⁶

There have also been many campaigns for the promotion of Catalan within companies at a local level. Some examples are 'EP!', an initiative from the business training organisation, Aula de Formació del Penedès, for promoting the use of Catalan in the hospitality industry in the Penedès area aimed at new arrivals;⁴¹⁷ the 'No val a badar' (Be on the ball!) campaign,⁴¹⁸ promoted by the Consorci per a la Normalització Lingüística (Consortium for Linguistic Normalisation, CNL) and with over a hundred businesses belonging to the Solsona Union of Shopkeepers and Merchants, with the objective of promoting the correct use of Catalan among the entire population of the city; the presentation of the good practices manual by the Pro-language Platform A l'empresa, en català (In business, in Catalan), to the Girona Chamber of Commerce;⁴¹⁹ the specific Catalan business courses offered by the Consortium for Linguistic Normalisation in Lleida, with the aim of promoting the learning of Catalan in the workplace, and the renewed agreement between the CNL and President of the Official Association of Commercial Agents of Reus to promote the knowledge and use of Catalan.⁴²⁰

With regard to financial institutions, there are two new developments to mention. On the one hand, the ethical bank, Triodos Bank, which has attracted a lot of

414. <https://www.plataforma-llengua.cat/noticies/interior/2284>

415. *Racó català*, 24 October 2013.

416. EFE, 11 December 2013.

417. DGPL, 4 April 2013.

418. *Regió 7*, 24 March 2013.

419. *Diari de Girona*, 1 February 2013.

420. *Diari de Tarragona*, 4 December 2013.

complaints about its language policy in recent years, launched its internet banking service in Catalan.⁴²¹ This was a very significant move from this particular bank, since most of its transactions are done via the Internet. On the other side of the coin is La Caixa, which received criticism from a number of organisations for the distinction it made on its website between 'Valencian' and 'Catalan'.⁴²²

There were also some significant developments in the area of Unions and employment. In 2013, according to a study by the Pro-language Platform conducted by Addeco Professional in 2011, 36.1% of the job adverts in Catalonia, 9.6% in the Balearic Islands and 6.4% in the Valencian Community asked for knowledge of Catalan. The areas of general services and customer service and quality were notable as those requesting Catalan over and above the rest.⁴²³ It is for this reason that the two main Unions have moved for action to protect and promote the language. Thus, the CCOO signed a collaboration agreement with the CPNL to promote Catalan language training in the workplace⁴²⁴ and brought back its meetings on linguistic normalisation, not held since 2009, to speak out against "the attacks on the language".⁴²⁵ Meanwhile, UGT, created three blogs⁴²⁶ on linguistic resources: *Català UGT*, which gives its members and the general public access to the tools available for working in Catalan; *Eines per a Autònoms* (Tools for Freelancers), aimed specifically at this group, and *Amic del Català* (Friend to Catalan) aimed at new arrivals. The same Union also organised the '#Piulaho'⁴²⁷ course, with two purposes: to publicise the use of weak pronouns as a useful tool for shortening tweets sent on Twitter and encourage the use of Catalan on the Internet.

Health and protection

There was little new development with regard to the areas of health and protection. The main noteworthy events were cases of linguistic discrimination affecting a number of people throughout the territory. The first of these concerns the private healthcare provider, Sanitas, which refused the emergency admission of a patient to the Quirón Hospital due to the medical report being written in Catalan.⁴²⁸

A similar case occurred in the Jaume I de Castelló hospital, when a doctor berated a patient for not speaking to him in Spanish. The hospital did finally apologise after the patient complained.⁴²⁹ Within the health sector, the creation of two new applications for mobile phones should also be mentioned: the Teknon Clinic in Barcelona created

421. Plataforma per la Llengua, 5 March 2013.

422. *Racó català*, 23 August 2013.

423. Plataforma per la Llengua, 2 May 2013.

424. CPNL, 24 October 2013.

425. *Diari de Girona*, 15 November 2013.

426. DGPL, 18 March 2013.

427. *El Periódico*, 26 March 2013.

428. *Vilaweb*, 19 July, 2013.

429. *Vilaweb*, 25 January 2013.

an application in Catalan to view all the information in its website.⁴³⁰ MyPregnApp was also created: an application in Catalan to facilitate the monitoring of a pregnancy.⁴³¹

There have also been developments in the field of terminology. Ministers Boi Ruiz and Ferran Mascarell presented *Terminologia de la cronicitat* (Chronicity Terminology): an online dictionary that identifies the most commonly used terms in the prevention and care of chronic health problems.⁴³²

Finally, Termcat, invited by the Royal Academy of Medicine, took part in the conference "Medical Terminology in Clinical History: from Medicine to Society", with the aim of creating a framework for dialogue and cooperation between the various individuals and institutions working within the area of medical terminology across Spain, in order to ensure better medical care.⁴³³

430. Government of Catalonia, 4 April 2013.

431. DGPL, 4 April 2013.

432. Government of Catalonia, 27 May 2013.

433. Termcat, 14 February 2013.

3. Summary of the Report

3.1. Demographic and economic context: the evolution of the linguistic community

NATXO SOROLLA VIDAL
Xarxa CRUSCAT - IEC

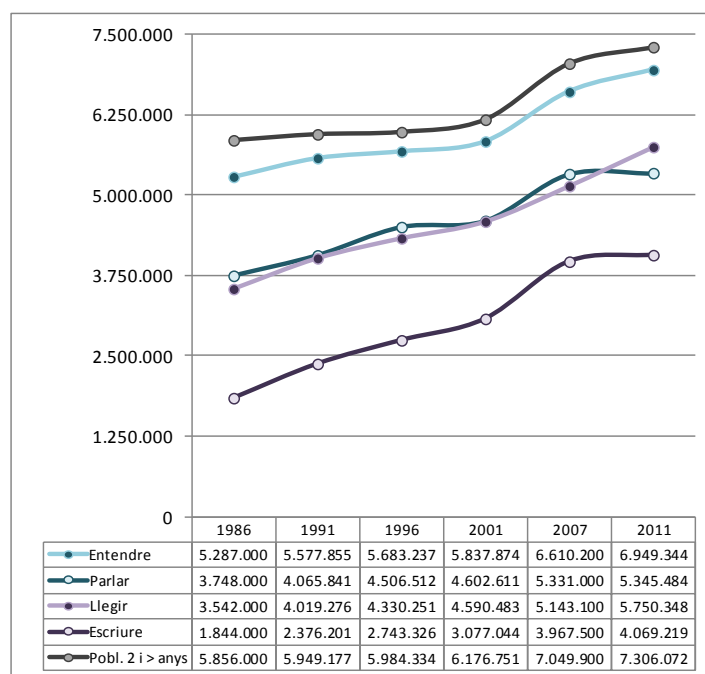
The Catalan-speaking territories continued to feel the effects of the economic crisis, with a retraction in macroeconomic figures and a degree of stabilisation of the highly significant unemployment rates which reached a new record in the first quarter of 2013, with 1,799,999 people unemployed in the three main Catalan-speaking territories (26.6% of the active population). The important demographic growth of the area resulted in a population size of 13,602,972 inhabitants (year 2013). All in all, and for the first time in years, the effect of the new socioeconomic context had resulted in a **negative population balance**, with a loss of 35,146 inhabitants spread across most of the territory. From the year 2009, migratory flows showed negative figures due to the reduction in population inflows and the increase in outflow levels; a situation that affected Catalonia and the Valencian Community in particular. The overall data suggested that the increase in emigration was due to the fact that the population born outside Spain were returning to their country of origin or moving to another country, rather than emigration on the part of the native population. As for the natural growth of the population, while increases had been observed since the end of the nineties, in 2008 figures had reached the maximum rate of births per deaths and since then the ratio had been receding.

With regard to the general sociolinguistic situation, in its last wave (2012-2013), the European Social Survey indicated that Catalan was used in the family sphere by 12.5% of residents in the Spanish State, a third of whom used it as the sole language (4.4%) and two thirds of whom used it alongside Spanish (7.9%), which consolidated Catalan among the medium-sized languages in Europe.

In the exploitation of data per territory, the new sociolinguistic data of the 2011 Census enabled an up-to-date assessment of linguistic competences in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands, which situated the **growth of the population who claimed to know how to speak Catalan at 1.77 million people in Catalonia and the Balearic**

Islands during the two and a half decades for which census-related sociolinguistic data was available.

DIAGRAM 25. *Language competences in Catalan and total population in Catalonia.*

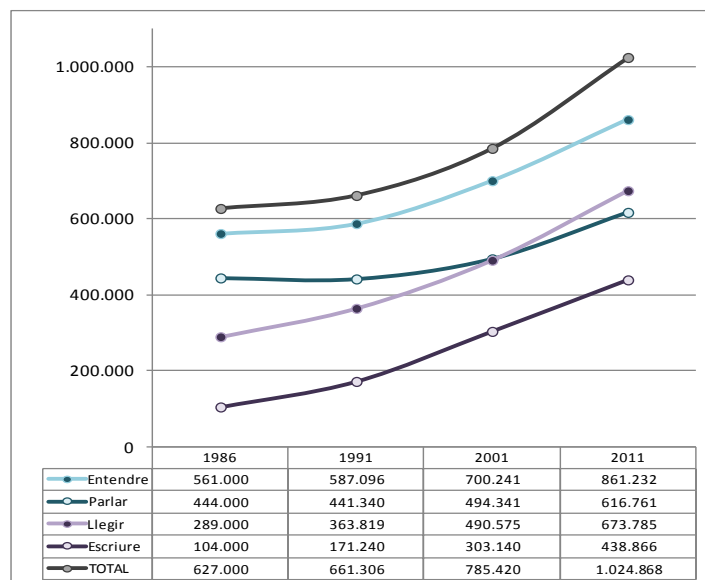


Period 1986-2011. Absolute numbers

Source: Own elaboration of data (Idescat, 2013b; Reixach, 1985).

Therefore, the increase in the number of people who claimed to be able to speak Catalan in **Catalonia** between 1986 and 2011 stood at 1.60 million people more, representing an **increase of 42.6% in absolute numbers in relation to the initial volume of 3.75 million speakers in 1986**. This dissemination of oral skills in Catalan was higher than general population growth, which stood at 1.45 million people more, and which meant that oral skills in Catalan had also grown at a proportional level. Over these two decades and a half, two different periods could be observed in Catalonia: while the increase in competence levels occurred in a fairly stable demographic context between 1986 and 1996 – which enabled a proportional increase in competences in relation to the overall population – from the end of the nineties up to now, the increase in migratory flows stood at a similar or even higher level than the capacity to disseminate language competences; a point which would sometimes conceal this increase in oral competences on a proportional level. Demographic and sociolinguistic trends in Catalonia showed that the dissemination of oral competences in Catalan during this decade not only maintained their growth in absolute numbers, but also exceeded the rate of populational growth; a fact that would also enable oral competence levels to be recovered at a proportional level.

DIAGRAM 26. *Linguistic competences in Catalan and total population of the Balearic Islands. Period 1986-2011. Absolute numbers*



Source: Own elaboration of data (IBESTAT, 2014; Reixach, 1990).

The increase in people claiming to know how to speak Catalan on the Balearic Islands during the two and a half decade period was 172,761 people more, reaching overall figures of 616,761 speakers in 2011, which represented an increase of 38.9% of the initial figure of 444,000 Catalan speakers recorded in 1986. The stages were different from those observed in Catalonia. Between 1986 and 1991, the number of Catalan speakers did not increase, and although the figures picked up, with growth rates equivalent to those in Catalonia up to the year 2001, they did not manage to exceed the populational growth rate on the islands. Finally, between 2001 and 2011 the dissemination of oral knowledge of Catalan grew quickly, exceeding the growth rate in Catalonia and managing to maintain the proportion of the population who could speak Catalan even though the populational growth rate had doubled.

With reference to other studies which gathered demolinguistic research on the different territories, it has been highlighted that while Catalonia and the Balearic Islands were situated among the three territories with a positive index in terms of the intergenerational transmission of Catalan, alongside Andorra, **it was found that Catalonia might be maintaining a level of transmission of Catalan for the population for whom Catalan was not the initial language, or could even be increasing this level. By contrast, this index on the Balearic Islands could be constricting** (Torres, in print).

With regard to **linguistic uses**, sufficiently reliable analyses were only available for the surveys in **Catalonia**, for the period between 1998 and 2008. Although a **decrease in use of Catalan at a proportional level** was observed, both in terms of global use and

in different social spheres, this decrease was more intense at a proportional level than in absolute numbers (Vila and Sorolla, in print). The figures also showed that an appreciable reduction had occurred in all the spheres covered (shops, doctors and banks) in the absolute number of Catalan speakers, but particularly so in the financial sector (Fabà Prats, 2012). In some key points, such as initial language and language used with children, the variations were not negative, but in other areas use dropped slightly, such as in the case of habitual language (Torres-Pla, 2012). Overall, the figures showed that in Catalonia the number of people who used Catalan in language transmission had increased, and this increase was due overall to people from a Spanish-speaking family background. By contrast, non-native members of the family tended to adopt Spanish more than Catalan for general usage, which pointed to the need for Catalan linguistic policies to promote the Catalan language much more among the non-native community. Researchers pointed to different trends that could explain the general reductions in the use of Catalan and highlighted certain demographic aspects (immigration and the reduction in the absolute number of descendents of natives) and sociolinguistic aspects (the reduction of Catalan as an initial language, the use of Spanish as a first language of incorporation, the insufficient knowledge of Catalan among non-native speakers and the reduction in professionals able to speak Catalan) related to these trends. However, **no evidence was provided to suggest that initial Catalan speakers in Catalonia were stopping using Catalan.**

With regard to the **younger population of Catalonia** (15-34 years), the data showed that their linguistic uses continued to be highly diverse and, in general, the two large language groups persisted, to which the young people of foreign origin were added insofar as they maintained their initial languages combined with their use of the languages in use in the reception country; Spanish in particular (Solé *et al.*, 2013). In comparison with previous studies on young people, the combined use of Catalan and Spanish had increased, meaning that both Catalan speakers and initial Spanish speakers used their second language more frequently, which favoured Catalan more than Spanish. This was also confirmed in language transmission among young people in Catalonia with children, since up to **a third of initial Spanish speakers used Catalan with their children**, either exclusively or alongside Spanish.

Among the **strengths** of the Catalan language in Catalonia, particular emphasis was given to its position as a medium-sized language, the constant growth in numbers of people with knowledge of the language, its continued use among native speakers, as well as opportunities, such as its status as a growing market. Overall, the Catalan language suffered from some significant **weaknesses**, such as the difficulty in attracting those with knowledge of the language to use it, lower levels of knowledge compared to state languages, and a very weak use as a level of social incorporation for newcomers. Certain clear threats were also linked to this, such as the high number of speakers who distanced themselves from the language and the reduction in native speakers, particularly in some territories. Some researchers point out that some of the

key objectives of Catalan linguistic policy should be: the widening of knowledge among those born abroad, increasing the supply of professional workers who can speak Catalan, initiating conversations in Catalan and promoting the linguistic maintenance of the language, as well as using Catalan in the early educational stages in order to foster the use of Catalan with children. In any event, the need to extend this kind of analysis on linguistic uses to the other territories was made clear, in order to provide an accurate diagnosis on trends, especially in the other two main territories.

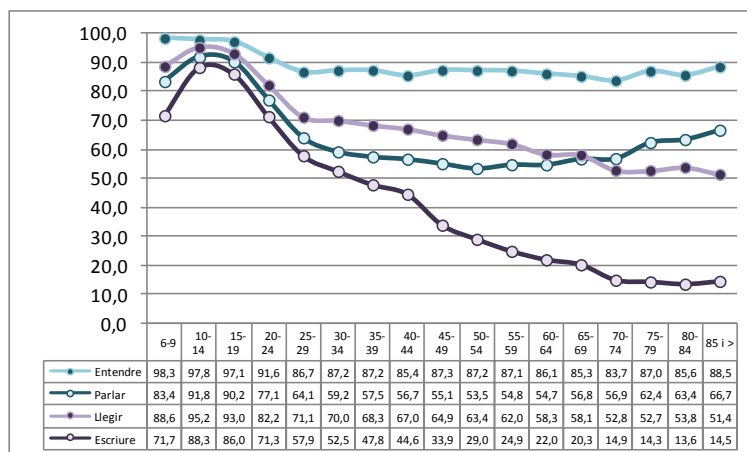
With reference to one of the key points of the Valencian Community - the **intergenerational transmission of Catalan** - the territorialised exploitation of data meant that two markedly different territories could be distinguished (Fabà & Montoya, 2012). Although the general results for Valencia showed a very slight increase of 2 percentage points of the percentage of the population who spoke Catalan with their parents and those who spoke it with their children, this stagnation was not the same across the whole territory. Areas with dynamic growth levels of Catalan (7 positive percentage points) were counterposed with areas in which the intergenerational transmission of Valencian was being ruptured (-4 points). The first group of dynamic growth included regions with 40.5% of the population: some regions of the Valencia area (not including the city), the Alcoi-Gandia region and north Castelló. In contrast, the regions with losses in the intergenerational transmission of Catalan were led by the regions of the three capitals of the province, which included 38.7% of the population. Losses in the intergenerational transmission of Catalan were thus observed in the four main cities of the Valencian Community (Valencia, Alicante, Elx and Castelló), with the proportion of initial Catalan speakers who were not passing on the language to their children varying between 17% in Elx, 38% in Alicante, and standing at an intermediary position of 20% and 21% respectively in Valencia and Castelló.

In the field of **linguistic uses** in the Valencian Community, other research with a longitudinal focus (Casesnoves Ferrer, 2012) or centred on monitoring sociolinguistic evolution according to the effects of migratory processes (Sanjuan Merino, 2013), highlighted the fact that the most fateful sociolinguistic period took place between 1995 and 2005, and that the current period (2005-2012) showed stability in the use of Catalan among the native population and even signs of attraction. Overall, the data showed that one clear sphere, that of linguistic use with friends, had suffered declines, even among the native population.

The sociolinguistic diagnosis of the Valencian Community thus revealed certain weaknesses, such as the association of Valencian with the more peripheral social sectors, the territorial discontinuity of the attraction zone, and the concentration of rupture points in the main demographic, social and economic areas. It was thus highlighted that the most serious period in terms of sociolinguistic decline occurred between 1995 and 2005, and the most up-to-date results showed a certain stabilising of these low levels. It is because of this that researchers suggested that policies aimed at promoting the revernacularisation of Valencian should establish links between the

education system, social networks and the family networks of young speakers, and to provide the territory with a greater political and economical role in these geographic points of attraction.

DIAGRAM 27. *Language competences in Catalan on the Balearic Islands according to age. Year 2011. Percentages (%)*

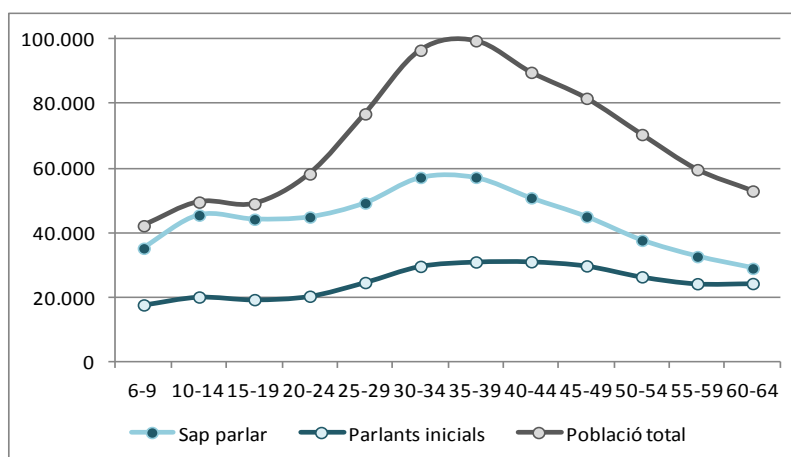


Source: Own elaboration of data (IBESTAT, 2014).

As for the **Balearic Islands**, the 2011 Census enables an analysis to be carried out on knowledge of Catalan, as well as the initial language of the population.

An increase in oral knowledge of Catalan is highlighted between 1986 and 2011. By age group, oral knowledge of the language stood at above 60% among the older population, at its lowest among the 50 to 54 year age group (53.5%), and recovered with the younger age groups, reaching percentages of over 90% in the group of 10 to 19 year olds.

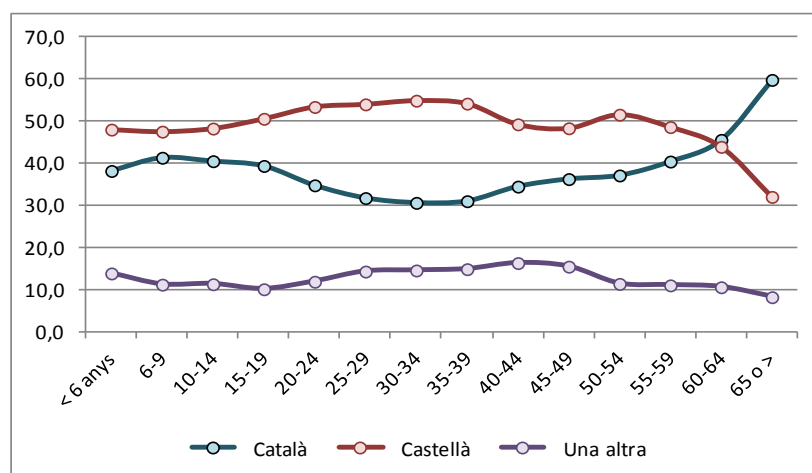
DIAGRAM 28. *Initial speakers of Catalan and speakers (those who know how to speak it) on the Balearic Islands according to age. Year 2011. Absolute numbers*



Source: Own elaboration of data (IBESTAT, 2014).

With regard to the first language of the population, the data showed that there were 410,143 initial speakers of Catalan (39.4%), 499,357 initial speakers of Spanish (48%) and 130,206 initial speakers of other languages (12.5%). According to age, speakers of Catalan as a first language were only the most numerous among the population of 60 years and over, with the lowest ratios of initial Catalan speakers being found in the 30 to 34 year-old group (30.6%), and rising in the younger groups, up to the 41.3% observed in the 6 to 9 year-old group. The same results according to island showed an opposition between Mallorca – which followed a similar dynamic to the general results – and Ibiza and Formentera, where Catalan occupied a more peripheral position for all age groups, and Menorca, where initial Spanish speakers represented the most numerous group among all age groups. In general, the proportion of the population on the Balearic Islands who knew how to speak Catalan in comparison with the population for whom Catalan was not their initial language was at its highest with the younger age groups, reaching its highest with the 10-19 year-old group, in which around 85% of those for whom Catalan was not the initial language knew how to speak it.

DIAGRAM 29. *Initial language on the Balearic Islands according to age. Year 2011. Percentages (%)*



Source: Own elaboration of data (IBESTAT, 2014).

On the other hand, the data on the assessment of basic linguistic competences in the Balearic school system (IAQSE) provided data on the written competences in Catalan, Spanish and English of the school population, as well as on the linguistic uses indicated by the students themselves. As to this latter point, 30.2% of 4th year primary students did not use Catalan in any of the spheres studied (family, friends or classmates and in the school playground). This rate was lower in Menorca (10.6%), while in Mallorca and the Pityusic Islands the percentage was higher (30.8% and 41.3% respectively). Comparatively, the study with 2nd year secondary school students

showed that the percentage of those who did not use Catalan in any of the 3 contexts was higher: 41.3% of students. With regard to written linguistic competences, in the last year of compulsory education (4th year of secondary) **the percentage of students who consolidated their competences in Catalan (69.8%) and Spanish (69.4%) was similar, while the consolidation of English competences was much lower (37.5%)**. Per island, linguistic competences in Catalan were similar on all the islands, while competences in Spanish and English were higher in Ibiza and Formentera than on Mallorca and Menorca. As for the language used in university access tests, with a gradual growth in use of Catalan from 1992 (26.9%) up to 2013 (80.4%), the latter year was the first in which a slight reduction in the use of Catalan (0.7 points) had been observed.

In the case of Alghero and Carche, new sociolinguistic results were available. In the case of **Alghero**, this focused on a demolinguistic study of school children at the end of the nineties and confirmed the extreme situation in which the language was found. Thus, while in their parents' generation a certain degree of intergenerational transmission of Catalan could be observed, within this generation, cases in which children only used Catalan with their parents were extremely rare and those who used Catalan in combination with Italian failed to exceed a tenth of the total. Families who only passed on Italian were therefore hegemonic. As for **Carche**, the interviews carried out with a good sample of the population showed that while Catalan occupied a significant place within the adult population, most contemporary couples were linguistically mixed and made up of a Catalan-speaking member and a Spanish-speaking one. At the same time, and on the whole, these couples had broken with the traditional norm in which each member of the mixed couple maintained their own language when addressing their children. On the contrary, the situation in which the Catalan-speaking member passed on only Spanish had become the norm. In addition to this situation involving native speakers, it was also necessary to add the fact that a large number of foreign families - mainly British - who knew no Catalan and had only a low grasp of Spanish had become resident here in the last decade. The author of the study thus argued that "the primary reproduction of Catalan is disappearing from this enclave and being substituted by Spanish".

In general, then, the Catalan language enjoyed certain **strengths**, such as its position as a medium-sized language, the constant growth in numbers of people with knowledge of the language, the consolidation of linguistic competences in the language among the majority of school children in the territory, and its continued use among most native speakers. But alongside this, the Catalan language suffered from significant **weaknesses**, such as the link with the more socially peripheral sectors in the Valencian community; the rupture of the intergenerational transmission of the language in the main urban centres of Valencia; the question of the outlying territorial areas which posed considerable difficulties across all the Catalan-speaking territories in terms of promoting use among native speakers; and the feeble use of the language as

a language of social integration. These weaknesses are also linked to certain **threats**, such as the high number of speakers distanced from the language; the drop in the number of native speakers due to demographic questions; and the displacement of the language particularly in the more outlying territorial areas. Nevertheless, the current period also pointed to certain **opportunities**, such as the start of a new demographic cycle in which migratory flows had come to a halt, and the incorporation into adulthood of new generations of young native speakers with important linguistic competences and in a context with a greater presence of the initial Catalan-speaking population that would enable the development of a sociolinguistic framework more favourable to the native language. In the case of Valencia, the researchers coincided in situating the phases of deterioration in the period leading up to 2005, indicating that the process seemed to have been alleviated somewhat during the subsequent period. The need to promote cohesion in the Valencian Community between schools, families and local social networks was therefore highlighted, and it was argued that the position of the language in the early educational stages across all territories needed to be bolstered (or created) in order to foster the use of Catalan with children, to extend competence levels among the immigrant population, to increase the supply of professional Catalan-speaking workers, and to stimulate the psychosocial mechanisms and sociolinguistic norms to encourage use of Catalan in personal interactions and, in short, to promote initiatives to encourage the maintenance and sociolinguistic dissemination of the Catalan language.

3.2. Legal status of the language and socio-political dynamics. Unity of the language and relationships between territories.

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University of Girona

The normative status of the Catalan language: setbacks within a context of uncertainty.

A wide-ranging catalogue of legislative provisions that were either directly or tangentially related to the normative status of the Catalan language was approved in 2013. A good number of these provisions were designed to advance the process of normalising the native language and to reinforce the protection of citizens' linguistic rights and responsibilities. Nevertheless, significant setbacks have also emerged in the linguistic normalisation process and in the legal protection of the language, which find their legal articulation in the approval of highly conflictive political and social regulatory initiatives that are analysed in detail in this Report.

This turnaround is seen in particular in territories such as Aragon and the Balearic Islands. The Aragonese Community saw the passing of Law 3/2013 on 9 May on the use, protection and promotion of languages and the linguistic modalities of Aragon. This law is particularly harmful in terms of recognising the normative status of the Catalan language in La Franja. The text of said law does not contain one single explicit reference to the Catalan language and changes its name in a euphemistic and round about way to “the Aragonese language from the eastern area of the Autonomous Community” (LAPOA). This signals an unprecedented turnaround in the recognition and protection of the Catalan linguistic community in this territory.

Similarly, and following the dynamics of previous years, 2013 has also been an especially harmful year with regard to the normative status of the language on the Balearic Islands. Among other initiatives that are critically analysed in this REPORT, we find the passing of decree 15/2013 of 19 April regulating the integrated treatment of languages at non-university schools on the Balearic Islands. This regulatory provision, approved by the government presided over by José Ramon Bauzá, represents an unprecedented regression of the status of the native language in the sphere of education. In fact, it significantly reduces the use of the Catalan language in the sphere of education, as a result of which it is claimed that it signals an end to the model of linguistic immersion which has been followed on the Islands over recent years.

With regard to the socio-political dynamics and the legal framework of the language in the Valencian Community during 2013, no relevant changes are observed and the situation therefore continues on similar lines to those outlined in the Reports of

previous years. During the period studied, few normative provisions have been approved in relation to linguistic matters and confrontations with the world of social activism continue to transcend public opinion. Among the initiatives that have generated the most opposition, it is worth highlighting the *closure of the government-owned radio and television services as well as those of Radiotelevisió Valenciana; a process which has been legally articulated with the approval of Law 4/2013 of 27 November*.

Having said this, the results of the parliamentary studies carried out throughout 2013 in the three territories covered reveal an evolution of linguistic rights which is not at all favourable to the normative status of the language. In fact, we can unreservedly say that a huge offensive against the recognition and normalisation process of the language has been consolidated in different public spheres. The results of the political debates held in parliament throughout 2013 also reveal the parliamentary divide which exists in relation to certain aspects of linguistic policy. It is worth noting that, in this respect, and for a further year, civil society continues to play a crucial role in the defence of the language.

In Catalonia, the production of regulations related to the status of the native language approved in 2013 has been rather limited. The period studied coincides with the first year of life of an X legislature which has been particularly convulsive, with the right to decide as the underlying principle of political and parliamentary debate. No normative provisions of a legal ranking affecting the legal status of the language are approved in this year. However, different normative provisions of a regulatory nature are approved which promote the normalisation of the native language and which are analysed in depth in this Report. It is worth highlighting that, in relation to this objective of normalisation, 2013 saw the celebration of the thirteenth anniversary of the Parliamentary approval of the first law on the linguistic normalisation of Catalan, the celebrated Law 7/1983 of 18 April.

In any case, for the effects of this Report, although the production of legislation related to linguistic rights had been somewhat limited, this does not mean that it did not attract political and media interest. On the contrary, throughout 2013 particular interest would be generated due to the approval of Organic Law 8/2013 of 9 December on Improvements in Educational Quality (LOMCE); a legislative initiative that was to signal an unprecedented legal offensive against the linguistic model of schooling in Catalan.

This legal offensive against the conjunction model of education was consolidated precisely in the year in which the model was celebrating thirty years of life. Being guaranteed for the first time through Law 7/1983 of 18 April, throughout these decades this educational model has established itself as a key factor in the linguistic normalisation process of Catalonia. This fact would explain the blunt political and social response to the legislation: a response that was to be mainly manifested by way of demonstrations from the educational community who were to be the focus of

political and media attention throughout the year. The newspaper archives serve as an important testimony to this process. At the same time, and throughout the period studied, this linguistic model of education would continue to be the focus of different legal resolutions of the **Litigious Administrative Jurisdiction** of the organs of ordinary justice – the High Court and the High Court of Justice of Catalonia – that would continue to question it on the basis of clearly restrictive interpretations of the Constitutional Court Ruling 31/2010 of 28 June on the Statute.

With regard to the legislative production of the Spanish State concerning linguistic matters, this would continue to be limited for another year. A study of the normative provisions published in the Official State Gazette during this year shows that linguistic rights do not undergo any relevant innovations. In fact, few normative provisions of a legal ranking are approved which have any relation to the legal status of languages. An example of this is provided by Law 22/2013, of 22 December, on the General State Budget for 2014. Its additional provision 51, states among other provisions that priority should be given to “the promotion and dissemination of the official languages of the different territories of Spain carried out by the relevant institutions of the Autonomous Communities with their own official language”. Other state laws included explicit or passing references to the language interspersed throughout their articles. This is the case of Law 19/2013, of 9 December, on transparency, access to public information and good governance. Article 29 describes any action involving discrimination based on language as a very serious offence.

With regard to State provisions of a regulatory nature, throughout 2013 the Official State Gazette was to publish different regulations on linguistic matters. These ensured progress in admittedly very specific areas. Some indicative examples of this can be drawn from the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport Resolutions of 12 April 2013, in which subsidies were announced for the promotion of translation into foreign languages; of 15 March 2013, in which competitive tendering subsidies were announced for book publications; and of 20 February 2013, in which subsidies were announced for the publication of cultural magazines. All these state calls for tenders included a reference to the co-official regional languages of the Autonomous Communities.

With regard to the field of administration of justice, this year it proved itself yet again to be one of the least receptive public areas to the presence of the Catalan language, as shown by the statistics on linguistic use published during the period studied. In the regulatory plan, several provisions were approved that continue to value the knowledge of the official, native language of the place where services are being provided as an advantage in the assignment of posts. Thus, during the year 2013, the Spanish State did not put forward any regulatory reform with a view to complying with the recommendations made by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on 24 October 2012, in relation to the monitoring of Spain's implementation of the commitments made through the European Charter for Regional or Minority

Languages. For the purpose of this Report, we should remember that in these recommendations of 24 October 2012, the Committee of Ministers clearly highlighted the limitations of the regulatory framework in Spain and its lack of action and willingness to cooperate in a number of areas, particularly legal areas. More specifically, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe made several recommendations to the Spanish authorities to ensure compliance with the commitments made through the ratification of the agreement, including requiring it to modify the judicial framework to specifically ensure that the judicial, criminal, civil and administrative authorities process procedures in the co-official languages as requested by either of the parties in the Autonomous Communities. Spain was also required to take the necessary legal and practical measures to ensure that an appropriate proportion of judicial staff performing functions in the Autonomous Communities in which Article 9 of the Charter is applicable have an adequate knowledge of the regional or minority languages covered by the agreement for the performance of their professional duties. No regulatory reform was implemented to this end during the course of 2013.

Within this scenario, throughout 2013 linguistic regulation would continue to follow the trends of preceding years and would continue to be the focus of heated debate in the Spanish Parliament, particularly in relation to the functions of promoting and controlling the government actions with which a parliamentary system is entrusted. Different questions, motions and interpellations were formulated, and non-legislative proposals were submitted which brought different linguistic rights-related issues into the Parliamentary Chamber for debate. Some of these initiatives are analysed in detail in this REPORT.

During the period studied, and following the trends of previous years, various initiatives would continue to be formulated in order to promote the recognition and improve the legal protection of the Catalan language in the European Union. While their legal effect would be rather limited, most of these initiatives would serve to emphasise, once again, calls for improvement in the regulative status of the language at a European level. This is the case, for example, of the initiative approved at the headquarters of the European Parliamentary Committee on Culture aimed at promoting the learning of minority languages under threat of disappearance, among which Catalan is listed, from the first levels of education onwards.

The proposal follows on from a report on linguistic diversity in the European Union drawn up by François Alfonsi, member of the European Parliament. On 11 September 2013, members of the European Parliament would endorse the propitiousness of protecting the linguistic heritage of the European Union by approving the European Parliament Resolution on endangered European languages and linguistic diversity in the European Union. It is worth highlighting that in this same year this initiative, adopted at the Community institution headquarters, approved Croatian as the ninth official language of the European Union; a language which has half the number of

speakers as Catalan. This was explained by the fact that on 1 July 2013, the European Union increased its number of Member States to twenty-eight, with the inclusion of Croatia.

Within these general considerations on the normative status of Catalan, we should also mention the legal activity carried out in relation to pacts, agreements and other institutional collaboration activities. In fact, during the year 2013, activity of this kind has been notable. In the Horizontal Cooperation Plan of 15 October 2013, the factions responsible for language policy in Catalonia, Galicia and the Basque Country met **to monitor the collaboration protocol on the issue of language policy in which the three Governments had been involved for some years. Thus**, the collaboration between the institutions of the different territories would continue throughout the year, without creating new organisational structures such as those already providing positive results, as is the case of the Ramon Llull Institute or the Xarxa Vives d'Universitats, which is exemplary of the new organisations formed.

With regard to Northern Catalonia, 2013 has seen the approval of different initiatives that, directly or indirectly, have had an effect on the debate concerning the legal protection of the so-called “regional languages”, one of which is Catalan. Two of these are of particular relevance: the first of these initiatives was the creation in March 2013 of the Advisory Committee for the promotion of regional languages and internal linguistic plurality. Convened at the request of the French Minister for Culture and Communication, Aurélie Filippetti, it would be assigned the task of studying and advising public authorities on the methods of implementing the commitments made by the French State in the signing of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. The second of the initiatives worth highlighting was implemented on the parliamentary stage. On 28 January 2014, the National Assembly adopted, on its first reading, a constitutional law proposal authorising the ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which it should be remembered was signed by France in 1999, albeit pending ratification. In the parliamentary debates that took place with regard to the processing of this initiative, arguments were put forward in favour of undertaking a reform of the French Constitution in order to comply with the objections brought by the Constitutional Council on 15 June 1999, when it warned that the ratification of this agreement at European Council headquarters would require a prior constitutional reform.

In order to conclude, no relevant changes were recorded in the normative status of the language in Andorra and Alghero during 2013. With regard to the Principality of Andorra, some regulatory provisions were approved that made passing reference to linguistic uses. This is the case of Law 12/2013 of 13 June on trade, and Decree 24 of April on the regulations on invoicing obligations. In the context of the general linguistic policy plan, different government initiatives have also been adopted throughout the period studied which are aimed at promoting the normalisation of the Catalan language. These are studied in detail throughout this REPORT. With regard to Alghero,

no regulatory reforms related to the legal status of Algherese were advanced, although different initiatives aimed at normalising its use were formulated and promoted and are worthy of mention here. Thus, during the course of 2013, the collaboration agreement signed on 14 November 2012 between the Government of Catalonia and the City Council of Alghero started to be implemented. This agreement had been conceived with the aim of promoting the economic and trade relations between both territories over a period of eight years, strengthening school and academic exchange programmes, and extending and consolidating the social use of the Catalan language in its Algherese variant. Within the context of this attempt to promote normalisation, on 21 March 2013 the language campaign titled "It has more flair in Algherese" was launched, and was mainly directed at disseminating the rich linguistic heritage of Algherese. This initiative would enjoy the support of the Alghero City Council, the Government of Catalonia and organisations defending the use of the language and promoting its extended social use. Meanwhile, in Italy, the future ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages would continue to be the focus of political debates and parliamentary initiatives. A good example of this is provided by the ordinary legislative proposal presented by several Members of Parliament on 21 October 2013 in the Chamber of Deputies, on the ratification and implementation of the agreement, and the legislative initiative presented on 8 August 2013 to the Regional Council of Sardinia, which addressed the amendment of Article 1 of the Special Statute of Sardinia in order to ensure the official status of Sardinian and Catalan in the region. The contents and scope of these initiatives are studied in depth in this REPORT.

3.3. Education

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MARIA ARENY

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As already highlighted in the previous two Reports, the situation of the language in the education systems of the different Catalan-speaking territories is undergoing a period of great tension, especially in areas governed by the Partido Popular (the Valencian Community, the Balearic Islands and Aragon) and, clearly, across the entire Spanish State which will be subject to the application of **Organic Law 8/2013, of 9 December, on Improvements in Educational Quality (LOMCE)**,⁴³⁴ which, among other things, could make the partial use of Spanish as the language of instruction obligatory (a law directed at Catalonia).

Altogether this signals a restraint on the presence of Catalan in schools. A restraint which begins with the proposal of a state law (la LOMCE), continues with the proposal of supposedly trilingual curriculums in which Catalan, Spanish and English are used in equal measure, and which are principally designed to curb the expansion of Catalan as a vehicular language (especially on the Islands and in the Valencian Community), and reaches its climax in the legal pressure exercised in Catalonia. The result of all this is that we now find ourselves in a veritable legal rollercoaster.

In the case of Alghero, as we already pointed out in the 2010 Report, the educational model of the language, which was practically voluntary and carried out outside the school timetable, has been exhausted. We can only highlight the continuity of the infant line of education in Catalan of “La Costura”, over which, however, hang many question marks, particularly in relation to funding. It is also important to highlight the positive aspects of the initiatives carried out by some teachers and some extra-curricular activities.

As for La Franja, despite the clearly anti-Catalan official discourse, there has been no real decline in the teaching of the language (but no advance either). Interestingly, on 3 July 2013, a coordination protocol was signed between the Government of Aragon and the Government of Catalonia for the development of coordinated actions in the sphere of education. One of the different actions they have agreed to carry out

434. See Organic Law 8/2013, of 9 December, on Improvements in Educational Quality, available at <http://www.boe.es/boe/dias/2013/12/10/pdfs/BOE-A-2013-12886.pdf> (consulted: 12 April 2014).

is to facilitate Catalan language learning (the name appears repeatedly in the text) and to establish agreements for accrediting Catalan studies carried out in regulated education.

The most acute levels of tension between the educational community and the Government have occurred on the Balearic Islands. The opposition of teachers to the decree on the Integrated Treatment of Languages (TIL) is without doubt one of the most important episodes in which the Catalan language has been defended in recent history. The lack of flexibility shown by the Bauzà Government should be noted.

In the Valencian Community the PP have also applied a decree on Plurilingualism which establishes two plurilingual programmes; one with Catalan as a base language (the Plurilingual Programme for Education in Valencian, PPEV), which takes in the existing lines in Valencia (PEV and PIL), and another in which the base language is Spanish (the Plurilingual Programme for Education in Spanish, PPEC), which takes in the PIP. Both programmes also enforce the inclusion of a non-language subject in English, in addition to Spanish (PPEV) and Catalan (PPEC).

In Andorra and Northern Catalonia the situation is quite similar to that of the previous Report: firstly, the definitive consolidation of the Andorran school over and above the Spanish and French schools, and secondly, a fairly stable situation with regard to the teaching of Catalan in schools in Northern Catalonia.

In the case of the Principality of Catalonia, legal pressure has presented some stumbling blocks to the linguistic model of the Catalan school, but up to now this has not caused any significant repercussions numerically speaking. To all these points, we need to add the potential repercussions that the new Spanish law on education – la LOMCE – could have on the Catalan language. Fortunately, the reaction of Catalan civil society through platforms such as Somescola.cat,⁴³⁵ which have carried out numerous demonstrations across the territory, has made it clear that the linguistic model of the Catalan school enjoys wide social support among the public.

A warning needs to be advanced, however, in the case of the Principality of Catalonia: the first results of the RESOL project,⁴³⁶ a research project of the University Centre for Sociolinguistics and Communication of the University of Barcelona, show, in the case of young people, “the feebleness of what is available — or at least what is available and of any interest — in the sphere of television, music and internet in Catalan”, and that in the step up from primary to secondary there is “very significant drop in Catalan use and an increase in Spanish use” among those for whom Catalan is not their initial language. In general, there is a decline in Catalan use which is particularly worrying: that of the language used by teachers, especially at secondary level.

435. For more information, see the website <http://www.omnium.cat/somescola-cat> (consulted: 12 April 2014).

436. See <http://blogs.iec.cat/cruscat/projectes-ressaltats/projectes-amb-participacio/projecte-resol-resocialitzacio-i-lleques> (consulted: 12 April 2014).

One of the cases analysed is that of Mataró, a city with almost 125,000 inhabitants, which is not exactly within the industrial belt of Barcelona, but neither can it be described as a “standard” regional capital nor does it have a majority presence of initial Catalan speakers (in 2007, according to Idescat data, Catalan was the first language spoken by only 28.9% of those from Mataró, while this figure in the Principality was 32.2%. The city is quite representative of the whole of Catalonia (with a slight tendency to favour Spanish more than in other areas of the territory).

The data mentioned above made reference to the language used by teachers with their students (according to the students and not the teachers): while at primary level 75.1% of teachers of non-language subjects delivered classes only in Catalan, in the first year of secondary school this dropped to 66.5% of classes. At total of 22.8% at primary level and 31.6% at secondary delivered classes in Catalan and Spanish, following the same linguistic norms made by a “standard” citizen who knows how to speak Catalan and wants to speak it: speaking Spanish to those who speak to them in Spanish and changing language without even realising. Only 2% of teachers taught only in Spanish.

Another worrying piece of data is that only 67.9% of primary students and 59.1% of secondary students always address their teachers in Catalan. A total of 29.2% of primary students and 36.5% secondary students alternate between the two languages and also, fortunately, only 3% and 4.4%, respectively, always address their teachers in Spanish.

This data confirms that Catalan is not the only vehicular language in the education system followed in Catalonia and that, over these years, guidelines for linguistic use favourable to the Catalan language have not been worked on sufficiently. This should serve as a warning...

3.4. The media and the culture industries

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In 2013, 42.3% of all general newspapers distributed in Catalonia were in Catalan, compared to 57.7% in Spanish. The expansion of the general press in Catalan thus continues to the detriment of Spanish newspapers. In the subsector of free daily press, the distribution data on copies for 2013 show a proportion of 19% for newspapers in Catalan. The increase on the previous year is explained chiefly by the disappearance of the papers *Què!* and *AND*, which had been mainly edited in Spanish. By contrast, no changes have been observed in relation to the daily specialist press (sports and economy), which continue to be published either completely or mainly in Spanish, with the exception of *El 9 Esportiu de Catalunya*, which is not controlled by the OJD.

In total, 28.9% of all daily newspapers published in Catalonia in 2013 were in Catalan. In 2010, this figure stood at 13.4%. A strong increase is noted, then, over recent years with regard to the proportion of daily newspapers distributed in Catalan.

In the middle of 2013, the only newspaper in Catalan published on the Balearic Islands - *Diari de Balears* o *dBalears* – was to disappear and be replaced by a new newspaper, *Ara Balears*. The newspaper *dBalears* continues to exist in digital format. In 2013, there was still no newspaper published in the Valencian Community in Valencian, while in Andorra, the region's four native papers continued to be published.

In 2013, the predominance of magazine consumption in Spanish continued across all fields of the linguistic domain, due, in particular, to the significant weight of the magazines published on a state level. Among the most significant events of the period, it is worth mentioning the agreement between three associations of the Catalan newspaper press to create a federation to group together the newspapers of ACPG (Catalan Association of Free Press), ACPC (Catalan Association of Regional Press) and APPEC (Association of Newspaper Publications in Catalan). The situation of the non-newspaper press in the Valencian Community continues to be precarious and the situation of Catalan press on the Islands is not particularly promising either.

In 2013, 59.3% and 40.7% of the average audience of state or autonomous radio programmes in Catalonia listened to radio stations in Catalan and Spanish, respectively. In 2007, these percentages stood at 48.3% and 51.7%, respectively. On the other hand, most of the content of the local Catalan stations are in Catalan. The economic crisis does not seem to have affected this overwhelming predominance of broadcasts of local radio stations in the native language.

In the Valencian Community, the most noteworthy and controversial event of the period in the context of radio was the closure of Radiotelevisió Valenciana, Ràdio 9 and Sí Ràdio on 29 November 2013. In addition to, this we should also add the forced

closure on 29 January 2014 of Catalunya Ràdio and Catalunya Informació in the Valencian Community. On the Balearic Islands, Ona Mediterrània – a station promoted by Obra Cultural Balear and Associació Voltor that is broadcast wholly in Catalan on the island of Mallorca – started to broadcast in January 2014. However, Catalan on the radio continued to hold a minority presence on the Balearic Islands. In Andorra, the local radio programmes are broadcast in Catalan.

There were no significant changes in the provision of television programmes in Catalan in the Principality in 2013. Audience figures testify to the healthy state of the programming in Catalan broadcast by Televisió de Catalunya. Nevertheless, the Spanish language is clearly dominant both in terms of the supply and consumption of television in Catalonia. The year 2013 has been a bleak year for television broadcasting in the Valencian Community due to the closure of the Radiotelevisió Valenciana channels. Negotiations between the Governments of Catalonia and Valencia to resume TV3 broadcasts in the Valencian Community were not successful either. No relevant changes occurred in relation to the provision of television services in Catalan in the other Catalan-speaking territories.

As for cinemas, the most recent data available, that pertaining to the year 2012, indicates a slight increase in the number of cinema spectators in Catalan in comparison to the total number of cinema goers; 4.4%, five tenths more than in 2011. Other indicators seem to point to a slight advance of cinema in Catalan in Catalonia within the general precariousness of the figures on offer. With regard to the publication of books, a slight increase in the proportion of editorial production in the native language in relation to the total number of annual publications in Catalonia is observed (26.8% in 2012, when in 2011 the proportion stood at 24.7%).

Different indicators show the continued presence of Catalan on the Internet throughout 2013. Once again, the Net would appear to be the medium or sphere of communication where Catalan shows itself to be in the best of health, alongside the radio. At the beginning of 2014, the number of domain names registered under .cat reached 71,065; 80% more than in 2010. And on 1 March 2014, the number of twitters in Catalan reached 150,520; 65% more than in the previous year. A total of 63% of companies and institutions with headquarters in the Catalan-speaking territories had a website with a version in Catalan by December 2013.

An overwhelming predominance of content in Catalan is also observed in the field of online journalism in Catalonia. In March 2014, of the 94 digital media organisations associated to ACPG, only three published contents in Spanish. It should be noted, however, that the Catalan online publications with the largest audience publish their content in Spanish (specifically, the digital versions of the newspapers *Sport* and *Mundo Deportivo*, and *La Vanguardia*). By contrast, of the 21 online media publishers who are members of the Associació de Mitjans Digitals de la Comunitat Valenciana (Association of Digital Media of the Valencian Community), only one publishes its content in Valencian. The rest publish only or almost all content in Spanish.

3.5. Public institutions. International reach of the language. Between the public and the private: socioeconomics, health and protection

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Once again, 2013 has been marked by two factors: the different legal rulings and political actions arising from the absolute majority held by the PP in Congress and the Spanish Senate. With regard to the first point, the most noteworthy developments are the series of legal rulings recognising the right of students who ask to be taught in Spanish as a vehicular language of Catalonia. This fact was to generate considerable political confrontation between the Catalan political parties on the one hand, and the Spanish and Catalan governments on the other. In this regard, however, it is worth highlighting the unanimous rejection of these rulings that has come from the Government of Catalonia, civil society, the educational sector and the majority of the political parties in Catalonia.

In terms of politics, the most notable development was the approval of the Wert Law of 10 October, which received favourable votes only from the PP. Despite the numerous critiques launched against it, the only change of the law in relation to the proposal submitted in the previous year was the removal of the obligation on the part of the autonomous governments to pay the fees of private schools for students who asked to be taught in Spanish, since the State Council had rejected this proposal.

Other Central Government actions were the attempts made to reform the regulations on local government, which would mean that Town Councils would not be able to demand that knowledge of Catalan be a requisite for applying for public posts; or the legal battle to stop the courses provided by the Catalan Employment Service being delivered solely in Catalan. No developments have been observed in terms of improving the presence of Catalan in the legal field - despite the demands for such changes from the Catalan Government – since the Secretary of State for Justice, Fernando Román, turned down the proposal for Central Government to take measures to resolve this problem.

At an institutional level, it is worth noting the *de facto* acceptance of Catalan in the Senate by the PP, rejecting a proposal submitted by UPyD (a right-wing political group) to abolish its use. On the other hand, the difficulty of introducing the possible use of the language in the new reform of Congress was made quite clear. Furthermore, as a result of the absolute majority held by the PP, no proposal was allowed to move forward which related to the introduction of Catalan or any other official languages outside their own territory.

If we focus on Catalonia, it is quite clear to see that the changes propelled by the Spanish State have had repercussions. The Wert Law, the various legal rulings and other actions have been rejected unanimously by the Government of Catalonia, the main Catalan political parties and civil society.

In addition to this, the Government of Catalonia has continued to take action to promote the use of Catalan in different fields and has concentrated its efforts on subsidies, agreements with professional colleges, new lines of assistance or new taxes to promote the use of Catalan in the culture industries: all this within the context of the 30th anniversary of the first law on Linguistic Normalisation.

Developments have also been seen in relation to Catalan sign language, with the creation of the Consell Social de la Llengua de Signes Catalanes (Social Council on Catalan Sign Language) as well as the signing of different agreements to promote it. In spite of these developments, deaf people themselves denounced the fact that insufficient policies were being developed for the normalisation of Catalan sign language.

In the Valencian Community, the policies that continue to be applied by the Fabra Government are of particular note. In 2013, the main development was the closure of Canal 9 which left the Valencian Community without any channel in Catalan except for the local TV channels. No advances have been made in relation to the return of TV3. While the Catalan and Valencian governments reached a reciprocal agreement, there seemed to be no political will to apply it.

It is also worth highlighting, once again, the decision to curtail classes taught in Valencian in public education. Thus, the 2013-2014 school year started with 14,000 students being unable to enrol in classes given in Valencian. In this sense, however, the Valencian Government has started to receive the first legal rulings finding in favour of the families demanding the right to have their children schooled in classes given in Valencian.

As for the Balearic Islands, the main development has been the approval of the Integrated Treatment of Languages (TIL) that replaces the conjunction model of education in Catalan in schools on the islands. This decree provoked the mass rejection of teachers and families, with an indefinite strike that lasted three weeks after the start of the school year.

Once again, the cutbacks of the Government have been most noteworthy in the area of Northern Catalonia: of particular note is the closure of the correspondent office of TV3 in the territory, and the cutbacks in the education sector for the promotion of teaching in Catalan, which was finally assumed by the French institutions.

Few developments have been seen in Alghero and Andorra, beyond the campaigns to promote the use of the language, such as the scriptwriting competition in Catalan in Andorra and the "It has more flair in Algherese" campaign.

The most important development in La Franja has been the approval of the new language law by Luisa Fernanda Rudi's government, which replaces the law approved by the PSOE government in the previous legislature and which, importantly, refers to Catalan as "the Aragonese language from the eastern area of the Autonomous Community" (LAPOA), and Aragonese as the "Aragonese language of the Pyrenees and the Pre-Pyrenees" (popularly rechristened as LAPAO and LAPAPYP). This development was met with unanimous political, social and academic refusal.

With regard to the external promotion of the language, some changes in the Ramon Llull Institute are worth highlighting, such as the change of director, the change of headquarters, the joining of some Balearic towns and the city of Barcelona, and the exit of some Valencian towns. The Institute has also been affected by cutbacks, with a reduction of 27.6% of its budget. Nevertheless, it has continued in its task of providing seminars, training, organising literary fairs (in this vein it is worth highlighting the Saló del Llibre de París), etc.

Finally, with regard to the socioeconomic sphere, different campaigns stand out in particular, such as those of Plataforma per la Llengua and the Consortium for Linguistic Normalisation, which, on the one hand, consist in denouncing cases of linguistic discrimination and, on the other, promoting the language in the spheres of labour, consumption and business. In general, these actions have been received more positively by small and medium-sized businesses than by large multinational companies, which are the least receptive to the use of Catalan.

4. Conclusions

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The temporal gap between the period evaluated in the REPORT and the time of its publication and dissemination is a toll that must be paid. We pay this toll for the benefit of a rigorous analysis that rests on the important profusion of data provided by a sociolinguistic reality which is in constant metamorphosis. This means that the evolution of the socio-political context of the year 2014 may, at times, superimpose itself upon some of the reflections on events that occurred in 2013. We ask the reader to bear this in mind at all times.

In the economic field, the year 2013 includes some indicators which are moderately encouraging. Thus, in the context of a severe economic crisis, the most important macroeconomic data has started to pick up tentatively and throughout the year unemployment figures have started to slow down slightly. It should be noted, however, that the rate of unemployed people in the first quarter of 2013 reached an all time high of around 1,800,000 people; 26.6% of the active population of the Catalan-speaking territories. The Valencian Community is the most affected of all regions, with 28.6% unemployment.

With regard to the structure of the population, the key development in 2013 is that, for the first time, the Catalan-speaking territories have seen a drop in numbers. With a negative balance of just over 35,000 people, the slowdown in population growth already visible in 2010 has entered a new dimension. The new socioeconomic context should stimulate an increase in the negative figures of the demographic flows and gradually these figures are also starting to reflect the emigration of the native population in the pursuit of a better economic future. Meanwhile, with a low rate of 1.2% of births per deaths, natural growth continues the same trend of retraction that began in 2008. Altogether, the overall figure of residents in the Catalan-speaking community stands at around 13.6 million.

As for the demolinguistic analysis, data from the 2011 Population Census started to appear in 2013. It should be noted that this data, which is currently only available for Catalonia and the Balearic Islands, cannot help us to update the information provided in the 2012 Report, but can provide us with an analysis which runs parallel to the studies carried out up to now with statistical instruments such as the Barometer of Communication and Culture and the Surveys on Linguistic Uses (EUL). On the other

hand, the publication of the more detailed analyses of surveys carried out prior to the period evaluated has enabled us to focus our attention on certain dynamics that we had considered to have stabilised in previous Reports.

In relation to the census data on language knowledge, this REPORT has studied the evolution of competences between 1986 and 2011 in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands. Beyond the absolute figures and the percentage indicators, the analysis carried out corroborates the trends already identified and also presents interesting interpretative nuances. The contrast between the increase in speakers and the population flows certainly gives us a clearer idea of the percentage evolution of active oral competence levels in the Catalan language. Thus, within the framework of an amazing growth in numbers of speakers over the two and a half decades mentioned (1.6 million people in Catalonia in addition to 170,000 on the Balearic Islands), the correlation of this growth with populational growth (1.45 million people in Catalonia and almost 335,000 on the Balearic Islands) is indicative of different key periods in terms of defining the most important demolinguistic moments. In Catalonia, then, the stabilisation of the percentage rates starts in 1996 and ends up showing a slight decrease which means that 73.2% of the population know how to speak Catalan by 2011. The most determining factor in all this is, without a doubt, the demolinguistic changes caused by contemporary migrations. On the Balearic Islands, on the other hand, we have gone from a period (1986-2011) in which the percentage rate of growth of speakers was lower than population growth, and another (2001-2011) in which, despite the doubling of population growth, the extremely significant growth in speakers has enabled the percentage estimates to be maintained, with 63.4% of people claiming to know how to speak Catalan in 2011. This is, without doubt, good news from a diachronic perspective that should not, however, make us lose sight of the fact that a third of the island's population say they do not know how to speak Catalan.

With regard to the analysis of different sociolinguistic indicators provided by different studies published in 2013, we shall begin by commenting on the state of the intergenerational linguistic transmission of the Catalan language. As mentioned in previous reports, we have been able to make an initial diagnosis of the overall situation of the linguistic community on the basis of the wave of EUL surveys carried out between 2003 and 2004. Ten years later, three different dynamics have been observed: territories with appreciable advances in the intergenerational transmission of Catalan (Andorra, Catalonia and the Balearic Islands), territories where this transmission has come to a standstill (the Valencian Community and La Franja), and, finally, territories where this transmission had been ruptured in previous decades. Of the different regions mentioned, only two – Catalonia and the Balearic Islands – updated this data in 2008. This has meant that different behaviour has been observed in each territory: while the longitudinal analysis shows that transmission has continued to advance in a sustained manner, the positive tendency on the Islands may have

started to decline. On the other hand, in both territories the non-native family members tend to adopt Spanish as the preferred language while the gains made by Catalan are also shown to be generated by initial Spanish-speakers. An indicator of such structural importance should be observed in close detail.

Looking at linguistic transmission in more detail, the year 2013 provides us with a more detailed insight into the general state of stagnation in which it had fallen according to the data of the Valencian Academy of the Language surveys of 2004. This insight comes from a territorialised analysis which detects substantial differences. Thus, on the one hand, areas with clearly different dynamics can be observed: one with growth of around 7 percentage points and another in which transmission is ruptured, with figures of around 4 negative percentage points. Both show similar demographic dimensions of around 40% of the population. However, while the first group takes in the population resident in towns and small cities (in a discontinuous manner), the other includes the four most populated cities of the Valencian Communities where we find significant percentages of Catalan speakers who are not passing the language on to their children (17% in Elx, 20% in Valencia, 21% in Castelló and 38% in Alicante). A total of 20% of the remaining population reside in areas with a slightly positive dynamic. Without up-to-date information, it is clear that the struggle between two situations which are as clearly counterposed as those described will be highly significant in the future evolution of the language in the Valencian Community.

As for linguistic uses, we have been able to draw on studies that provide information on Catalonia and the Valencian Community. Concerning Catalonia, it is important to note that the longitudinal study carried out between 1997 and 2008 shows a decrease which is more noticeable in percentage terms than in absolute numbers. This reduction is visible in all the contexts studied (shops, doctors and Banks), and is particularly noticeable in the financial sector. On the basis of what has just been said, a reduction in habitual language use is recorded in relation to the positive evolution of the indicators of the initial language and the language of identification: a positive dynamic that should be followed with attention insofar as the longitudinal series of the EUL surveys advances. In this sense, it is important to remember that we already drew attention to the decrease in the number of initial Catalan speakers in Catalonia between 2003 and 2008 in our Report of 2012.

The reductions in the use indicators in the Valencian Community can already be seen from 1995. And it is worth remembering that this is precisely the point in time when, on the one hand, the Partido Popular begins a long road to power which culminates in the present day, and, on the other hand, when the new migrations start to have an effect on the demographic structure of the region. With regard to the period between 2005 and 2010, the exploitation of surveys from the Sociolinguistic Studies and Research Service of the Government of Valencia provides us with recent data on a general decrease in use of approximately three percentage points. We would like to advance some considerations on this question. The first is a positive

consideration that understands this decrease in use (and in knowledge) outside the collective of initial Catalan speakers, a collective who, by contrast, are showing signs of recovery. The second is a negative consideration which locates the negative performance in the context of language use with friends. Having said this, we would like to point out that the future of the Catalan language in the Valencian Community will depend upon a shift in the dynamics whereby Catalan speakers use the language only in the enclave of private communication, particularly if it is expected that within the framework of the demographic transformation indicated the composition of native speakers is not exactly favourable to the group showing the most linguistic loyalty.

The socio-political context is therefore fundamental in terms of characterising the dynamics of the different territories of the Catalan-speaking territories. Thus, the intervention or lack of attention given to the languages of the communicative ecosystem in question becomes a crucial factor when defining the sociolinguistic horizon. This is why institutional leaders play an important role in situations related to language use. In the framework of linguistic policy and planning, the interventions carried out in relation to the exercising of power are known as top-down actions. From this perspective, the territorial and socio-political heterogeneity of the Catalan-speaking linguistic sphere tends to offer us a kaleidoscopic picture, with disputes on the communicative functionality of the languages that can generate substantial differences of opinion.

The 2011 Report already placed special emphasis on the important political changes that were being seen in terms of the management of central and territorial power in the Spanish State: changes which, in the main, involved the rupture of a political dynamic more favourable to the normalisation of the Catalan language. In 2012, after a period of administrative adjustment, the harshness of the new directives started to be revealed. Thus, within the framework of a general offensive against the normative status of the Catalan language, the autonomies where the Partido Popular had gained hegemony started to initiate a crusade against the recognition, legal protection and linguistic normalisation of Catalan. The territories where this radical change occurred were Aragon and the Balearic Islands. In the Valencian Community, the fact that this political group continued in power was to routinise a linguistic policy that, as demonstrated in the sociolinguistic data available, has been extremely prejudicial to the vitality and use of the language. By 2013, in the middle of the legislatures started in 2011, the consolidation of the new ideological orientations in relation to the role of the Catalan language in its native territory resulted in an unprecedented and radical change. At the same time, outside the Spanish State, new perspectives were opened, especially in France, where the new Government of François Hollande enabled the opening of a new debate on linguistic diversity in France.

The year 2013 saw intense legal activity in a good part of the Catalan linguistic area of the Spanish State. The new catalogue of regulations which govern the functionality of the language, either directly or indirectly, brings with it some positive actions

(particularly those emanating from the Government of Catalonia) and others which are clearly negative (those that emerge from other autonomous communities and those of the Government of the Spanish State).

The latter are issued by autonomous governments controlled by the Partido Popular and by Central Government. On the other hand, the failure to apply consumer code laws and the cinema act in Catalonia, which is pending resolution in relation to the appeal against unconstitutionality, slows down the advance of the Catalan language in these sectors. Let us take a brief look at these actions.

The Aragonese Community saw the passing of Law 3/2013 on 9 May on the use, protection and promotion of languages and the linguistic modalities of Aragon. As stated in the 2012 Report in regard to the proposed law, the new law has resulted in a change of name of the language which has created a considerable paroxysm. Thus, within the Aragonese territory, the Catalan language comes to be known as: “the Aragonese language from the eastern area of the Autonomous Community” (popularly known as LAPAO). In spite of this, we would like to insist on the fact that, while not wishing to deny the importance of the onomastic dispute, the most negative aspect of all this is the promulgation of a regulation which is absolutely inefficient in terms of trying to subvert the minority status of the Catalan language in the Aragonese territory.

The Balearic Islands is the other territory where the Catalan language was especially damaged in 2013. In the 2012 Report, we drew attention to a legislative issue of particular importance for the language: the approval of Law 9/2012 of 19 July. The promulgation of this law involved a legal reform that would mean that the legal regulations related to the Catalan language would have to be adapted to the postulates of this new law. The main aim of these new regulations was to remove the requirement to have knowledge of the Catalan language to be able to work in the public sphere; a point which was to lead the opposition party of the Balearic Parliament to present an appeal against unconstitutionality. On 26 September 2013, the Constitutional Court issued a ruling turning down the appeal.

On the other hand, the world of education and society in general on the Balearic Islands were to witness a legislative change of considerable importance. On 19 April, decree 15/2013 regulating the integrated treatment of languages at non-university schools on the Balearic Islands was passed. Some months later, this decree would be accompanied by another, Decree 5/2013 of 6 September, as part of an initiative to adopt a series of urgent measures to ensure the implementation of the TIL during the 2013-2014 academic year. These legislative measures, which received widespread rejection from the community, torpedoed the consensus surrounding the existing “decree of minimum levels” and resulted in a notable reduction in the presence of Catalan in the educational setting.

In the Valencian Community, the most notable developments are found in the sphere of communication. The first development, which generated considerable social

upheaval, was the closing of the audiovisual communication channels of the Government of Valencia. Law 4/2013 of the Government of Valencia was approved with the aim of stopping the provision of government-owned radio and television services in the autonomous community, as well as those of Radiotelevisió Valenciana. The second development, which has reduced the media presence of Catalan, were the sanctioning proceedings brought by the Ministry of Industry, Energy and Tourism against Acció Cultural del País Valencià (Cultural Association of the Valencian Community) at the end of the year. These proceedings meant that by January 2014 broadcasts from Catalunya Ràdio and Catalunya Informació were no longer received in Valencia. This clearly represents an authentic attempt to suppress one of the main broadcasting agents of Valencian culture and language. This fact, alongside the evolution of the new trilingual agenda in the world of education, paves the way for a new institutional process in which the weakening of the language erodes certain spheres which are fundamental to its recovery.

In Catalonia, no notable modifications were made in the legislative field in relation to language in 2013. In the political sphere, the debate on sovereignty has taken a considerable leap forward with the establishment of a date and a question for the consultation in which the Catalan people will be able to decide on their political future. Meanwhile, and with regard to the Catalan language, in addition to the uncertainty generated by the Constitutional Court ruling 31/2010 of 23 June - which questioned a whole series of linguistic precepts of the renewed Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia – we also find the approval of the Organic Law 8/2013 of 9 December on Improvements in Educational Quality (LOMCE), popularly known as “Wert’s Law”. This law, drawing on a clearly restrictive interpretation of the aforementioned ruling, jeopardises the foundations of the conjunction model of school education; a model which spearheads the linguistic normalisation process in Catalonia and has been praised by the European Union commission of experts.

The new doctrine generated by the Constitutional Court Ruling of 2010 presents considerable uncertainties in relation to the future evolution of linguistic rights. The consequences of these are gradually being felt. A clear example is provided by the Interlocutory ruling of the 5th Section of the High Court of Justice of Catalonia of 6 March 2013, which demands that the Ministry of Education adapts to the new situation generated by the High Court ruling and signals a new scenario in which Spanish becomes the vehicular language in the Catalan education system. This resolution anticipates a whole series of legal resolutions against legislative provisions that regulate important linguistic prerogatives in Catalonia (the Reception Act for Immigrants and Returnees to Catalonia, the Consumer Code, the Education Act, the Cinema Act, and the Occitan Act).

Taking all this into account, it is important to highlight that the Government of Catalonia has responded firmly to these developments. Thus, in response to the radical changes described, the Department of Culture has drawn up a Plan of urgent

multisectorial measures which aim to promote Catalan as a language of prestige and culture. These measures need to be applied as soon as possible to improve, for example, the presence of the Catalan language in the legal sphere. According to the statistical data for the year 2012, this sphere, which has always been resistant to the presence of Catalan, offers particularly bleak data with the presence of Catalan standing at a meagre 12.7%. On the other hand, another sphere in which a significant task is required in terms of promoting the language is the socioeconomic field.

No noteworthy changes on the legislative front were observed in Andorra, Alghero and Northern Catalonia. If anything, and as remarked in the 2012 Report, we would highlight the parliamentary debate concerning the protection of linguistic diversity in Italy and France, states which have still not ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Thus, in Northern Catalonia we should pay close attention to the recommendations of the newly-born Consultation Committee for the promotion of regional languages and internal linguistic plurality. And in Alghero, we should be attentive to the evolution of the legislative initiative of the Regional Council of Sardinia aimed at guaranteeing the official status of Sardinian and Catalan.

With regard to policies for promoting the linguistic diversity of the Spanish State from central Government, the legislative inaction contrasts with the vehemence which linguistic matters have generated in the Courts. At the same time, the European Parliament has provided a scenario conducive to debate and for filing claims on questions related to the Catalan language.

As indicated in the preceding paragraphs, the most important focus of tension has been centred on linguistic management in the sphere of education. If in Catalonia the legislative siege propelled by the new political setting has led to a significant confrontation between the power of the State and the Autonomous Government, on the Balearic Islands and in the Valencian Community the new regulation has led to the initiation of new linguistic management models in schools. As announced in the 2012 Report, during the 2012-2013 academic year on the Balearic Islands, the choice of vehicular language was offered for the first time in the 2nd year of infant education and the first cycle of primary education (1st and 2nd year). At the same time, in the Valencian Community, the new decree on Plurilingualism started to be implemented in the second cycle of pre-primary education (Infant years of 3, 4, 5 year-olds) during the 2012-2013 academic year. The 2013-2014 year has continued along similar lines. On the other hand, we should note that the increase in the Valencian Community of educational programmes in Valencian (33%) contrasts with the threat of closure of such educational lines in the native language. According to data from Plataforma per la Llengua, in 2013-2014, 14,000 students could not enrol on educational programmes in Valencian and the number of infant and primary students who wanted to study in Valencian but were unable to rose to 126,000. It is still too early to assess the real impact of these allegedly multilingual models on the Catalan language in education. In

any event, the ideology behind them, which is presented as egalitarian, does not bode at all well since it is underpinned by a profoundly unbalanced sociolinguistic reality.

Across the other territories, the situation of the language in education followed the same dynamics as those outlined in the previous report: the consolidation of competences slightly higher in the Andorran school (40.09% of students), in contrast to the French school (31.21%) and the Spanish school (28.69%), the stabilisation of the presence of Catalan in Northern Catalonia in a highly deficient general context, and the residualisation of the presence of Catalan in the education sector in Alghero.

In a context of manifest institutional hostility against the language, as seen in particular territories, the top-down intentional dynamics have taken on particular relevance. It should be noted that since 2011 the stage has been (largely) monopolised by the sectors favourable to the linguistic normalisation of the Catalan language. In Catalonia, Òmnium Cultural, with organisations such as Plataforma per la Llengua and Juristes en Defensa de la Llengua Pròpia (Association of Jurists in Defence of Catalonia's Own Language), have led the citizens' response to the legislative pressure outlined above. Platforms such as Somescola.cat have also organised a good many informative acts and protest campaigns across the whole territory. In the Valencian Community, Acció Cultural del País Valencià, hand in hand with entities such as Escola Valenciana and the Sindicat de Treballadors de l'Ensenyament del País Valencià (Union of Workers in the Education Sector in the Valencian Community) have continued to denounce institutional policy, presenting well-founded alternatives to the new decree on multilingualism. On the Islands, the extraordinary gravity of the measures advanced by the Government of the Partido Popular has generated a strong protest movement headed by Obra Cultural Balear (Civic and Cultural Institution) and Assemblea de Docents de les Illes (the Teachers' Assembly of the Islands). Finally, as already discussed in the 2012 Report, different entities grouped together on the Iniciativa Cultural de la Franja (Cultural Initiative of the Franja) platform have intensified their protest campaign against the legislative offensive of the Government of Aragon. In relation to the cases of the Balearic Islands and Aragon, we should highlight the position taken by the Catalan Parliament through Resolution 323/X, of 27 September 2013, which denounces the aforementioned legislative initiatives of the respective governments and asks the State Government to comply with the recommendations of the Committee of Experts and the Committee of Ministers of the European Council, which were issued in the third report monitoring compliance with the treaty of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.

In relation to the supply and consumption of media services and cultural products, the situation continued to show strong declines. However, if we analyse the situation by sector and by territory, the general picture on offer indicates important nuances. Initially, from a territorial perspective, Catalonia and Andorra show markedly different dynamics to the other territories. While the former territories show an increase in

supply and consumption, with promising figures, the second group are low or barely worth mentioning.

In Catalonia, the advances mentioned already in the 2011 Report in the daily press in Catalan have been consolidated further in 2013. Thus, the percentage of newspapers distributed in Catalan has reached 28.9%, a figure that reaches 42.3% if we only consider the subsector of paid-for newspapers. On the other hand, the consumption of magazines in Spanish across the whole Catalan-speaking community is clearly in the majority. As for radio in Catalan, and also in reference to Catalonia, a phenomenon which sees an increase in audiences has been further consolidated, managing to clearly exceed that of radio in Spanish (59.3% in comparison to 40.7%). Finally, television in Catalan showed good viewing figures and, despite the concerns raised in the 2012 Report, it seems that the local television sector – where the Catalan language has an important presence – is facing up to the current crisis with determination.

Unfortunately, the consumption of media in Catalan on the Balearic Islands and in the Valencian Community – which is clearly in the minority – has continued to fall since 2011. The invisibility of the Catalan language in the audiovisual communications industry in the Valencian Community, which is discussed in detail throughout this Report, has been one of the worst developments observed in this year. The crisis and the linguistic policies driven forward by the autonomous governments have, without doubt, had a lot to do with this.

In the areas of cinema and music in Catalan, the growth observed has been particularly meagre. In the cinema sector, the institutional pressure applied by the Government of Catalonia on the large producers has failed to generate the desired results. The book world seems to have stabilised its production and has exceeded 10,000 titles across the whole Catalan-speaking territories; a figure indicating cultural normality for a linguistic community of this size. And finally, the most positive data comes from the world of the Internet. In this context, the Catalan language is advancing in a sustained manner. In the Report of 2012 we reported on the notable presence of the language in environments such as Twitter (the nineteenth most used language) and Wikipedia. In this REPORT we would like to highlight the overwhelming predominance of Catalan in the online journalism sites located in Catalonia.

We will end our conclusions of the 2013 Report by drawing attention to the state of (dis)cohesion of the Catalan linguistic community. As is well-known, the administrative fragmentation and absence of fluid relations between significant parts of the territories of the linguistic community represents a real obstacle in the way of building synergies. In the period studied, it has been shown that the series of adversities generated by a socio-political context which is hostile to the Catalan language have, once again, provoked reactions of Interterritorial solidarity which are worth highlighting. These reactions have gone beyond the social arena and have also permeated the institutional sphere. The different positions expressed by the

Government of Catalonia following a trend started in the year 2012, have, without doubt, represented a qualitative step forward in the defence of the language across the whole Catalan-speaking community.

The conflict detected in this arena has manifested itself in different ways. Three of these are highlighted here: the question of onomastics, the management of linguistic regulations and communicative spaces. As already discussed in the 2012 Report, the onomastic dispute which has always been latent in the Valencian Community took on new dimensions in Aragon and, through different round about ways that avoided using the term Catalan, also ended up appearing in the Balearic Islands. This dispute has continued throughout 2013, with consequences that have affected critical questions such as the unity of the language or the uniform management of the linguistic code. Thus, with the approval of the new language law in Aragon, the secessionist tendency has gone one step further since it now includes the creation of an Aragonese Academy of the Language, which would become the normative referent for Catalan and Aragonese. Parallel to this, on the Islands, President Bauzà announced a return to particularist positions in the selection of a model of language to be used in formal communication. And finally, the umpteenth occurrence was to come from the Valencian Parliament, this time in relation to claims that Valencian had Iberian origins. By way of a contrast, it is interesting to note the dissidence of the Valencian Academy of the Language in response to some of the political positions of those who govern the Valencian institutions, who have questioned the unity of the language: a unity which the legal world would emphatically corroborate through the different rulings passed in 2013. In terms of communicative spaces, we have already talked at length about the new situation faced by the language in the Valencian Community, with no audiovisual media channels of its own and with reception from Catalonia severed.

The consolidation of the Ramon Llull Institute and the LLull Foundation, highlighted in previous Reports, has led to intense activity related to the external promotion of the Catalan language and the culture it forms part of. Despite the crisis, this activity was maintained throughout 2013. The most noteworthy developments have been the incorporation of the Barcelona City Council and a collection of towns grouped together in the Network of towns and entities of the Balearic Islands. This latter collective has made up for the exit of the Balearic Government reported in the 2012 Report. In this vein we would also like to highlight the increasingly important role played by the Xarxa Vives d'Universitats. The consolidation of this university space, the Vives region, has had an extraordinary effect on the advancing of common linguistic policies in the linguistic sphere of the university world.

In view of the considerations put forward in the preceding lines, it is clear that, overall, the Catalan linguistic community brings together an immense range of sociolinguistic situations. Regions can thus be found where the expectations of linguistic normality are fully justified (Catalonia and Andorra), and others with rather deficient sociolinguistic indicators (Northern Catalonia and Alghero). In the middle of

these two groups we find three territories (the Balearic Islands, the Valencian Community and La Franja) where the language is suffering in particular from the onslaughts of an autonomous government that is not only bent on reshaping the historical language of the region, but is also promoting measures that, in the medium-term, could seriously alter the communicative functionality of Catalan in its historic ecosystem.

In spite of this, overall, the Catalan language continues on the road to linguistic normality: a slow road even in the best case scenario, and also a tortuous road in relation to significant elements of the linguistic sphere. In terms of current strengths, it now presents a significant demography which means that it is considered a medium-sized language among the hundred first languages of the world according to the number of speakers. The sustained increase in the number of people who claim to know the language is also worth highlighting. This increase in knowledge is, however, quite different according to the four skills (speaking, understanding, writing and reading) and according to the territory. Levels of knowledge do not always translate into habitual use, but use levels do remain fairly stable among the collective of native speakers. By comparison, in terms of weaknesses, we see the difficulty in attracting those with knowledge of the language towards an effective use of it; a problem that hinders the adoption of the language among the immigrant community and stands in the way of the goal of making Catalan the language of social cohesion.

All in all, and despite the uncertainties generated by the legal offensive against the status of the language and the hostile policies manifested by some groups who are now in power in certain territories, we can conclude that the future of the language, at least in terms of a significant part of the linguistic community, remains in our hands.