Sociolinguistic Geographies in Galicia, Spain

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for the degree of Master of Arts

By

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CHAPTER 1-INTRODUCTION

Language choice and attitudes are inextricably bound up with political organization, power relations, and ideologies. Language use signifies one’s identity and differentiation from others. Language is the vehicle by which culture is produced and cultural identity gained. Group meaning and experience is contained within language, constructing and binding an identity for individuals and groups, transmitted from one generation to the next through linguistic tradition. Differences in language often signify differences in ideology, value, and cultural identity all together (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004). Over centuries, languages have been subsumed, changed, and in most cases have disappeared altogether.

Languages and the values they carry are anything but neutral. Numerous historical examples exist in which cultural values promoted by the state and elites legitimize some languages while simultaneously repressing others. During the last several centuries, a significant proportion of world languages have gone extinct due to these social and political forces. These linguistically generated cultural identities are lost to history, along with the meanings and values contained within the language. This works to disconnect groups from cultural memory or root sense of place, and fuse them with a new group, speaking a new language.

Through the political legitimization process languages can dominate, become dominated, or mix to create new vernaculars, accents, and dialects. There are five to six thousand languages within roughly 200 countries around the world, meaning that the vast majority of languages are spoken in a minority context (Fishman & Garcia 2010). In a bilingual community, one language will slowly be used less, beginning the process of language shift, stemming from unequal
language prestige. (Furguson 1959, Fishman 1967) Consequently, unofficial languages suffer, both in use and in prestige (Clark 2006). Since state power is often administered through an official language, it follows that connections, wealth, and prestige are built using the official language as well, working to oppress minority speakers through association with lack of social power (Fishman & Garcia 2010). Groups who have no official clout will generally try to obscure their minority status in the public sphere, and adopt the official language in an attempt socially advance (Padilla 2006). On the other hand, during the latter half of the 20th century, there has been a surge of repressed groups asserting their linguistic and cultural identity in conscious defiance of the official language. Past repression and external dominance in many cases has worked to solidify and galvanize these groups, leading to a greater fear of cultural erosion, and desire for greater autonomy and even separatism (Fishman & Garcia 2010).

Spain is a country containing multiple linguistically unique ‘historic communities,’ each exemplifying distinct attitudes and values attached to language and national identity. Catalan in Catalonia, Basque in Basque Country, and Galician in Galicia: each has a unique literary and cultural history, and each has a history of repression within the Spanish state. Today, these regions are officially bilingual, incorporating the regional language into all spheres of public life along with Castilian. Castilian is the term used most often in Spain to refer to the majority language, instead of the more globally ubiquitous term of Spanish. Despite similar linguistic policy structures, the historic communities differ in their sociopolitical structures, approaches to advocacy, education and practice of their respected minority languages, leading to differing sociolinguistic implications.

Catalonia is a wealthy region within Iberia with a tradition of autonomy and importance throughout Europe. Due to its important position as an industrial trade port on the Mediterranean
Sea, Catalonia benefitted from a prosperous measure of self-rule, allowed to develop their own governmental structures and use their language of Catalan for official and non-official business alike. Catalan speaking elites were immersed in government as well as industry and trade, solidifying the prestige of Catalan against Castilian as the lingua franca of the wealthy, powerful, and cultured. A strong sense of Catalan pride developed over the course of Iberian history, despite periods of repression from the central government in Madrid. Since the reemergence of democracy in Spain, Catalonia has integrated Catalan into every sector of society and established a bilingual education system. Catalonia has also doubled down on linguistic nationalism, using the issue of language as a call to action against neo-Spanish domination in their push for more autonomy and possibly separation from Spain.

Basque Country, which according to Basque nationalists includes the province of Navarre and parts of southeastern France, has always been exceptionally different than other Iberian cultures. Distinct in their physicality, culture, and most notably in their language, the Basques existed in prosperity on the periphery of Spain. The last to be incorporated into the kingdom of Spain, the Basques have been allowed autonomy as a separate people in much the same way that Catalonia had, with local elites driving industry and solidifying Basque culture through the use of the Basque language. Cyclical periods of repression from Madrid as well as waves of migrant workers saturated Basque urban centers with unemployment and contributed to a decline in Basque language usage. These changes fueled nationalistic sentiment, which only mounted as repression continued, manifesting in terror groups aimed at Basque unification and independence.

Galicia, in contrast with Catalonia and Basque Country, had been under heavier influence from Madrid since its split with Portugal and incorporation into Spain in the Middle Ages.
Castilian elites held tenure over Galician land, had major sway with the Catholic Church, and established government networks in addition to developing and populating urban hubs. The vast majority of Galicians were rural dwellers, continuing to speak their language in the countryside outside of Castilian dominated spheres such as government, business, and the church. Consequently, Galician gained a reputation as a language of low prestige, with few educated people choosing to speak it until the late 19th century, at which time a national movement surrounding linguistic pride began to form.

This project focuses on Galicia, the least nationalistic, least powerful, and thus the least known of Spain’s three historic communities. Despite co-official language standardization with Castilian since 1978, the Galician language still holds lower social value than Castilian. The use of Galician is still largely associated with a rural economy and lifestyle, including lower education and social status. Consequently, industrial expansion, media, tourism, and interregional politics are administered for the most part using Castilian. Cities figure prominently as centers of such activities, and are well-established spaces of Castilian communication rather than Galician. The socio-linguistic phenomena associating a lower value to the region’s historic language as opposed to the state’s majority language of Castilian has manifested geographically in an apparent disparity of urban and rural Galician speakers (DePalma 2014; Beswick 2007). In the latest governmental survey, Galicians reported a roughly even split in speakership, with half the population indicating they speak Galician always or most of the time, and the other half speaking Castilian always or most of the time (IGE 2013). These data hint at the fact that the majority of Galicians change languages for specific purposes on a regular basis, otherwise known as code switching, depending on the social function and atmosphere of the conversation.
The frequency of individuals who code switch from Galician to Castilian has gone up in recent decades however, shifting primary Galician speakers to become primarily Castilian speakers.

Normalization laws mandate the equal and harmonious use of Galician in schools and public administration, and protect speakers from discrimination in all realms within Galicia. Despite these legal measures, Galician continues to decline in favor of Castilian, especially as urban populations grow and rural population shrinks. In 2013, of those living in towns and villages, 54% reported using only Galician, whereas 12% of those living in large cities reported using only Galician (IGE 2013). In order to find out how Galician language laws are applied between urban and rural locations and how attitudes between the two locales may differ, I investigate language behavior and attitudes in Galician secondary schools. All Galician secondary school students are mandated to receive 50% of their school hours in Galician and 50% in Castilian, barring foreign language hours. Are geographic disparities of language use in Galicia are being perpetuated in schools, and if so, how? How teachers feel about these language laws and about the Galician language on the whole? I interviewed fifty-four teachers from a total of six Galician schools, three urban and three rural, and coded the data for themes of language behavior such as code switching in the classroom, and for attitudes toward the government, the education laws, and the language itself.

In Chapter 2, I build the connection between language and national identity, incorporating how education is a key vector in the creation and perpetuation of ideologies of nationhood and language. In Chapter 3 I compare the historical development of Spain’s linguistically unique regions, looking at the roots of their languages and nationalistic developments up to the democratic transition in 1978. Continuing to explore language development, Chapter 4 focuses on the political economy of Galicia, Spain, and the European
Union (EU) since the 1980s and looks at why economy has so much to do with linguistic geography. Chapter 5 lays down the legal framework of the Spanish and Galician constitutions as they concern language, and in particular shows the important role that education has in the implementation and normalization of Spain’s sub-state languages. Chapter 6 begins to delve into the data collected in Galician schools, exploring language practices between urban and rural classrooms. After practices, Chapter 7 looks at language attitudes and reveals the importance of Galician to the Galician national identity.
CHAPTER 2- THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATIONAL IDENTITY, LANGUAGE, AND EDUCATION

National identity is constructed at high levels of power, transmitted by language, and disseminated through social institutions, including law, commerce, and most importantly education. Education policies and practices are a window into the active role that governments take in promoting, changing, or erasing a national identity. This is often successfully accomplished by promoting a national language through education policies. Regions, enjoying expanded political power in recent decades, in many cases find it advantageous to exhibit a distinct identity, which works to proclaim their legitimacy in having more independence from the central state. Often, these regions will enact education laws promoting the use of their own regionally based language in order to bolster that sense of regional identity and independence. However, existing linguistic geographies at the sub-regional level are often ignored. Region-wide language policies may fail to address the social segregation of language use and will be received differently between locales. Policy application inconsistency is of particular concern in considering urban and rural locales. The concern of inconsistent policy application raises the question as to how classroom language habits adhere to, or deviate from, linguistic policies, what it means in the context of each school locale, and how linguistic habits and sentiments are then transferred to children. The large body of nationalism, language and education literature, including some of the longstanding debates and theories there within, such as nation primordialism vs. constructivism (Kohn 1944; Nietschmann 1994; Anderson 1991; Smith 1988) and language and territory vs. language and identity (Fishman 1977; 1982; 1989; 1997; Laponce
1987; Skutnabb-Kangas 1995; Woolard 1985; 1989; Woolard & Gahng 1990) help to inform my question. These debates are still relevant yet I will be going to a more localized scale, forcing consideration of political economy, population shifts and migration as they pertain to language and identity evolution since inclusion in the EU, and leading up to today. A review of the relevant literature situates my study in the thematic areas of nationalism, language, and education, and reveals a need for more work monitoring the constant evolution of linguistic sentiment, as it is affected by history and political economy and as it pertains to the presence, causes, and effects of banal nationalism transmission. I will address this gap by looking at how individuals within these regional communities respond to big issue questions of identity and language representation on a personal level, and also parsing out how these individuals negotiate regional policy, local norms, and individual identity in their role as educators and perpetuators of such norms. Investigation of this question reveals the reproduction of linguistic segregation in regional social politics, and the various sub regional attitudes towards national identity portrayal.

**Nationalism & Regionalism Today**

Identity is of essential importance when considering territorial social norms, as territorial identity is the personal and social meaning ascribed to place (Murphy 1998; Taylor 2010), as will be explored regarding Galicia in Chapter 7. Territorial identities have proliferated since the 1980s, calling into question how territorial subgrouping has affected the Westphalian state system. Regional, local, borderland, civilization, and altogether non-territorial identities have resulted from devolution away from the central state (Ohmae 1993; Huntington 1996; Taylor 1996; Kaplan 2000). Most of the scholarship that emerged during a period of ethnically heterogeneous states breaking into smaller, politically independent state territories was aimed at answering how these new identities would now compete with the identity produced by the
nation-state. The idea of the nation state is that every citizen within the borders of a state will be of the same national identity. In other words, every citizen is of the same cultural heritage, speaks the same language, practices the same traditions, and has the same idealistic ties to the greater homeland of the centralized state. The nation, as a territorially confined, ethnically, linguistically, and culturally like group of people, is still the most politically potent of territorial identities. The alignment of state and nation, however, is rare as multiple national groups have been subsumed by the state system over the course of modern history (Connor 1978). The power that comes with the successful binding of a territory under the banner of nationality has led many to assert historic nationalisms to various aims. Delineating such nations, however, has been the source of much conflict and strife. The idea of the nation-state, which underscored state building rhetoric in the 19th and 20th centuries, is still prevalent in the popular imagination, yet within academia has long been deemed a false concept. John Agnew (1994) pointed out the tendency for geographers to fall into a territorial trap, by thinking of political territories as ultimate delineations of global phenomena. Territory is not a given, fixed entity that determines the boundaries of people, political reach, and sovereignty. Territories, be they states, regions or nations, are multifaceted, often overlap in their boundaries, and most importantly must be treated as symbolic, flexible constructs of social and political power (Newman 2010; Taylor 1996). Territory, especially that of the nation-state, is still highly meaningful, and an imagined community of ethnic, linguistic, and religious camaraderie within state boundaries is still the goal of many state building projects (Anderson 2006). Very rarely do national groups and state borders align, despite many state attempts to homogenize and nationalize its people. Disagreements as to the essential qualities of the nation further muddle the concept of national identity, allowing it to be shaped to the benefit of many different groups. The national origin
story is a root of major theoretical disagreement among scholars of nationalism.

Nationalization operates as a process of binding a group of people to a territory, which works to politicize and elevate the meaning of space (Williams 1985). Nationalism historian Boyd Shafer (1955) calls our attention to the notion of the nation as the dominant social grouping, which began when people determined it was more beneficial to live in groupings larger than family or tribe. The binding process is often a homogenization effort, an attempt to make everyone culturally similar, so that the citizenry will respond to national cues in the same way (Scott 1999), and recognize sameness when their countrymen replicate those cues. Whereas sameness among people once defined territory, larger national groupings came to territorially define people who lived within those borders as one people. The emphases began to shift from the group to the territory, as the politically salient marker of identity (Knight 1982). The state, as a territorially bounded container for its people and resources, operates to monitor social order and provide communication and movement through government institutions, an organized economy, and circulation system (Greer & Orleans 1964). The larger state system must also recognize the sovereignty of a state to legitimize its government (Glassner & de Blij 1980). Different groups of people are readily recognizable through cues such as style of dress, family names, and most importantly language use. When the state has successfully homogenized its people, everyone within the state borders will ideally recognize sameness among countrymen, and difference in others (Scott 1999). The alignment of national culture with the national borders such as was accomplished in 17th century France, (Braudel 1988), and which was attempted in 20th century Spain, achieves a statist conception of national unity that is inextricably linked to territory. The statist ideal, which was established with the rise of the modern state system, evolves from a sense of security in being able to recognize others and comfort in sameness
(Gottmann 1973). The government is able to effectively control its borders when they are readily recognizable not only on the landscape but also more effectively through reading of its people. This statist ideal is somewhat antithetical to the opportunistic perspective of outward engagement, which involves a universal thinking about the larger whole beyond state boundaries. States have been seen to fluctuate along the inward-outward spectrum depending on perceived security status or economic gain at different times.

Since the mid 20th century, statist nationalization projects have taken place at both the state and sub state (regional) level. Rapid post-conflict devolution in many western countries has strengthened regional governments to the point that they can undertake nationalization projects to strengthen their political legitimacy both within the state and beyond. Brubaker and Cooper (2000), remind us that the state is still the ultimate agent in the categorization of its society, through the delineation of its internal territories. Regions that claim more political rights than state devolution allows, usually work to unify its existing regional borders, as these are readily recognizable by states and citizens, and are a meaningful political package with which to bargain. Knight (1982) outlines the various considerations made regarding territorial identity, and the legitimacy of separatist claims by distinct groups. Scotland, for example, claims a nation rooted in its existing United Kingdom (UK) regional territory. Scotland asserts its centuries old regional identity along a separatism claim, which aligns their nation with its British defined territory (Knight 1982). Spanish Basque Country, on the other hand, breaks the confines of its state delineated region, and claims territories in France and neighboring Navarre that share its historical identity (Beck 2004).

Since devolution, political entities at the sub-state level have become savvier in asserting distinct identity as a means securing political rights. Regions solidify their identity against other
regions in order to gain the maximum amount of political leverage they can (Neumann 1996; Triandafyllidou 1998). Specific cultural signs and symbols, such as language, religion, dialects, foods, and names, help express national and/or regional identity (Laurie & Marwin 1999; Sletto 2002; Simon et al. 2009). While this binding together process is usually engineered at the state level (Anderson 2006; Connor 1990; Gellner 2008; Giddens, 1987), in recent years more attention has been paid to the role of regional governments (Paasi 2003; 2013; Zimmerbauer 2011; 2000; 2001; Emerson 2013). In Finland, regional identity has evolved through official educational texts, maps, and small scale news publications which promoted a romanticized character linked to economic advancement, then picked up rhetorically as a competitive trait among regional planners (Paasi 2013). Likewise, in Catalonia, official texts in the regional language of Catalan are the norm, promoting a subconscious national pride in (Woolard & Gahng 1990)

International, interregional, and translocal connectivity have dramatically reshaped statist power structures over the last 30 years. Global connectivity and horizontal information flows have eroded the hegemony of the traditional state and given more economic, political, and social leverage to sub state entities (Mac Giolla Chriost 2007), allowing nations and regions to reimagine their place within the hierarchical system. Accompanying globalization, the establishment of the EU in 1993 provided new channels of power and rights assertions for polities of every level within Europe. EU processes have forced a reevaluation of regional and state autonomy, affecting the policies and politics of dozens of states and hundreds of unique regions in Europe (Paasi 2003; Murphy 2008). Many of the places affected by such power shifts are national entities, containing ethnicities or languages unique to the sub-state region. The EU has put in place policies aimed at cultural retention, targeting the preservation of languages, and
other unique regional traits. Many of these locales have become highly politicized due to new questions of identity that their memberships in supra-state and global structures inspire. When this occurs, renewed nationalization can place (Christiansen & Jørgensen 2000).

Some scholars find that scalar feelings of belonging vary between the administrative differences amongst states (Bache & Jones 2000; Painter 2008), while others assert that feelings of belonging shift with the political climate of the times (Inglehart 1970). Although territory works to bind people together within a common national story, the identity that is created is not fixed, and can vary between people and subgroups, in essence what Passi (1997) explained to be contextual and contested national identities. Within flexible national contexts and contested categories, most scholars agree that identity at multiple scales of citizenship is not only possible, but compatible, creating nested identities (Medrano & Gutirre 2010; Herb & Kaplan 1999; Keating 2000), within which citizens feel comfortable expressing traits of belonging to multiple entities. Regions, just like nations, fluctuate in their inward or outwardly directed policies over time. Changing circumstances may push a region to consider help from the central government or other regions or states depending on social, economic, or political climate (Kaplan 1994; Paasi 1997). Likewise, factors can turn a region inward, encouraging self-reliance, which often accompanies a degree economic prosperity and strengthened nationalism.

Regional identity has been used as a catalyst for economic development and local competitiveness through contextualization described in the literature as ‘new regionalism’, which places regions within flexible multi-scalar territorial frameworks, and focuses on institutions as central to identity construction, dissemination and transformation (Catt & Murphy 2002; Bristow 2010). Regions mobilize through local administrative action to solidify territorial, institutional, and symbolic borders in order to compete economically, independent of the central state.
(Zimmerbauer & Paasi 2013). Strong regional identity lends itself to a strong, marketable image and local economy (Zimmbaour, 2011), an idea that policy planners use in decision making (Paasi 2013; Heller 2003). Regions, defined as political, economic, and administrative entities within a larger state system (Keating & Loughlin 1997) often contain nations, understood as a unique group of people (Connor 1978; Smith, 1986). Some scholars have chosen to concentrate on electoral geography when defining national identities (Taylor & Johnstone 1979), yet political affiliation and territorially bound grouping are but two primary indicators of regionalism, which can also operate in tangent with nationalism (Knight 1982). Historic nationalities operate as ready-made markers of identity, and can be appropriated by the regional government for economic and political gain. In this globalized and new regionalist space, markers of nationality become even more salient, as they are used to advertise the uniqueness of the region to world.

Strong central institutions produce and regulate the construction of a national sense of self. Through institutions, a pattern of behavior becomes established and social relations are defined. In short, institutions mediate how things operate (Jenkins 2008). Badges of identity, such as language, do not exist independently of social systems. The church had been the primary institution to socialize and nationalize states, later giving way to state sponsored education systems, where citizens continue to learn social norms through formal and informal means. Due to the importance of institutions in incubating identities, competition among groups for recognition from central institutions is more than symbolic; it is paramount for group identity survival. Recognition of a group identity can bolster economic gain, extend political power, and normalize social norms through the extension of institutional privileges to unique groups (Hornsby & Agarin 2012). Globalization plays a large role in the new regionalism seen today, as the unique badges of identity learned from sub-state institutions highlight the difference between
regions in a highly connected and visible world. Minority empowerment hinges upon institutional structures fostering diverse values, which encourage respect and power sharing with the minority groups. Decentralized governments provide a more inclusive forum for minority groups to participate, giving groups a better change to gain representation and achieve institutional response (Marten 2015). Through a decentralized government, a region can demonstrate its unique minority grouping as a selling point for more political power to various aims, both symbolic and definite. Looking at institutional thickness, or the spatial bounding of identities through institution use (Amin & Thrift 1995), provides a measure of administrative success in producing territorial homogeneity, or conversely in producing an uneven spatial identity that is not tied to the territory exclusively. Anssi Paai (2003; 2013) theorizes that regions are impossible without regional institutionalization and the thickening of institutional networks, which engage people with the regional territory as opposed to the state. National and regional identities are relational and flexible concepts, not exclusively defined by boundaries, but by the local, regional, state and global network interactions that normalize and redefine societies.

The goals of recognition, access, and participation defined by Mikesell and Murphy (1991), outline aspirations of national minority groups within an accommodating governmental climate. Recognition of group identity allows for the basic identification of linguistic or religious rights, yet no representation within the central government. Access and participation concessions allow minority groups representation, in order to appease a historical denial of benefits through incorporated national life. In an ever globalizing world, there are a host of institutions from local to suprastate that engage citizens on many levels to deliver them the social, economic, and political resources so crucial in the formation of a national identity. Recent research on regional identity recognizes the fact that individuals can operate and identify differently within regions as
well. Debates over autonomy, separation, or independence are ongoing in many regions where the citizenry is split as to the level of connectedness that should be maintained with the central state government. Devolution in Britan (Clifford & Morphet 2015), Spain (Verge 2013), and elsewhere support the idea that minority regions wish to have more autonomy from the central state, while not completely cutting ties. Separation from the central government through devolved political processes and autonomy through regional control of government institutions are compromises between central governments and regional minority nations that have been implemented in places like Catalonia and Galicia, Spain, Briton in France, Wales in the UK and many others. Henderson et.al. (2013), conducted a large survey of fourteen regions across Austria, France, Germany, Spain, and the UK, found even in the most regionalist of regions, citizens asserted some use for an attachment to the central state. These studies complement the idea of nested identities, and challenge old paradigms of devolution politics. State government institutions bind people to common traits by teaching them how to operate within society. Regional governments are more recently asserting their ability to do the same. On the extreme end of the regional nationalism spectrum, some minority groups assert territorial nationalism, which they feel can only be appeased through total independence. Independence is the goal in this scenario, exemplified by cases such as Basques in Spain, Tamils in Sri Lanka, and Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. Regional minority aspirations are dynamic, like nationalism, they ebb and flow depending on the political and economic context and climate. Groups are actively involved in the creation of these attitudes, and while it is generally accepted that identities are disseminated through state or regional institutions, dissention occurs at different levels. Dissent from regional or state nationalization projects may lead minority regions together against a concept of nested identity, or work the region into the majority culture,
or split subgroups from subgroups (Häkli 1998). State and regional governments have a toolbox of ways with which to build national identities and quell dissention, the most salient of which is language (Anderson 2006; Wright 2000; Tolz 1998; Garcia 2013).

**Language**

Language is the vehicle by which culture is disseminated and national identity produced. Language use signifies differences in ideology, history, and ethnicity (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004). The majority of the world’s languages are spoken in a minority language context, as there are only about 200 countries in the world yet five to six thousand languages spoken (Fishman 2010). Although Hymes (1981) asserts that all languages have the potential to be equal, language difference is frequently used for discrimination and inequality. Discrimination on the basis of language is possible whenever two linguistically distinct groups come into contact. While some argue that other institutions, such as religion are more robust and cutting forms of contestation (Brubaker 2013), the fact remains that surviving minority language groups are discriminated against in a multitude of forms based on their language use as a readily apprehensible token of difference. Clark (2006) applies the theory of social capital to language, claiming that each language has a prestige value, making it more advantageous to use in social life. Many argue that whenever two languages exist in the same space, competition is created, and the languages, based on a variety of sociological factors relating to the speaker groups, will be ranked (Nelde 1987; Nelde, Labrie & Williams 1992; Fishman 1997, 1972; Joseph 2003). What this means is that over time, “members of bilingual speech communities attach different rights, identities and obligations to each of their languages” (Stroud 1998: 322). As these linguistic associations become entrenched, often the minority language group will be discriminated against, as their identities are instantly recognizable as different from the majority merely through the act of
speech. Often the practice of code switching, which describes the casual and frequent changing of languages, becomes a normalized process of language interaction in bilingual communities. Given the choice, minority language speakers will often code switch depending on the context, as the mother language carries more in-group, covert prestige, whereas the majority language carries more out-group, overt prestige (Gumperz, 1982; Milroy 1991). This process of situational language negotiation is termed diglossia. The term diglossia was first introduced by Ferguson (1959) to refer to the use of variants of the same language, and was later expanded to refer to the co-existence and usage of two or more languages for functional specialization in different social contexts (Fishman 1980). This form of context-based language choices are bound up with sociological factors, and is strongly lined to language prestige. The state administers power through the use of official language. The status of that language and its users is then mounted over users of languages with lesser prestige. Because of unequal linguistic prestige, individuals will abandon their language for one with a higher prestige value, in an attempt to gain social status and avoid discrimination (Padilla 2010).

Standardizing a language plays a large role in legitimizing its official use and in delegitimizing other languages or dialects that are not officially standardized. Standardizing a language is one part of normalization, or the conditioning of a language for appropriate and accessible use in a given society. The definition of standardization is “the imposition of uniformity upon a class of objects” (Milroy 2001: 531). In geolinguistic terms this means hardening the boundaries of language, both vernacularly and territorially, so that outside languages are easily differentiated and internal language recognized. In the creation of a nation-state, dialects or languages other than that of the state threaten to dismember the nation by appealing to local loyalties rather than national loyalty (Haugen 1966a). The state decides when
the standardization process is necessary, and it is through institutions such as schools and media that the ‘correct’ or standard way of speaking is disseminated. The correct standard is usually equated to be the highest prestige variety, regardless of actual uniformity (Milroy 2001). Standard languages do garner more prestige, as they generally evolved from elite writing codes and vernacular standards in the first place (van Marle 1997; Braudel 1988)). Economic and social goals are inherent in the persuasion of the standard. Standardization has gone hand in hand with the rise of international trade and capitalism; money, weights and measure, as well as language have all been streamlined for economic efficiency (Haugen 1966). Devolution has allowed regional governments to utilize their own languages for official purposes. For regional languages that have never had a strong elite base, devolution has required the quick establishment of a written and spoken standard. Moving from local dialectical varieties to a streamlined standard can be an arduous process, especially as the use of language and dialect is intrinsic to identity. While the standardization process is meant to protect and solidify languages for institutional usage and dissemination, many see it as a destruction of local vernaculars and therefore identities. However, standardization is necessary for normalized widespread usage and increasing the linguistic viability of the region, which in turn increases social and economic reach.

Due to an increase in regional autonomy, small national languages have become the focus of regional identity studies. The number of speakers is not the only measure of language strength, but also the social capital, or prestige that speaking the languages implies. National language prestige can at times, be used as a barometer of regional strength. In some regions, more prestigious languages have fewer speakers than more widely spoken languages with lower prestige. Di Paolo and Raymond (2012) illustrate this point by correlating use of the Catalanian
national language, which is still a minority language in Spain, to higher earnings in the region of Catalonia. Therefore a distinction must be made between minority and majority languages, which indicates speakership numbers, and language prestige, which indicates the social capital of a language.

Languages become endangered when speakers stop teaching those languages to their children, compounding language loss over generations (Laponce 2001). Globalized communication networks bring with them a fear of linguistic homogenization between local languages and an overall surrender to the use of global English (Phillipson 2008; Hjarvard 2004). In the EU for example, knowledge of English is compulsory in schools, and generally accepted as necessary for participation in the EU, global finance, and commerce markets (Phillipson 2007). Geographic situation acts to further skew language loss within regions. Urban centers tend to favor the language of higher prestige, used more frequently for business dealings, and formal social transactions (Álvarez Cáccamo 1991). Over time this urban language builds more linguistic prestige over other regional languages, which are preserved in the countryside, where they face less language contact and competition. Rural language speakership has been negatively affected by the overall rural to urban migration trend over the past 100 years. Rural languages then become devalued in terms of social capital, seen as informal, backwards, or relics of the past. This phenomenon is very common in the Global South, where English was enforced in the cities for many years and now shares urban usage with perhaps one other ethnic language. For example, in Kenya, Swahili and English dominate urban centers despite the country’s 40 recognized languages (Abdulaziz 1982). In Pakistan, a country of 64 languages, the national language Urdu is understood by only 43% of the population, and the mother tongue of only 7.57%, mostly residing in urban centers (Rahman 2004). Studies of Arabic diglossia in Egypt
show that linguistic prestige is higher for urban dialects (Stadlbauer 2010). Ireland, Wales, Scotland, Galicia, and Basque Country all experienced severe decline in their native languages, stemming from central state suppression, and rural depopulation (Aitchison & Carter 1999; Beswick 2007; O’Rourke & Ramallo 2011). Likewise, minority languages can establish urban strongholds if elites make the collective decision to speak them and therefore elevate their prestige, as is the case in Catalonia (Di Paolo & Raymond, 2012), India (Latin 1993), and several post-Soviet States (Landau & Kellner-Heinkele 2001; Tolz 1998). Whether it be the majority or minority language, the urban language(s) carries higher prestige for out-group use, and the rural language(s) is threatened by loss of social capital.

Efforts to preserve minority languages have been ongoing in much of the world since the late 1970s. Fishman (1989) and Rannut (1994) write about the need to preserve native languages, as they carry specific emotional and spiritual connections to the individual, and indicate specific ancestral identity. Others such as Woolard & Ghang (1985) and Laponce (1987) writes about the need to solidify territorial languages, such that one particular language should be used in a particular region, with special attention paid to the national history of the place. Both these approaches are efforts to preserve minority languages. However, as Myhill (1999) points out, they may be contradictory. Encouraging everyone to speak their mother tongue may contribute to minority language loss in the case of regions experiencing native language loss from colonialism, mass migrations and the loss of language prestige in social spaces. The language and territory approach may harm minority languages as politically unsupported languages surrender to the official territorial language. Application of either approach will inevitably hurt some language groups. Sociolinguist Kloss (1971; 1977) points out the important distinction between tolerance-oriented and promotion-oriented language rights. Tolerance-oriented language rights ensure the
right to use and preserve one’s first language (usually a minority language) in the private sphere of national life. In other words, these languages are tolerated for use in any private social, cultural, or economic or pedagogic situations, but would not be interfered with or fostered by the state. Quite simply, these languages are allowed to exist and nothing more. Promotion-oriented languages on the other hand, are recognized to some extent in the public domain or civic realm of the state (May 2015). Such an application of language rights may be very narrow, for example involving simply the inclusion of a minority language in official documents, or very broad, such as recognition in all state institutions and garnering of the right to self-government and decision making for the minority language group (Kloss 1977).

Within Europe, regions have been encouraged to preserve their unique languages through institutional preservation within legitimate territorial networks. Linguistic protection often manifests itself with the establishment of co-official languages, one of the central state and one of the region. Within the EU, the European Commission has laid out its agenda for culture, highlighting among other things, the importance of multilingualism. These EU agenda satisfies other supra-state agreements, such as the UN Accordance for Protection and Promotion of Cultural Diversity. Explicit to the EU mission of linguistic protection is the easing of obstacles to mobility for professionals. By making a regional minority language co-official, the EU can try and ensure that it is accepted along with the majority language. However, these laws are top down approaches to linguistic stabilization and may not much affect linguistic prestige, which often operates through subliminal messages, even in officially bilingual settings. Encouragement of regionalism via Europeanization in the EU has strengthened regions, especially those with a unique cultural heritage, able to rally for more power using linguistic protection as a national bolster (Keating 2009). On the other hand, the EU’s influence contributes to global trends,
namely the homogenization of language via economic expansion and softening of borders. This tension between globalized economy expansion and preservation of local multiculturalism seems to be largely ignored when looking at the EU’s many contradictory policies and agendas.

With rise of new regionalism, there has been a conscious effort to reverse language homogenization and preserve national languages, and national identities (Beswick 2002, Fishman 2010). In many multilingual regions, language policies aim to reverse language loss through bilingual standardization in various social sectors. In Ireland and Scotland, incentives were put in place for public services to use Irish and Scottish Gaelic. In Spain, the creation of bilingual communities promotes the equal use of both the historical language and the central state language in public spheres. Many efforts go into the standardization and preservation of language in multiple levels or domains (Fishman 1972) of society, but none are as fundamental to language conditioning as schools (Williams 2012).

**Education**

Schools teach individuals how to maneuver through their society and their place within that society through history, language, and socialization. Education is an important instrument of nation building and power consolidation. Particularly through the teaching and normalization of language, children acculturate into citizens (Weber 1976). Children learn to become civil participators through the teaching of civic content, the discussion of issues, and the emphasis of voting and elections (Torney-Purta 2010). It is in classrooms that young citizens use language to construct their linguistic identities, through a “partly habitual, part intentional and less than fully conscious” discourse interaction (Bucholtz & Hall 2005: 585). Due to the global increase in multilingual ideologies, many regions have adopted a territorial protection plan that is based on education policies. Education is considered the most important fulcrum for language transferal,
maintenance, and growth.

Any language that is cultivated through an education policy has been through a process of standardization. Promotion of a standard fosters a certain ideology of correctness, and tends to devalue anything but the agreed ‘correct’ way of speaking is. Uniformity has to be institutionally imposed upon a populace. Schools are the conduit through which uniformity and prestige are (re)established (Haugen 1966b). Children who are taught a standardized language grow up taking that standard version of language for granted, believing that is how the language exists in its inherent form. The fact of state languages, however, is that uniformity has been imposed upon them, through a process of standardization and normalization in which many dialects must be squelched for the standard to be adopted. The goals of standardization are not literary as much as they are economic and political (Milroy 2001). States or regions that were early industrializers were also early standardizers, streamlining and teaching the language of industry and trade. Regions and states that did not feel the need to standardize were those where industries remained familial and local, where a multitude of dialects would be of little consequence. Unstandardized or recently standardized languages face the most difficulty in language education at any political scale.

Regional devolution has allowed new forms of education governance to accommodate multi-scalar identities. Citizenship education is now expected to embrace regional, state and global identities. The new ‘ideal citizen’ is multilingual, mobile, and has strong regional sense of identity, but is also represented by central and supra-state structures (Stromquist 2008; Engel 2010). Citizenship carries a certain status, but is also a symbolic identity, defined by a set of rights and membership within a political community (Kelly 1979; Kymlicka & Norman 1994). By establishing the rules and practices of membership, paths of access, and boundaries of
belonging, citizenship ‘regimes’ delineate the social, political and ideological boundaries of a community within non-sovereign contexts. (Papillion & Turgeon 2003). Therefore, nation building on the sub state level depends upon the regional elaboration of citizenship identity along ethnic, civil, and civic lines (Dupré 2012). The best arena in which to cement this notion of identity is the classroom.

Ethnographic research demonstrates the crucial role of the classroom and teacher in identity formation (Hornberger 1988; Brown, 2010). Within the EU, various case studies have set out to understand what devolved political arrangements mean for citizenship curricula and consequently teaching of identity within the regions. Within each state, regions are able to frame citizenship to reflect their significance in the larger system. In Catalonia, the positioning of regional culture in the global sphere reinforces regional nationalist identity (Engel & Ortloff 2009). In the UK, the Europeanization in the curricula remains muted, due to the uncertainty about its role in the EU (Marshall 2009). In Greek curriculum, the EU structure is used to legitimize Greek authority over questions of Greek-Cyprus citizenship (Philippou 2009). In Cyprus, Slovakia, and Estonia, the geography of the EU is used to assert a European identity over that of ‘other’ Turkish, or Russian identities, therefore distancing themselves from contentious pasts (Michaels & Stevick 2009). This literature shows that some regions more actively assert their regional identity over state and EU identity while others seem more enthusiastic about forming an EU identity in the classroom. In order to redress the failure of French throughout Canada, in the 1970s Quebec sought to overhaul its educational policies, and actively promote the teaching of French within the region. These changes came amongst the rise of the nationalist and social democratic party, the Parti Québécois in 1976. In order to address the cultural division of labor between English and French speaking Canadians, the new
government undertook education reform. The new law required every child in state education, expect those whose parents had been English educated in Quebec, to attend Francophone schools through high school. The goal of this overhaul was to build an “essentially French (Quebec)…where the traditional balance of power will be altered, especially in regard to the economy…” (Laurin 1977 cited in May 2013: 250.) By drastically changing language education policies, Quebec had begun to change its very essence, and galvanize an entire group of people to a platform of equal participation.

Language is used within curriculum to further solidify regional identity. Lessons taught in the national language of the region builds strong feelings of identity linked to that territory. In bilingual societies with co-official language policies, negotiation of identities becomes more complicated. A study of Catalan school children demonstrates this by correlating years of Catalan language instruction to strong feelings of being Catalan, as well as political alignment with the region over that of the state (Clots-Figueras & Paolo Masella 2013). In Basque Country students are placed into either Basque or Catalan language schools depending on the identity of their parents (Aspachs Bracons et al. 2008), an identity, which is then recreated and formalized through education. Young citizens use language to negotiate the push and pull of globalization and regionalization and nationalization. Many regions now prescribe a bilingual education policy in all schools, whereby students are theoretically taught for an equal amount of time in both languages. Policy application is rarely so clear-cut, as local norms and personal practices might supersede curriculum, complicating language policy adherence. The increasing amount of classroom time dedicated to English in many of these contexts further blurs language allocation. In many cases, school curriculum or teachers emphasize one language, or inadvertently assign specific usages to certain languages, effectively ranking them (Valdiviezo 2009; Hornberger &
Johnson 2007). Linguistic differences between urban and rural school settings may reveal differences in curriculum, resulting in a bifurcated identity production within regions.

The wide body of literature revolving around national identity, language use, and education has in recent years concentrated on regions and their ability to assert identities as a political means to an end. Many are optimistic about what this means for sub-state national cultures and approach the application of regional language policy as a positive gain. Less work has been done on what the effects of these regional policies actually are on the sub-regional level in a globalized context. Language laws in particular are vulnerable to local instability, due to the widely seen pattern of regional minority languages being spoken in the countryside, while majority state language are spoken in cities. By looking at the differences of language usage in urban and rural schools at the sub-regional level and their application of language policy, I will be taking the current direction in national and linguistic identity scholarship and pushing it to consider more nuanced versions of reality. In order to build the context of the region where these aspects will be explored, the next chapter offers a historical overview of the development of national movements and identities within Spain and Galicia.
CHAPTER 3- ORIGINS AND EMERGENCE OF SPANISH NATIONALISM

In order to assess the relationship between identity, nationalism, and language in Spain a historical account of regional nationalism must be established. The social and political underpinnings of regional development in Spain have roots beyond the Roman Empire and continue to inform regional developments today, particularly in the realm of language prestige and usage, and how those relate to national identity. Although the Spanish state has a relatively short history, consolidating under a Castilian hegemony at the beginning of the 16th century and first establishing a parliamentary monarchy in the mid-1800s (Barbera 2008), its internal kingdoms have a long and fractured history, characterized by overlapping geographies and consolidation of regional entities. Each Spanish region experienced a different relationship to the central monarchies, which to various degrees ruled the areas that comprise what we know of as Spain today. The regions of Catalonia, Basque Country, and Galicia have always had their own unique languages and social histories, and are therefore designated as ‘historic nationalities’ by Spain. While these regions have this title in common, they have developed along very different social and economic lines, each responding to central state suppression in unique ways. To begin to build context about the region of Galicia, its language situation and nationalistic feeling, it is helpful to analyze the other historic nationalities in Spain, and the differing histories that have affected the very different national outcomes of each of these regions. This chapter will offer a historical overview of nationalistic sentiment and language development in Catalonia, Basque Country and Galicia from pre-history through the end of the Franco era, to democracy in 1978.
A Brief History of Spain and its Historic Nationalities

Today Spain is a member country of the EU with seventeen autonomous regions, three of which are linguistically unique historical nationalities. Like most European states, it has a long and tumultuous history that was touched by many ruling groups, class conflicts, and civil wars. The first empire to consolidate the people living in the Iberian Peninsula was the Roman Empire, which slowly began taking what was termed Hispaniola in the 3rd century BC. Beginning in the northeast and working south and west, the Romans encountered incredibly diverse ethnic and linguistic groups in their campaign. The northwestern portion of the peninsula was the last to be conquered in about 19 BC. When the Romans came to the westernmost point of continental Europe, located in what is now Galicia, and saw the sun set across the Atlantic ocean for the first time, they decided that they had reached the end of the world.

Roman administration divided the peninsula into upper and lower Hispaniola, based largely on ethnic divides (Beswick 2007). Other regions were later added; Lusitania, what now comprises Portugal and Galicia, was less influenced by Roman culture, and Baetica, comprising what is now Andalusia (southern Spain), a more incorporated and important region to the Roman empire. The fall of the Roman Empire and the Germanic invasion converted all of Iberia into an officially Christian territory, ruled by various Christian kingdoms. The invasion of the Moors in the 8th century relinquished southern Iberia to Arabic rule for 7 centuries. With the Moors holding influence over most of the peninsula, Christianity was relegated to the north. The Moors greatly influenced culture and language during their tenure in Iberia, yet had very little if any influence in the kingdoms of Portugal and Galicia (Mar-Molinero 2000). The medieval ‘discovery’ of the tomb of St. James in Santiago de Compostela, now the capital of Galicia, was used as a unifying symbol in the campaign to expel the Moors from Europe in the 15th century.
The campaign against the Moors known as the *Reconquista* gave dominance to a Castilian ideology, predicated upon the ability of a united Christian kingdom to reclaim the peninsula. The traction of the *Reconquista* inevitably gave status to Castilian political structure and language, which became more common as the language of administration and culture throughout the peninsula.

The various Christian kingdoms that ruled Iberia from the 15th to 17th Centuries reshuffled and consolidated power through marriages and colonial campaigns, eventually filling out the borders of what would become modern Spain. The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabelle spurred the confluence of the kingdoms of Aragon (a loose confederation of the regions of Catalonia, Valencia, and Aragon) and Castile (a result of monastic unions itself) in 1475. The union of the Iberian regions was completed in 1575, with the annexation of Navarre, a Basque region (Mar-Molinero 2000). Within this unification, however, there remained drastic economic disparities as regions like Catalonia benefited from a prosperous measure of self-rule (Keating 2000). Spain’s inclusion in the Holy Roman Empire further spread central authority between a vast imperial empire, within which power concentrated around centers of authority and overlapping areas of jurisdiction. In the 17th century Spain attempted to implement a Napoleonic state with more concentrated central authority. This restructuring was limited in its success since the central state of Madrid had never had an incentive to modernize industrially due to the wealth supplied from Spain’s colonies. Madrid thus kept an agrarian/military/aristocratic system in place wherein regionalism continued (Álvarez Junico 2000). Industry and social advancement were concentrated in the northern border regions of Basque Country and Catalonia, where elites had taken control of the local economy and led the way to regional development.
The end of the 19th century and the loss of the Spanish American War saw Spain lose the last of its prosperous imperial holdings, signaling a turning point in a once foreboding colonial empire. The fracturing of Imperial Spain was felt at an economic as well as a psychological level throughout the country, kicking off a panic, which widened the gap between the center and periphery of the country. By the 20th century, unique regional personalities and political economies had become solidified within Spain. A brutal civil war and the repressive dictatorship of General Francisco Franco from 1939-1975 worked to further associate the central state with fascism and stagnation (Keating 2000). Again regional identities were suppressed in favor of a homogeneous state in which the military and the church were given a far greater role than before, and everyone would be educated in and speak only Castilian. The term Castilian itself was changed to Spanish in the 16th century in order to encourage linguistic homogeneity, insinuating other Spanish languages did not or should not exist (Smith & Mar-Molinero 1996). The Franco era is only the most recent in a long and wounded history between central Spain and its internal nationalities.

The historic nationalities of Catalonia, Basque Country, and Galicia, being peripheral nations with unique languages and cultures intact at the time of Spanish consolidation, have always been seen as something of a challenge to the central state. Processes of fluctuating centripetal and centrifugal political movements throughout Spanish history greatly influenced the development of nationalistic personalities, languages, and social structures within these regions (González López 1998). The alternating centralization and decentralization of Spain corresponded to degrees of dictatorial and authoritarian rule over the years, and worked to frustrate national groups as these regimes only further antagonized their constituents with each new round.
Catalonia

The Spanish chapter of Catalonia’s national past began in the 15th century, at the joining of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon through the marriage of Isabelle and Ferdinand. This union resulted in something of a confederate state, in which Catalonia was able to retain its political, administrative, judicial, and fiscal institutions, yet benefit from the Kingdom of Aragon’s extensive domain, which stretched throughout the Mediterranean to southern Italy and Athens. The 17th century brought a period of decline, as well as the relinquishment of Catalan autonomy under the rule of King Felipe IV. The new centralized policies were met by severe opposition within Catalonia, resulting in a war against the monarchy (1640-1659). As a result, Catalonia gained institutional recognition, yet lost territory to France. Another war broke out in 1703, this time over the struggle between Habsburg and Bourbon succession to the Spanish throne. Catalonia supported the ruling Habsburgs, leading the Bourbons to seize the city of Barcelona in 1714, breaking down the last stronghold of resistance. This conflict ended with the crowning of the Bourbon King Philip V (1716). Spain was transformed into a centralized administration modeled upon France (Nogué 2004). Catalan institutions were subsequently abolished, as was the freedom to use the regional language of Catalan. Although institutional autonomy had ended, economic prosperity continued to surpass that of the central state, furthering Catalan ambitions of separatism.

Mechanization and industrialization continued to spur the Catalanian economy. By 1728 Catalonia was an expert in calico printing, and by the latter part of the 1700s cotton production had expanded incredibly. In 1832 the steam powered mill catapulted Catalonia into the industrial era (Thomson 2015). Trade also flourished in Barcelona, establishing the city as an important
Mediterranean port. Although Northern Europe by and large monopolized early industrialization, Catalonia was the one Mediterranean exception (Thomson 2015).

The first Carlist war resulted in another civil war in 1833, and local institutions were again trimmed after the defeat of the Carlists heir and the election of Isabelle II to the throne. Social and economic reforms swept Spanish Territories, leading to greater economic yields for Catalonia’s textile industry yet greater repressions of Catalan political expression (Conversi 2000). An officer’s revolt in 1868 overthrew the regime and brought about the first Spanish republic, a federalist arrangement between assumed autonomous regions (Conversi 2000). Catalonia enthusiastically embraced the Republic, hoping to gain autonomy after over a century of central state suppression. Yet in 1874 another revolt ended the First Republic and allowed Queen Maria Christina to seize the throne.

Meanwhile, the Renaixença (Catalonian Renaissance) was growing, which would provide fertile ground for the nationalist movement to come. Rooted in a Catalan linguistic tradition, the literary, poetic, artistic, and philosophical revival of the Renaixença trickled from intellectual elites into every sector of Catalan industry and society and spread to every Catalan speaking territory (Conversi 2000). The movement sought to rediscover Catalan orthography of the Middle Ages and to revive certain elements which favored the dominant urban class agenda (Fradera 1992). Thus the nationalist fervor to come assumed an urban industrial nature, standing upon the solid base of Catalan literature and culture radiating out of Barcelona at this time, as well as the success of autonomous industry and trade. The next four decades were incredibly important in the foundation of Catalan nationalist thought, as wave after wave of central rule, a sputtering economy, and social movements worked to brew nationalist fervor, only to be strengthened each time they were suppressed.
The first definitive nationalist movement came in 1886, with the publication of *Lo Catalanisme* (The Catalanism), a popular play that outlined grievances with the monarchy and proposed a federalist framework for an independent Catalonia. Next came *Las Nacionalidades* (The Nationalities, 1887), which foresaw a Spain of independent nationalities, based on local traditions, within which each nation would be able to pursue their own economic and social interests without the weight of a docile central government hampering development (Miret & Vila 1993). In the 1880s a new coalition began to emerge, comprised of regionalist Catalanian political parties, bourgeoisie, intellectuals and students. These groups began what would later coalesce into the political group *Unió Catalanista* in 1891 (Conversi 2000). This group would draft a comprehensive plan for Catalanian autonomy within the state of Spain, in which the region would have the ability to organize town councils, appoint Catalanian officials to all public posts, utilize Catalan as the official language, collect taxes, print money, and enact mercantile, civil and penal legislation (Conversi 2000). Madrid recoiled at the push for autonomy and came down on Catalonia with a total suppression of all institutions, both public and private; homes were searched, officials were arrested, and newspapers closed in a show of centralist strength. The occupation lasted for nearly ten years during which time nationalist sentiment only grew.

The loss of Spain’s colonies in the last decade of the 18th century pushed the country into a depression, particularly felt in Catalonia, where 60% of exports had gone to the former colony of Cuba. An entire generation of Spaniards were left in a psychological void at this failing of the Spanish Empire. The response to this period was a widespread regeneration of cultural society in an attempt to find a new iteration of patriotic pride. Catalonia reacted with renewed regional nationalism and continued to coalesce around their superior economy and use of Catalan language. The defacto governmental group *Mancomunitat* formed in 1913 to tighten self-rule of
Catalonian provinces, but in 1923 the General Primo de Rivera established dictatorial rule and again all regional symbols, including the flag and the language, as well as institutions were abolished. The Rivera dictatorship ran itself into the ground after seven years, bringing about the second republic.

From 1931 to 1939 the Second Republic marked a brief democratic time in Spain when again regional cultural expression flourished. Unrest in Catalonia was not quelled, however, as bourgeoisie were still not permitted legal means of asserting control over their labor force. Against this policy an anarchist association arose among workers groups before the central state did anything to intervene. Madrid used this tension to further antagonize the region, countering unrest with repression. Both the workers and the elites lost any sense of loyalty to such an abusive central government, again fostering an atmosphere of socialism and separatism. In 1936 a Spanish garrison led by General Francisco Franco revolted against the threat of socialism and separatism brewing in the Spanish periphery. This marked the beginning of the Spanish Civil War and the subsequent Franco Dictatorship.

**Basque Country**

Ancient historians and geographers first identified a unique group of people living in the northwestern Pyrenees in the 7th century C.E. These people had different customs, language and physicality than their surrounding groups. They were never fully infiltrated by the Romans, or by the Visigoths, the Moorish invasion, the Franks, or the Normans (Collins 2015). These people were identified as Vasconians, or *Vascones* in Latin (Conversi 2000), and later came to be known as *Vascos*, or Basque in English. Historically, greater Basque Country is made up of the Spanish regions of Basque Country, Navarre, and a portion of what is now the Pyrénées-Atlantiques Province in the southwestern corner of France. Navarre was the last Iberian territory
to be folded into the Kingdom of Castile in 1512. Unlike other regions that lost their autonomy in the early 1700s, all Basque provinces maintained political and social autonomy until the first Carlist war. Basque provinces maintained *fueros*, or local administrative governments, through various agreements with the Spanish Crown. Through these agreements, Basques were exempted from Spanish taxation and military service. Justification for the *fuero* arrangement was due in large part to historians, who extolled the separate history, development, and character of the Basque people, and their right to a special degree of self-rule. The ample historical evidence provided to distinguish Basques from other Spaniards worked to ingrain a sense of primordial, or pre-modern, nationalism. After the long and bloody civil war brought on by the Carlist conflict, Basques finally lost the *fueros* system and thier autonomy with the regime change in 1876.

Industrialization quickly followed centralization, bringing with it rapid changes never before felt in this isolated society. Modernization uprooted many of the longstanding traditions closely held to Basque identity and brought with it an unprecedented wave of immigration to supply labor demands. The new labor force was mostly from Castile, and brought with them Castilian language and other norms. Basque youth also moved from the countryside to the growing cities looking for jobs and had to begin speaking Castilian in order to compete with immigrants (Conversi 2000). With the influx of wage laborers, massive urbanization, and traditions such as language being lost, anarchists, socialists, and nationalist groups began to form. At the same time, a small cultural revival was blossoming in Pamplona, the capitol of Navarra, attempting to solidify Basque language, history, and culture (López Antón 1990) as essential elements of Basque life. Basque societies emerged in other cities such as Bilbao and San Sebastian, developing a political bent as more upper middle class members joined.
Nationalist parties developed in tangent with the cultural revival, espousing Basque isolationism and winning small victories in the 1890s and early 1900s.

Ethnic awareness and common identity became the centerpiece of Basque political ideology (Fusi Aizpurúa 1984). Although industrialization brought wealth to the Basque Provinces, it was also seen as a fatal blow to the fabric of Basque society. As in many industrializing nations, renewed nationalism was the response to such a threat (Gellner 1983). The array of nationalist groups and political parties that subsequently emerged each appealed to a different balance of continued wealth and industry on one hand, and isolationist nationalism on the other.

**Galicia**

Galicia was established as a region of the Roman Empire within upper Hispaniola, so named after the supposed Celtic tribes of Galleacia that resided there before Roman conquest. The Celtic presence in pre-Roman Gallaecia is controversial (Santana 2002; Villares 2004), but it is a widely accepted and celebrated historiography in Galicia nonetheless. Roman Galicia was much larger than it is today, encompassing much of Portugal and western Asturias and parts of Castile. Over the next four centuries, the Romanization of Galician culture introduced plow agriculture, law, mining, and architecture. The fall of the Roman Empire saw Galician rule change hands under the Visigoths in 585 C.E. People living in Galicia existed in isolation, sheltered by the Sierra de Ancares Mountains in a region differentiated by a wet north Atlantic climate and foggy green landscape. Galicia was largely untouched by the Moorish invasion, and played a primarily symbolic role in the Reconquista. People in greater Galicia spoke an early version of Galician, which was indistinguishable from early Portuguese. The division of the regions of Portugal and Galicia came at the hand of a monastic dowry, in which everything south
of the River Minho (Portugal) was given to Henry of Burgundy and the territory to the north (Galicia), belonged to the Kingdom of Leon (Beswick 2002). When Portugal declared independence in 1143, the Kingdom of Galicia slowly began to move linguistically and politically closer to Spain, and became further integrated into the kingdom of united Castile and Leon. Galician was still used as the official language of the region and served as the vehicle of expression for peasantry and bourgeoisie alike (García 1986). Soon however, the Galician language became relegated to the countryside, as urbanites began to speak Castilian and changed the social and political geography of the region.

Castilian nobility began to migrate to Galicia and expand cities around the 14th and 15th centuries, taking administrative jobs, and snatching up Galician land. This influx began to force a wedge between urban and rural Galicia, creating a clear marker between upper class Castilian speakers, residing in urban areas, and lower class Galician speakers, working the land and inhabiting thousands of tiny villages. This urban-rural linguistic class divide had little effect on mono-linguistic rural Galicians, until Galician clergy were dispelled from the region in the 15th and 16th centuries, replaced with Castilian clergy (Beswick 2002). The presence of Castilian clergy further repressed the status of Galician, as speakers were now cut off from communication and favor of the church. Consolidation of the Spanish state by Ferdinand and Isabella in the 15th century worked to further repress Galician. A diglossic situation became the norm in Galicia, where Galician was used in informal, familial contexts and Castilian used in formal, out-group contexts. Galician nobility in wealthy towns and cities began to adopt Castilian, and it soon became the language of power and prestige (García 1986). The Castilian language had become an essential condition of social mobility. The rest of the Galician population, however, did not adopt Castilian, being isolated geographically and socially from its importance in cosmopolitan
Galicia. With Castilian being used in the urban seats of power by noble upper classes, rural populations began to equate the use of Galician with their low social status (Beswick 2002).

Due to its history of monastic conquest, Galician identity was severely devalued alongside its language. Even though the vast majority of the population still spoke the language, people began to avoid using it in public, as it had no other value than “the stigma of poverty, lack of culture and backwardness” (Vilarino as cited by Beswick 2002: 252). Galician identity thus suffered alongside the language, as everything Galician became synonymous with poverty and ignorance. This socio-cultural dynamic endured for centuries, planting a sense of *auto-odio* (self hate), a term Galicians use to characterize themselves to this day (Ramilo 1992).

The reality of economic depression and a worsening agrarian structure drove thousands of Galicians to the Americas in the 19th and 20th centuries (Rivas 1989). The majority of Galicians struggled under an essentially feudal agrarian system ruled by a Castilian colonizer (Beiras 1972; Ferrás 1996), a system that saw little reward for workers and left no room for advancement. Farming was the only industry available to most Galicians as rural agrarian workers continued to see their livelihoods sink into beggary. Galicians consequently left the region in the thousands, establishing emigrant communities in mostly Latin American countries such as Brazil, Cuba and Argentina. Galicia shares such an emigrant history with many peripheral regions of Europe, including Wales, Ireland, and Brittany, which all have marine climates, agrarian economies, geographic isolation, and persistent poverty (Beiras 1972; García Fernández 1975; Verriere 1975; Villares 2004). Return migration became common in the 20th century, strengthening ties to Galician emigrant enclaves as second and third generation Galicians traveled back and forth. These strong cross-Atlantic ties also helped to inspire romantic
Galician nationalists who traveled to and from places like Cuba, where revolutionary movements helped to inform the budding Galician cultural renaissance (Axeitos 2006; Bermúdez 2002).

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, a small group of intellectual elites began writing in Galician, studying Galicia’s unique history, and promoting its culture. The group was later known as Xeneracion Nóis, who led the movement which came to be known as the Galician Rexurdimento (Renaissance). The group was highly influenced by romanticism and the rise of peripheral nationalism in the rest of Spain as well as revolutions in the Americas. This attempt to resurrect and lend prestige to the idiosyncratic traits of the region began with recognition of the Galician language as important to cultural heritage and as a definitive national marker between Galicia and Spain. Saving the language meant codifying and spelling it (Beswick 2002) and creating dictionaries in an attempt to standardize it for the first time. Language groups were established to promote the writing, reading, and speaking of Galician in public. The movement also sought to better understand Galicia’s history, folklore, and geography and produced works that centered on these themes, generating a coherent and distinct story of the region’s ethnic and national identity. The movement helped to instill a sense of pride and oneness among Galicians and Galician speakers by producing lasting works in and about Galician for the first time. A statute of autonomy was drafted in 1936, introducing a legislative initiative that declared Galician and Castilian as co-official languages within the region. The political implications of this move were far reaching, as it showed Galicia as a nationalist region in it’s own right. At the same time, General Franco was gaining momentum in the south of Spain, and the civil war broke out the same year that the statute of autonomy was drafted. Franco’s rise to power saw many Galician intellectuals and nationalists exiled. Some, such as Alfonso R. Castelao, continued to write and promulgate the nationalist cause from afar. The end
of the civil war in 1939 and the establishment of Franco’s dictatorship effectively ended the cultural renaissance Galicia had attempted to nurture and hopes of an official Galician language and administration were halted for the time being (González López 1980). The movement, however short lived, resulted in a solidification of the Galician national essence in writing, a body of work which continues to inspire Galician identity to this day, a theme which will be explored in depth in Chapter 7.

The Franco Era

In the midst of economic decline brought about by Spain’s loss of colonies after the Spanish American War, General Francisco Franco led a revolt against the Second Republic in 1936, kicking off the Spanish Civil War. Franco seized power in 1939 and immediately implemented his new vision of the Spanish state, a unified Spain that was strongly Catholic, centralist and monolingual. Franco would institute his policies through the use of physical terror as well as through a new legislative body, which would oversee a day-to-day construction of a coherent Spanish nationalism (Richards 1996). This centralist arrangement sought to end the decentralizing trends and nationalistic movements of the previous era, wherein autonomy had been declared in Catalonia (1932), Basque country (1933), and Galicia (1936), although only Catalonia had implemented their statute of autonomy (Guibernau 2000). Franco and his Cabinet set about abolishing all regional administrations, laws, and tokens of regional identity such as languages, flags, anthems, and customs.

Franco, strongly influenced by Hitler, envisioned a Spanish state that was based on the idea of unity. What Franco called the Patria, was “spiritual unity, social unity, and historic unity”, in which Catholicism would serve as the “crucible of nationality” (Richards 1996:150 quoting a Franco speech from 1938). The notion of purging Spain was critical to this vision. As
Franco, his ministers, and the church went about crafting the essence of the Spanish *Patria*, anything that did not fit, including Moors and Jews, Republicans, and peripheral nationalists, were to be expunged. Building off of national symbolism circulated in the 15th century Reconquista era of Ferdinand and Isabelle, the regime sought to purify the country, leaving only those who had contributed to a Franco victory and fit into the ideology of the *Patria* (Richards 1996).

Within his conception of Spain, Franco demanded self-sufficiency, as an economic manifestation of his extreme centralist nationalism. Social purification was seen as attendant to development, which was believed to be possible in isolation. Through the harmonization of labor and capitol, Spain’s industrialized cities were transformed into docile servants of the state. Under a brutal disciplinary structure, industry sped forward, necessitated by an anti-import strategy (Richards 1996). While industrialized regions like Catalonia and Basque country were suffering under reconstruction, large landowning Spanish aristocracy of central and southern Spain benefited.

The Spanish military occupied all Spanish cities and enforced state sponsored labor, Catholic schooling, and Castilian nationalism. Dissidents were shot daily and raids on towns and villages to root out any leftist sentiment were common (Richards 1998). Catalonia, Basque country, and Galicia all faced particular political and social vulnerability at the onset of the Franco regime. These regions had a more distinct identity trait in their unique languages, making them primary targets for Franco’s homogenization plan. In addition to more distinct cultures, these regions had been incubators for anti-Spanish political developments, marking them as problematic regions in need of reform from the outset.
Catalonia and the Basque regions suffered acutely under the Franco dictatorship (1939-1975), as they had been strongholds of Republicanism leading up to the regime change. Unlike Galicia, Catalonia and Basque country had industrialized early, and solidified a staunchly nationalistic society which cut through class lines. This atmosphere had produced a long nationalistic tradition in which economic power was able to sway favor with Madrid. In order to truncate this anarchistic behavior while still capitalizing upon industrial cities and trade hubs in the regions, Franco sent thousands of migrants from central and southern Spain into Catalonia and Basque country hoping to dilute the nationalistic atmosphere as well as the regional languages and cultures (Conversi 2000). Castilian speaking migrants succeeded in eroding local cultures and languages, particularly in the Basque country, as languages and traditions were whittled down to only the most radical of Basque circles.

The presence of what was seen as a colonizing force led to a rejection of all things Castilian, manifesting in a new form of radicalism in Basque country. The terrorist organization *Euskadi Ta Askatasuna* (Basque Country and Freedom) or ETA was established due to an underlying fear of assimilation into Castilian culture, as well as a backlash against Francoist repression (Guibernau 2000). In order to rebel against what was seen as a foreign domination, the ETA used paramilitary means to expel the colonial force, and attempted to establish self-rule of all Basque provinces. Franco responded by increasing repressive measures in the Basque country, which only served to enhance national consciousness and the ETA cause.

Catalonian socio-political structure was altogether different before and during the Franco era. Although there was a nationalistic cause and a social chafing against immigrants, Catalanian nationalism had taken a distinctly civic route, lobbying for autonomy within the structure of the Spanish state, and gaining power there within. Many Catalanian elites had switched loyalties
before the end of the civil war (Riera, 1998), weakening nationalistic sentiment within the region. Maintaining internal strength and economic viability was the goal of Catalan upper classes, a clear contrast from the violent route taken by the Basque country. Both regions saw increased economic output and urban development, but lost speakership of their national languages during this period.

Galicia on the other hand, experienced a different degree of Franco era repression. Due to its lack of infrastructure or industrialized urban space, coupled with its conservative working class base, Galicia was not seen as the threat that Catalonia and Basque country were, and thus did not experience the abrupt changes and subsequent social turmoil felt in the other regions. Galicia has an intimate history with Franco, as he was born in the naval outpost of Ferrol, in the north of Galicia, to a military family. Many of Franco’s cabinet members also hailed from conservative Galician families (Payne 2011). This is not to say that Galicia was not oppressed during the regime. Particularly in urban areas, working class families faced daily prosecution and meager rations (Richards 1998). However, the majority of the Galician population, and almost all of the Galician speaking population remained scattered throughout the countryside, where there was far less oversight. The Galician renaissance movement of the previous quarter century was effectively stamped out by the exile of nationalist leaders, leaving what had existed in Galicia before, a docile and isolated rural population and a largely Castilian urban elite. Galicians had always been a traditionally conservative populace, so the threat of rebellion from this region remained low, especially after the exile of nationalists. Regional managers enforced Francoist law, and forbade the speaking of Galician in any context, as well as any expression of Galician culture or tradition. The large rural population, however, continued to use Galician at home and in villages, easily switching to Castilian in enforced urban zones, further perpetuating an urban-
rural linguistic divide. Since Galicia had very little industry to speak of before Franco, no industry was expanded upon in service of the centralized state. Instead, Galicia remained agrarian, peripheral, and economically depressed.

**Conclusion**

Spanish state history is rooted in the unequal influence of the Roman Empire, Moorish influence, rearranging of kingdoms, the establishment of a Napoleonic state, civil war, autocratic fascism, and democratic regional devolution. Throughout this history, Spain’s various regions have developed different social, political and economic personalities that influence their current state of affairs. In Catalonia and Basque Country, special autonomous privileges allowed elites to foster industry and urbanization while maintaining a national identity. Because wealth was generated among national elites, waves of central state repression were felt as a threat to nationalist interest, which went hand in hand with economic wellbeing. As such, cultural and linguistic repression came down hard in these regions, and an urban upper class were forced to maintain nationalist identities in secret, as in the case of Catalonia, or by the proliferation of terror, as in Basque Country.

Galicia, on the other hand, did not experience heavy industrialization until after the Franco era so the utility of Galicia to the regime was marginal. The small numbers of Galician elites were landowners and tended to act conservatively, in step with the many noble Castilian families and clergy, who had the majority of power in the region. Due to Galicia’s absence of a powerful noble class with vested regional interests, there was never a powerful nationalist movement to move away from the central state until right before the revolution, at which point little political gains could be made. What impact the Galician nationalists did have was in the
excavation of their language as useful in an academic sense, and a solidification of their history as unique within Iberia, and one to be celebrated.

Throughout the Franco years, Galicia remained what it had been- a rural, Galician speaking populace surrounding urban clusters of Castilian speakers. This spatial arrangement, predicated on an unbalanced Castilian power structure within Galicia, saved the Galician language at a time when Catalonia and Basque country were experiencing the major shift, and near annihilation of their national languages. This inequity accounts for the high speakership levels retained in Galicia today. While high speakership was retained up until the end of the Franco regime, urbanization and heavy industrialization began to change the Galician landscape in the 1980s, drastically affecting the population distribution of Galicia, and initiating a period of language decline.
CHAPTER 4- REGIONAL CONVERGENCE AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC IMPACT IN GALICIA

Changes in the nature of capitalist production over the past 30 years have reconsolidated and reshuffled political entities, softened borders, and sped the convergence of states and regions to a more equitable plane of economic competition (Paasi 2013). Since the late 1980s, this new global arena has allowed competitive growth from previously sidelined areas. Devolution in many parts of the world has allowed sub-state territories to develop unique economic plans and more readily join the global economy. The same economic logic once applied to label developed and undeveloped states in the global arena is now applied on a smaller scale to sub-state regions. Changes in production technology, the rise of multinational corporations, and local government flexibility make capital generation less dependent on natural resources or location in regions that may have been overlooked in wealthy developed countries. This economic advancement has cultural implications, however, especially for peripheral regions that have evolved in relative isolation. Within the EU a ‘Europe of Regions’ rhetoric has been pressed, along with policies both aimed at advancing regional economies to that of the EU average and protecting cultural heritage and diversity within regions.

The strong regional nature of Spain is an excellent example of how varied geographies and histories have acted to produce very different stories of social and economic outcome at the sub-state level. As outlined in Chapter 3 Spain has a long history of social and political turmoil that has culminated in the modern era with a new wave of democracy, an embrace of globalization, and membership in the EU supra-state community. The three historic nationalities
of Catalonia, Basque Country, and Galicia each experienced Spanish history differently and have duly developed different social and economic fabrics. The former two have benefitted from early industrialization and strategic trade hub locations, developing vibrant regional economies, cultural identities, and nationalistic tendencies. These wealthy regions were also able to foster prestige for their cultural markers, including their unique languages, which came to be associated with the wealthy classes who spoke them mirroring the independent success of the regions themselves. Galicia, on the other hand, has been economically marginalized in Spain for hundreds of years, consequently suffering low language prestige. As a traditionally agrarian region, Galicia is sometimes not taken seriously due to the region’s poverty or it’s perceived lack of culture and backward ways. Galicia, late to industrialize subsiding on a largely maritime and agrarian economy until the 1980s, is now a converging region, rapidly urbanizing and growing their economy to that of the EU regional average. In conjunction with economic convergence, Galicia is experiencing sociolinguistic implications of this late economic move, as urbanization incentivizes Castilian speakership.

Regional affects of the globalized economy and the devolved EU are exemplified in Galicia where a historically agrarian economy has given way to a service and technology-based economy only over the last 25 years. Changes in the nature of land use, demography, job market sectors, and international investment indicate Galicia’s convergence with the regional GDP per capita average in Europe. Cultural heritage is being lost in the process, however, as language loss, more technically referred to as language shift (Furguson 1959; Fishman 1967), has sped alongside urbanization and economic advancement. This chapter will use a variety of publicly available data coupled with remote sensing methods to look at post-Franco development in
Galicia and will concentrate on its political economy and what affects these changes have had on language.

Building off of the expanded history of Spain and its various nationalist regions explored in the Chapter 3, this chapter outlines the modern political economy of Spain and Galicia and highlights the role economy plays in language prestige and shift. Exploring the political economy of Galicia while keeping in mind its history of Castilian dominance in secondary and tertiary sectors connects the late economic convergence of the region with its late language shift. This connection provides key information as to why language shift is proceeding at such a rapid rate in Galicia compared to the regions of Catalonia and Basque Country, where early language shift has ebbed and regional language strength is being solidified.

**Spanish Political Economy**

The Spanish constitution of 1978 established regions as autonomous communities within the unified political entity of Spain. Each region has been granted different levels of self-rule, the most independent of them being granted to the three historical nationalities of Catalonia, Basque Country, and Galicia (Manoel-Núñez 2003). There was no clear mechanism for equal

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Table 1. Distribution of competencies between autonomous communities and the central government (OECD 2012)
participation of regions in the new Spanish framework, as well as no equalization of economic transfers between wealthier and impoverished regions in this new Spanish system (Manoel-Núñez 2003). Table 1 demonstrates how governmental functions are assumed by either the central government or the autonomous communities or shared between the two as laid out in section 149.1 of the Constitution.

From 1980 to 2008 Spain experienced steady GDP growth and life expectancy increase on the whole, with only a slight GDP decline in 1993. Inflation adjusted GDP per capita in Spain in 1980 was $16,000, and the average Spaniard lived to 76 years of age. By 2008 GDP per capita had grown to $34,284 by 2008, average life expectancy had increased to 81 years, and high school education was available and expected for all Spaniards (Gapminder 2015). Spain was improving along most indicators of human development and growing financially as well. However, wealth distribution over this time period was unequal within Spain, as few regions tended to skew the average upwards. The regions of Catalonia and Basque Country being early industrializers and economically powerful regions of Spain for years, profited immensely after Spanish regional devolution, keeping the majority of their regionally acquired wealth. Poor, primarily agrarian regions such as Extremadura, Galicia, and Asturias suffered from geographic isolation, and lack of industry or infrastructure to compete internally or connect externally. Regional divergence continued in Spain until the rise of globalization and the establishment of the EU rearranged economic policy and encouraged regional empowerment politically, socially, and economically. Economic disparity is entrenched in Spain, where very different development strategies have been in play for centuries. All regions in Spain took an economic hit during the global recession of 2008, later known as the crisis in Europe by 2010. The historically poor regions of Spain are still significantly behind high performing regions despite significant overall
Spanish growth since EU inclusion. Figure 1 shows the gap in economic performance between regions in Spain. Unequal regional development in Spain is visible in the degree of disparity between GDP per capita, which still exists among the regions in 2015. The EU Committee of Regions uses average GDP per capita as a baseline for regional development goals within the Union. Regions including Catalonia, Basque Country, Navarre, Aragón and La Rioja, as well as the municipal community of Madrid and the Balearic Islands are exceeding EU average GDP per head, while the majority of Spanish regions are hovering between 70%-90% of the EU average.

**European Union Incorporation**

Since the spread of globalization and the establishment of supra-state entities such as the EU, regions have been able to assert more political and economic presence in the new global marketplace. Due to the restructuring of state coalitions into supra-state entities, regions are allowed more inclusion for competition with other regions and states, instead of being held to
consensual management within the state system (Keating & Loughlin 1997; Murphy 1999). In Europe, regions can jump over the central state government by appealing straight to the EU assembly of European regions, using the supra-state to lobby for regional needs and interests on a European wide platform (Cappelin 1993). Overall, peripheral regions of Europe have been experiencing economic convergence since the Single European Act of 1987, which led to the setting up of a single trade market in 1993 (Keating & Loughlin 1997).

The establishment of the EU was intended to elevate Europe’s competitiveness in the new global marketplace where horizontal information flows and new patterns of negotiation have taken control of capital movements away from the state. Globalization has begun to balance states within the global market, which, according to some like Thomas Friedman (2000), has democratized investment capabilities. Regions have no less importance in the globalized marketplace than do traditional nation-states. The mixture of globalization and devolved political autonomy has given economically sidelined regions the chance to speed convergence with the global marketplace over the past three decades. Application of a regionalist approach to the global economy has been successful in historically impoverished regions. With the rise of globalization and support of the EU, Galicia has moved from a primary sector economy of subsistence and some commercial activity to an emerging innovation economy of high tech industrialization and urban economic activity clusters. EU incorporation has spurred the political economy of regions through accelerated integration and implementation of regional action funds (Keating & Loughlin 1997). Through these programs and protections, many historically subjugated regions have been able to economically converge more rapidly than would have otherwise been possible.
The EU has become an important external support system for Spanish regions aspiring to self-government and further autonomous economic prosperity. Explicit in the European Union’s Committee of the Regions doctrine is the idea that all decision-making should be as close to the citizen as possible, subsequently promoting the strength of regional governments (Painter 2000). In EU rhetoric regions are posited as the source of European personality and economic dynamism (Storper 1995). There are several different types of regions, which are treated differently within the EU framework: economic regions, historical/ethnic regions, administrative/planning regions, and political regions (Keating & Loughlin 1997). Spain has several examples of all these types, three of which (Catalonia, Basque Country, and Galicia) encompass all three types.

According to its regional policy doctrine, the EU currently sets aside 358.1 Billion Euros a year for EU Cohesion along three tracks: Cohesion, Rural and Maritime. Cohesion funds promote research and development, technology, support for small enterprises, and lowering the carbon economy. The cohesion track also provides funds aimed at employment and education opportunities in order to boost GDP per capita. The Agricultural Fund is dedicated to rural development, helping rural areas meet specific environmental, social, and economic challenges in the global marketplace. The Maritime fund is dedicated to helping fishing-dependent regions transition into economically and environmentally sustainable production (EU Regional Policy 2015). Spain receives funding in all categories of EU assistance totaling 27 billion euros. All regions receive some slice of the cohesion fund, the majority of money going to regions between 70% and 90% of the EU GDP per capita average.
Galician Economic History

Galicia has existed on the periphery of Spanish economy for centuries due to its rural populations, geographically isolated location, and late industrialization. Galicia has never served as a trade port, due to the importance of Cadiz in the south of Spain and Barcelona in the northeast. Similarly, Galicia had never evolved into a producer and industrializer of a unique product, like Catalonia had with textiles in the 19th century or Basque Country did in the early 20th century with steel and rails. Unlike Catalonia or Basque Country, Galicia has never had a bourgeois class whom might have brought investment in infrastructure or industry. State and clerical migrants to the region populated urban centers since the early 15th century, crowding the political space where Galicians might have perused their own interests early on (Miguélez-Carballeira 2014). Due to the social structure of a primarily rural populous, Galicia has been very late to economically develop as opposed to other more technologically advanced regions of Spain or Europe (Keating 2000).

Galicia has historically been characterized by a primary sector agrarian economy. Large numbers of scattered rural settlements, a dominant traditional agricultural tradition, and historical property inheritance by sub-division within families have produced a high degree of land fragmentation in the region (Keating 2000; Crecente 2002) and decreased productivity of agricultural output. Galicia was rich in wood and granite, but these resources were not processed in the area, rather they were shipped to industrial centers elsewhere in Spain, taking wealth away from Galicia (Keating 2000). In 1995, 25% of Galicia’s workforce was employed in agriculture, fishery or forest production, the largest rate of primary sector employment in Spain at the time (Rodríguez-Pose 2000).
Galicia has operated one of Europe’s largest fishing fleets off the northern coast for over 50 years and still ships quality seafood products all around the world (Keating 2001). The Prestige oil spill in 2002 briefly halted Galicia’s fishing operation, forcing them to reevaluate environmental practices (Surís-Regueiro & Varela-Lafuente 2007) and demonstrating the importance of economic diversification.

**Galician Convergence**

Membership in the EU has strengthened Galicia’s industrial investments and helped it develop into a service and manufacturing based economy. The European single market encourages regional development and participation, which is bolstered by its funding allocations to regions (Keating 2000). From 2007 to 2013 Galicia received 2.2 Billion Euros from the EU for regional development. According to the EU Regional Commission program website, Galicia concentrated funds for this period in its emerging knowledge-based economy, specifically in

![European Union Investment](image)

*Figure 2. European Union Investment in Galicia (ENI 2015)*
research and development, information and communication technologies, and transport and energy, as represented in Figure 2 (European Commission n.d). Further investigation of Galician remuneration shows considerable money funding transport and energy, as well as environmental management (Figure 3). Galicia is climbing what Jeffery Sachs (2008:222) refers to as the “development ladder” and has moved up several rungs since inclusion in the EU, from a subsistence/commercial-based agrarian economy to a knowledge-based economy placing a high

![Remuneration of employees](image-url)

Figure 3. Remuneration by Sector in Galicia (ENI 2015)
value on education, investment, and research and development.

Galicia’s GDP has doubled since inclusion in the EU, reaching approximately 60 billion Euros in 2011 (OECD 2012). From 1980 to 1995 Galicia had the second slowest growth rate of all Spanish regions, at 1.45% (Rodríguez-Pose 2000). In the following decade, however, Galicia had the highest rate of GDP per capita increase of all Spanish regions according to a 2012 OECD report. This rise in GDP per capita in Galicia has followed its transition from its agrarian past to a service and manufacturing future.

Today, agriculture in Galicia holds less than 2.5% of GDP total value added and less than 40% of its land is utilized for agriculture. Traditional agriculture had dominated the economy until the mid 1980s, resulting in low crop yields and stagnant regional growth, with the majority of the population involved in substance agriculture (Vilamanya 1987). By these economic standards, Galicia had been operating at what Sachs (2008) describes as a commercial stage of development in a state that had long been considered a knowledge-based economy. The division between urban and rural labor is basic, one relying on the other for specialized goods. Galicia did not begin investments toward an industrial economy until the late 1970s, when manufacturing plants began to be built on the southern coast. In 1995, 25% of Galicians were employed in the primary sector, whereas in 2013 primary sector activities accounted for less than 18% of Galician employment (ENI 2015). Arts, industry, and manufacturing now make up the bulk of regional remuneration (Figure 3). In 2011, Galicia achieved 75% of the EU average GDP, moving it from a convergence region to a transition region along European commission guidelines (OECD 2012). This income increase will have drastic consequences for Galician regional fund allocations in the future.
Galician Land Use Change

Restructuring of the Galician economy and the decline of agricultural production has affected the regional landscape in an abandonment of farms and an expansion of urban space. 2008 data provided by the Ministry of Rural Affairs counted over 100,000 family farms in Galicia, averaging under 10 hectares, which had been divided up through a split inheritance system (Constenla Bergueiro 2008). This system divides land by the number of children, resulting in smaller and smaller plots over the generations. Land fragmentation, low productivity, and an aging population has incentivized the abandonment of land in rural Galicia. Alongside depopulation, agricultural productivity has decreased. Analysis of remotely sensed images showing land use change over time allows a comparison of land uses from as far back as the 1960s, which can show urban growth (Harold, et al. 2003; Wilson et al. 2003), and rural land use change (Müller 2002; Weng 2002). Land use change analysis within Spain has resulted in research that focuses on land policy change since EU inclusion (Crecente 2002) and land consolidation reform in Europe as a whole. In order to analyze land use change alongside language shift, I have created two land use change maps, which illustrate themes of urbanization and rural land use in Galicia over a thirty-year period. Using remote sensing here demonstrates the expansion not only of built surfaces, but also the proliferation of Castilian language dominance present in these urban areas, and the depletion of a Galician speaking population associated with a rural existence in the countryside.

Images of Galicia from April 1984 and of April 2014 were collected from USGS Earth Explorer. Using Idrisi software, three images in each data set were stitched together using the mosaic tool to create two images of Galicia- one from 1984 and one from 2014. False color composites were built to get an idea of the land cover being represented in each of the resulting
images, as well as true color images with which to compare the false color images for healthy and unhealthy vegetation patterns, urban areas, and other land uses. A detailed supervised classification then took place, training the software to recognize each of the following land cover types in both the 1984 and 2014 images: water, clouds, grass, trees, built environment, burn scars/open land quarries and fallow fields. After training the images, a supervised classification model ran a maximum likelihood classification to pick out the total land being used for each of the trained land cover types. Using the land change modeler in Idrisi, the 1984 and 2014 images were compared along each of the training categories for losses and gains. The land change modular was also used to display the land use changes in each of the categories, isolating each cover type in classified image form, clearly displaying losses, gains and persistence. The images used in this chapter display built surface gains and fallow field change, and reflect the region’s convergence into an urbanized, manufacturing economy, with a steadily depopulated rural sector.

Using remote sensing to track agricultural productivity and urbanization in the region shows just how substantial a shift from agrarian to urban land use change the region has seen over the past 30 years. Figure 4 shows fallow field change between April of 1984 and April of 2014. Pink indicates fields that were once healthy but are not lying fallow, green indicates fields that were once fallow but that are now vegetated, and purple shows persistence. The overwhelming presence of pink in Figure 4 also hints at the phenomenon of land abandonment in Galicia, which has left an estimated 1,200 villages empty (Frayer 2015). This image not only indicates the pervasiveness of rural land abandonment in Galicia, but it also shows just how fragmented the rural landscape has become due to the split inheritance system practiced throughout the region. Looking closely at the remotely sensed images, evidence of Galicia’s land inheritance system is recognizable in two patterns of land parceling: long thin plots going up the
mountainside (Figure 5), and small, rounded plots more prevalent in the low country. These small parcels, having been split in area through inheritance over the years, make agricultural productivity difficult. This has led to an increase in fallow land throughout the region and subsequently depopulation of entire villages. Concomitant with a rural depopulation, Galicia’s urban land developments have been significant since 1980, as the population has largely relocated to urban centers along the Atlantic coast.
Figure 4. Fallow Field Changes 1984-2014 (USGS Landsat 5&7) Map compiled by Author
Figure 5. Example of land fragmentation (USGS Landsat 7 Maximum likelihood 2014)
Figure 6. Urban gains since 1984 (USGS Landsat 5&7). Map compiled by author
EU regional policies have inadvertently encouraged the sprawl of urban communities in Galicia, helped along by the funding relationship between population in urban tax base areas and increased EU funding (Keating 2000). A pair of images from 1984 and 2014 has been manipulated to show urban growth in that time frame (Figure 6). The explosion of an urban landscape within Galicia is evident from this image, displaying all newly built surfaces in black. New roads and railways are visible connecting the expanded cities of the Atlantic coast, as well as leading to resurfaced and renovated towns. As Galicia’s economy has diversified into industrial sectors and away from agriculture, its urban growth has been drastic. Urban development in Galicia during the housing bubble (1997-2008) was rapid and not reflective of population growth (González Pérez 2007). Urban land transformation in Galicia has been significant, as urban development in the north-south coastal corridor continues, drawing rural residents to urban jobs and single-family homes on the west coast. There is still a sharp division between the economies of the coastal provinces in Galicia and the mountainous inland provinces. The southern cities of Vigo and Pontevedra have developed considerably with EU inclusion, and have been able to attract new industrial plants, including the manufacturing plant for Peugeot Citron in Vigo. A Coruña in the north is also home to the textile giant Inditex, the parent company of Zara, Mango, and other global fast fashion brands. Inditex’s large industrial complex is situated just outside the city center. Due to these new industries, one-third of Galicia’s population is located in the Atlantic coastal beltway connected by new infrastructure since 1984 (González Pérez 2007). The urban development fueling Galicia’s industrial Atlantic beltway has had implications for the Galician language, tied as it is to rural spaces.
**Sociolinguistic Implications of Economic Convergence**

The different economic trajectories of Catalonia, Basque Country, and Galicia have drastically influenced the nature of their linguistic and national landscapes. Unlike Catalonia and Basque Country which both industrialized early and subsequently experienced huge language shift and waves of nationalization, Galicia was late to industrialize, and thus retained the regional language, only experiencing one relatively modest nationalization movement. Galicia’s unindustrialized urban centers never pulled the rural population in, and thus language retention stayed much higher than in other linguistically unique regions as it was protected from Castilian influence in the countryside. As urbanization and industry have expanded since the 1980s, the large rural population that was once the core of first language Galician speakers has largely relocated to urban centers where Castilian is the preferred language. Urban migration has left thousands of rural villages abandoned and fields fallow. Land change from agrarian to urban usage reflects the rural depopulation that Galicia has experienced, as well as the ongoing shift from Galician speakership dominant in rural areas to Castilian speakership, which is dominant in urban areas.

Membership in the EU has helped regions like Galicia develop and converge to the EU average. While the EU espouses economic convergence as a desired target for a “harmonious and cohesive Europe” (European Commission 2016), cultural diversity is also a goal of the European commission, with special attention paid to linguistic diversity. "Culture and its specificity, including multilingualism are key elements of the European integration process based on common values and a common heritage" (Lähdesmäki 2012:6). This rhetoric promotes the idea of a Europe of Regions, each bringing a distinct cultural heritage to the European
community, which prides itself on protecting and promoting its cultural heritage, specifically language. Absent from the policy frameworks is any acknowledgement that economic convergence has covert cultural repercussions, including but not limited to linguistic heritage. As Galicia converges to the EU average through urban industry and corporate investment, its historically rural language of lesser prestige is increasingly threatened.

Speakership of Galician and Castilian in Galicia is roughly split in half, between those who always or mostly use Galician and those who always or mostly use Castilian based on language survey results from the Galician Statistical Institute (IGE). High speakership levels of both languages persist in Galicia, yet this data also indicates the frequency of code switching in the region, as about half indicate the use of both languages yet favor one or the other. Looking at speakership by age begins to reveal the precarious shift trend present in Galicia. Table 2 shows how younger people tend to speak Castilian more frequently than Galician, and elderly people Galician more frequently than Castilian. This indicates that Galician speakers are dwindling, and Castilian speakers will become the dominant group in the coming years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Galician Only</th>
<th>Mostly Galician</th>
<th>Mostly Castilian</th>
<th>Castilian Only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 to 14 yrs</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>11.91</td>
<td>27.79</td>
<td>47.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 to 29 yrs</td>
<td>19.78</td>
<td>16.91</td>
<td>29.66</td>
<td>33.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 to 49 yrs</td>
<td>23.07</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>26.62</td>
<td>29.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 to 64 yrs.</td>
<td>35.42</td>
<td>24.22</td>
<td>18.85</td>
<td>21.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 yrs or older</td>
<td>52.74</td>
<td>21.08</td>
<td>12.38</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Language use by age (IGE 2013)

As Galicia urbanizes and catches up to the EU GDP per capita average, its Castilian speaking urban population also grows. Figure 7 shows language use by venue population, clearly illustrating the preference for Castilian in urban places and Galician in rural. Figure 8 shows the population density in Galicia. Galicia’s total population of 2.75 million is concentrated along the Atlantic coast. The dominant urban pockets of Northwestern A Coruña and Southwestern
Pontevedra and Vigo contain the majority of the population and are both connected by sprawl to the capitol of Santiago De Compostela creating an urban Atlantic beltway. Figure 9 shows the geographical distribution of Galician speakers in 2001. This image shows far lower percentages of Galician speakers in those urban areas with large population clusters displayed in the Figure 9. Figure 10 shows the distribution of Galician speakers in Galicia in 2011. Over a period of ten years Galician speakership in the communities surrounding urban areas has drastically declined due to these areas being encompassed by sprawl, and converting from agrarian areas into manufacturing and production zones. These data sets supplied by the IGE show a clear correlation between urbanization and decline of Galician speakers in the region.

Figure 7. Language use by venue population (IGE 2004)
The valued multilingualism and cultural heritage promoted in the European Commission framework is being overlooked in favor of economic convergence in the region of Galicia. The rhetoric of the agenda for culture in tangent with economic advancement policies in the EU inadvertently contradict one another when applied to the economic and social trajectory of a peripheral region with a historic language like Galicia.

Figure 8. Population Density map of Galicia (Data: IGE 2008 via Zonu.com)
Figure 9. Percentage of Galician speakers in each municipality in 2001 (Data: IGE 2010)

Figure 10. Percentage of Galician speakers in each municipality in 2011 (Data: IGE 2013)
Conclusions

Galicia, as a peripheral region of Spain, has experienced economic convergence over the past thirty years due to globalization, and encouraged by membership in the EU. Galician economic development is representative of many peripheral regions in the EU who have been able to participate in the global economy in recent years and assert their regional identity with increased political autonomy and economic strength. Several factors are indicative of Galicia’s emergence as a knowledge-based economy from a subsistence agriculture/commercial economy. Jobs have moved from primary sector agriculture and resource extraction to tertiary sector industry, arts, and manufacturing. Rural depopulation has accompanied decreased agricultural productivity, while urban growth has exploded along Galicia’s industrial and increasingly interconnected coastal corridor. These changes in Galicia’s economy and land use structure are indicative of the region’s convergence to the economic standards of the Spanish central government and EU GDP per capita averages. At the same time, Galicia exemplifies linguistic homogenization in the face of increased urbanization because of this economic advancement. Due to its history as a peripheral region with meager social standing, the Galician language has little social capital, and is more often spoken among family, and in rural places. Urbanization and industrialization have sped language shift in Galicia, inadvertently undermining the European Commission policies for the protection of multiculturalism and multilingualism. Unlike Catalonia and Basque Country, a region like Galicia faces altogether different challenges in the European quest for economic convergence and cultural heritage protection. Confronting these challenges, Galicia protects its linguistic heritage through a variety of laws, including standardization and normalization in the education system. Chapter 5 will compare the Galician
education system to that of Catalonia and Basque Country, and elaborate on the legal efforts to protect Galician through its mandated use in schools.
In 1978 after 40 years of suppression, a new era arrived in Spain, it was one of democracy and cultural pluralism. This was a momentous occasion for the whole of Spain, but the linguistically unique regions of Catalonia, Valencia, Balearic Islands, Basque Country, Navarre, and Galicia had particular reason to celebrate. Under the new government, all 17 communities of Spain would now be recognized as autonomous and be given considerable legislative powers. The 1978 Constitution acknowledged the multilingual and multicultural character of Spain, allowing languages other than Castilian to be spoken. This statute henceforth allowed communities to develop their own language legislation and preservation strategies, drastically changing institutional structures to fit the linguistic needs of autonomous communities. The aforementioned communities that contain recognized and sizeable minority languages used the legal basis of the new constitution and adopted co-official language policies and normalization strategies to suit their linguistic and socio-cultural needs. The controversial process of normalització, normalizazioa, and normativización, (normalization) of the Catalan, Basque, and Galician languages respectively each began with regionally conceptualized normalization laws, drafted by and implemented within each region. Jane Beswick (2007) defines normalization as the “conscious manipulation of the linguistic corpus in order to create, reform, or restructure language” (pp. 167). Normalization therefore requires many institutional policies in order to implement such large scale restructuring.
Language policy in the historical communities of Spain is buttressed by three pieces of legislation: Article 3 of the Spanish Constitution of 1978, regional statutes of autonomy, and regional normalization laws. The rhetoric of these laws promotes the notion of balanced bilingualism between Castilian and the regional languages of Catalan, Basque, and Galician. However, the Spanish constitution mandates that only Castilian be required of all citizens. As some have pointed out, this is an example of the contradiction between the state and regional linguistic frameworks, which undermine harmonious bilingualism in Spain (García Negro 1993). The normalization strategies developed in the autonomous communities included agreement upon a linguistic canon to be enforced by institutions, chiefly by schools, to ensure the vibrant use of the regional language along with Castilian. The normalization laws make each autonomous community responsible for caring for their own minority language by making sure that people learn and speak it and safeguard it and its speakers against discrimination. This chapter will describe the foundation upon which Spanish language laws have been built, and show how regions have applied the concept of normalization. I will then detail the current Galician education laws, the scholastic landscape in Galicia, and examine the current state of the Galician language in depth.

Post 1978 Language Policy & Developments

During the Franco dictatorship, Spain was a classic example of state-centric nationalism, characterized by a homogenized culture, religion, language, and centrally oriented government system. Today, the democratically devolved state of Spain is considered to be a state of internal nations, exhibiting different histories and cultural markers within its state borders, and even across its internal borders. The role of particular cultural traits such as language, serves to internalize a notion of in-group inclusiveness, and out-group difference, even if just an imaginary
one (Anderson 1991). At the time of dictatorial control under General Francisco Franco, the statist ideology of the regime did not permit any local language to be spoken, allowing only Castilian, so as to unify the citizenry, and purge national factions. The very existence of minority languages was not recognized, stripping citizens of any right to display culture (Beswick 2007).

At the drafting of its constitution, Spain recognized that some reparation had to be given to the regional nationalities, which had been so brutally suppressed for 40 years. The regions of Catalonia, Basque Country, and Galicia were given special status as historic communities, with full cultural and linguistic determination rights. Article 3 of the 1978 Spanish Constitution delineates linguistic rights and duties for all Spaniards:

3:1 Castilian is the official Spanish language of the state. All Spaniards have an obligation to know it and a right to use it.
3:2 The other languages of Spain will also be official in their respective self-governing communities, in accordance with their statutes.
3:3 The linguistic richness of the different linguistic varieties of Spain is a cultural patrimony that will be the object of particular respect and protection.

- Las Cortes Generales (Accessed 2016)
  (Constitución Española 1978)

This legal rhetoric clearly establishes a hierarchy among Spain’s languages. Castilian is the official language of the state, and each Spanish citizen regardless of regional community has the obligation to know it. The other languages of Spain will be allowed within their own historic regions, leaving the formulation of language policies to the respective regional statutes. Outlined in Point 3.3, the constitution places the onus of “respect and protection” upon the autonomous communities themselves. It should be noted however, that there is no obligation to know these other languages, although they too are official (Garcia Negro 1993). This rhetoric suggests a tolerance oriented, rather than a promotion oriented linguistic atmosphere (Kloss 1971; 1977),
wherein cultural reparation is being given to the regions of Spain yet bilingualism is not being
nurtured by the state. Further evidence of the tolerance oriented nature of Spain’s legal
framework lies within the decision that the obligation to know Catalanian, Basque, and Galician
within their respective communities was deemed unconstitutional by the Spanish court (Del
Valle 2000). Each historic community has adopted different plans of linguistic normalization and
protection per the mandates of the state constitution, and the ruling of the Spanish court.

Spain’s co-official languages are somewhat territorial in nature, delineated by the
autonomous communities that facilitate them. Spain’s linguistically unique regional character is
just one example of Spain’s atypical cultural personality, a state of pluralities demanding a
horizontal legislative character (Vernet et al. 2003; Winter 2013). Language legislation is
devolved to the regional level, linguistically unique regions given special provisions in caring for
their own languages. Public officials (of any level) based in a bilingual community must comply
with local language laws, and the central government does not have the power to restrict said
laws. There are three official languages other than Castilian recognized in Spain: Catalan, which
is spoken in Catalonia, Valencia, and the Balearic Islands, Basque, spoken in Basque Country
and Navarre, and Galician, recognized as being spoken in Galicia, although there are speakers in
the bordering regions of Asturias. Recognized Galician dialects exist in other Spanish regions as
well, such as Asturias and Aragón. Dialects and language border regions receive a different level
of provision and protection to those of historic communities (Huguet et al. 2008). For example
the community of Valencia is divided into a Castilian zone and a Catalan zone based on number
of speakers. In the Castilian zone of Valencia, the bilingual language law is applied restrictively,
whereas in the Catalan zone, the law looks much the same as in Catalonia. In Navarre, there are
three zones corresponding to different levels of language legislation: the Basque zone, the
Castilian zone, and the mixed zone, corresponding to the number of speakers there within. In the historic communities of Catalonia, Basque Country, and Galicia, full co-official status has been enforced since the early 1980s throughout each community.

In the early 1980s, each region drafted normalization laws, which defined plans of protection for each of the regional minority languages. The main goals of normalization laws were, and continue to be, bringing regional minority languages up to equal footing with Spanish. Standardization is the first element of normalization for each community, involving an imposition of uniformity across all local variations (Milroy 2001) for institutional use. The standard language in each community was then implemented gradually by sector (education, public administration, justice, police, public health and safety, and private sector). The core branches of language planning have been public service and education.

**Bilingual Public Service and Education in Spain**

The right to use both official languages for any purpose is guaranteed by regional law and applied on the ground by bilingual public servants. Public authorities are to have a competency in both languages and use the regional language for all official tasks. In regions where speakership numbers were severely depressed by the dictatorship, such as Basque Country, recruiting an adequate number of bilingual speakers was the first challenge (Arzoz 2015). Existing officials were trained in the co-official language, as well as supplemented with new, bilingual personnel. The capacity for a new, truly bilingual government was undercut in several ways from the beginning. Across Spain, regional and municipal governments devolved from existing state-run offices, and kept on high-ranking officials from the dictatorial regime (Castells 1987). Case in point, General Franco’s trusted cabinet member, Manuel Fraga, who became Deputy Prime Minister of the new government, then Minister of the Interior, and later
went back to his home region of Galicia to take up the seat of presidency for 15 years between 1989 and 2005 (Casanova & Andrés 2014). The majority of Franco era personnel had no knowledge of the vernacular language of the region (Arzoz 2015). Achieving a truly bilingual government was further stalled by the Spanish Supreme Court decision that language could not be established as a requirement nor valued as a merit in hiring public servants (Coberos 1989). The court held that a bilingual requirement would break the constitutional principles of equal access to public posts in Spain, but stated that requirements must be reasonable and proportional to the linguistic need of each post. Levels of requirements were established based upon the level of citizen interaction from LR1 (the lowest) to LR4 (the highest). The percentage of posts must be equal to the percentage of first language minority speakers in each zone, plus half of the total percent of passive speakers collected from regional census (Arzoz 2015).

In the field of public education, the competency of teachers had to be decided in conjunction with the local educational policy provisions. Education is arguably the most important realm for language maintenance and normalization. Educational needs such as the training and allocation of bilingual teachers was expedited in order to fill the pressing need. Consequently, quality may have been overlooked, as the linguistic competence levels of students have proven somewhat lacking, as will be discussed later in this chapter while looking at the Galician context. The Spanish constitution and regional normalization laws guarantee the right to receive education in both the state and regional languages. Each community has developed specific systems for bilingual language education.

In Basque Country, as well as some parts of Navarre, three linguistic educational models have been in use for almost three decades. There, parents choose from three models from which their children can receive compulsory education: model A, where Castilian as the language of
instruction with Basque as a compulsory subject: model B, both Basque and Castilian as the languages of instruction; and model D, in which Basque is the only language of instruction with Castilian as a compulsory subject (Arzoz 2015). From 1982 to 2005 the percentage of Basque students enrolled in model D increased from 12.17% to 50.43% (Huguet et al. 2008). In 2012 it had increased to 65.3% (Arzoz 2015).

Catalonia, together with Valencia and the Balearic Islands, utilize a total bilingual or Catalan heavy education system. All students have some contact with Catalan as a language of instruction. Any education model in which Castilian was the primary language and Catalan was only given as a stand-alone subject was abolished (Huguet et al. 2008). These provisions have been received well due to the overall positive attitude toward Catalan held by most Spaniards (Huguet), in part due to its high prestige value. All schools either use Catalan as the medium of instruction with Castilian as a stand-alone subject, or a bilingual program where an equal use of both is spread across subjects. The majority of Catalan students attend schools where Catalan is the primary language, regardless of their mother tongue (Villa 1995).

Galicia developed an all-bilingual system of education, which is meant to support their goals of language equity and increasing speakership among younger generations within the region. Galicia has been tweaking their model every five years or so since implementation in 1983. At its core, the model is structured to provide the same number of hours to each language, not favoring one or the other, so as to promote harmony between them in each school setting. The Galician Government (Xunta), provides the bilingual education plan to be complied with by all public schools. The plan stipulates that each school split their subjects down the middle, teaching half in Castilian and half in Galician. Galicia faced a unique uphill battle in regards to normalization implementation, and this battle is ongoing. Due to its abundant dialectical variety,
coupled with its low prestige level, some Galician speakers resisted the idea of standardization, which was necessary before language education implementation.

**Galician Language Planning**

As Milroy (2001) points out, most of us take our language for granted, believing that is how it has always existed. A standard language culture, as Milroy terms it, is ignorant to that arduous process by which a prestigious norm has been created in any language, through assessing dialectical varieties and imposing uniformity upon them. Over centuries, as the Kingdom of Castile and Leon subsumed Galicia and settled its urban centers with clergy and elites, the Galician language developed a reputation as a poor man’s language of low prestige. Over the years, urban inhabitants habitually spoke Castilian, and left Galician to be spoken by farming families in the countryside. During the Franco years, Galician was inadvertently protected by its low usage in cities and high retention in rural villages and hamlets. Each of these villages belongs to a different linguistic zone in Galicia, exhibiting different dialects and vastly different accents depending on how far north or south, coastal or inland it is situated. Despite these differences, Galician on the whole is considered to be a unifying symbol of Galician identity, spoken by people of the land. The language serves as a key difference of identity between Galician people and other Spaniards, despite its high level of variety among speakers. To this day, the Southern inland zones bordering Portugal exhibit non-standard varieties and the heaviest accents, while the Northwest coastal zone more readily speaks standard Galician, with an accent similar to Castilian.

Normalization, as elucidated by Haguen (1987), incorporates efforts to change linguistic speech behavior and social attitudes towards language domains. In order to implement normalization in Galicia, a three-pronged plan was utilized. Galician language planning followed
the classic pattern of standardization, status elevation, and domain infiltration. Language corpus planning introduced a norm of speech and writing for the new autonomous government to be promoted through written texts, media, and schools. A standardized lexical, grammatical, and phonological codification of Galician was established based upon an existing variety of Galician. Through status planning, an effort to expand the social and geographic range of the language domains and improve its status among speakers was undertaken. By moving it from the countryside to the city and from the family to the boardroom, the status of the language would hopefully be elevated to that of the status of its new domains. When positive attitudes about the language’s usefulness and acceptability permeate society, acquisition planning next capitalizes upon new domains of use by acquiring new speakers. Through institutional, and later collective use, a robust Galician language culture was to be expanded and maintained (Beswick 2007).

Controversies surrounding the elaboration of a Galician standard had begun even before democracy but were reignited with the introduction of official bilingualism in 1978. Two main intellectual groups had formed around politically infused ideologies regarding what the standard should be. Independentistas (independents) and reintegracionistas (re-integrationists) both have roots in late 18th and early 19th century intellectual circles, where the rebirth of Galician was used as a nationalistic symbol in the Galician separatist movement (Regueira Fernandez, 2006). Both groups believe in the formation of a standard as it would enhance the nationalist cause, strengthening through historic validation an ethnic and national difference worthy of independence. The groups continue to disagree, however, on what historic trajectory the language was on, and which it should take next.

Independentistas believe that Galician will only survive if it moves away from both Portuguese and Castilian into an independent realm. They hold that the political split between
Galicia and Portugal in the 14th century subsequently changed the language, resulting in two distinct languages. Likewise they believe that Castilian must be kept from further influencing Galician, justifying an autonomous language not a dialect of Portuguese or Castilian (Valeiro 2003). The small but vociferous group of Reintegracionistas holds to earlier forms of the language as being true Galician and advocates for Galician to be more closely aligned with Portuguese. Historically, Galician and Portuguese were the same language, forced to a split by Castilian invasion and suppression (García Negro 2000). Reintegracionistas argue that if Galician had been allowed to flourish it would have evolved along Portuguese orthographic lines instead of being hampered by Castilian influence (Beswick 2007). The current standard of Galician aligns closely with independentistas, and they were the group most involved with the creation of the orthographic norms after 1978.

These standard language debates continue to this day, no longer isolated in academic circles but joined into by students and the upper middle class with particular political leanings. More radical advocates for Galician independence tend to take up reintegracionista views concerning the language, believing that the current standard still bows to Castilian dominance over Galician roots. Independentistas tend to take a moderate view of the political situation even though nationalist parties such as the Fronte Popular Galega have sided here as well, seeing it as a more viable solution for the language as it stands (Regueira Fernandez 2006).

Underlying these debates is an ideology of what Galician nationality and ethnicity entails. To reintegrate into a northern Portuguese standard of language would be to assert a more historically and ethnically aligned identity with Portugal than with Spain, in essence ignoring the last 500 years of Spanish rule. Unspoken in the reintegracionista movement is the economic and political advantage that would accompany being more in sync with the global Portuguese
community (Beswick 2007), not to mention the dozens of Galician emigrant communities prospering in Portuguese speaking countries. As it currently stands, Galician has moved away from any prestige level associated with Portuguese even scathingly referred to as a backwards, antiquated variety of the language, a “poor man’s Portuguese” as wrote Portuguese philologist Rodriguez Lapa (1973). Independentistas argue that reverting to Portuguese dialects would rob Galicia of the identity it has developed because people would be again forced to read and use a foreign orthography. To remain linguistically independent is generally considered the middle road, accepting Galicia’s literal and symbolic positioning in between its Portuguese past, within its current Spanish borders (Valeiro 2003).

Despite these ongoing debates, the official standard form promoted in Galicia is that of independentistas, a unique language with both Portuguese and Castilian influence. The regulation governing the use of Galician is the Linguistic Normalization Law of Galicia ratified in 1983. This law was implemented to promote the use of Galician in official domains previously reserved for Castilian, such as education, media, and administration. Today, Galician is used for all administrative purposes, and the language appears on all official documents and public signage. While Castilian is more common in urban churches and Galician more common in rural churches, services in either language can be found anywhere in Galicia and most churches offer at least one service in the less predominant language of the given locale. There is one all Galician language TV channel, as well as one all Galician radio station. Both are publicly funded media outlets under the same organization, Corporación Radio y Television de Galicia (CRTVG) (Radio and Television Corporation of Galicia). The popular regional newspaper La Voz de Galicia (The Voice of Galicia) has one permanent column in Galician in addition to occasional Galician penned op-eds and an annual all-Galician issue. The use of standardized Galician in the
education system is particularly key as it bolsters speakership numbers, enforces the standard form, and socializes the population for normal use of the language in multiple spheres of society.

**Galicia’s Bilingual Education Policy**

The Linguistic Normalization Law of Galicia mandates the use of Galician in the education system as the main language of teaching and learning (Xunta de Galicia 1983). Galicia utilizes an immersion program, in which subjects are taught using either Galician or Castilian depending on mother tongue, grade level, and institution. Reception to the mandate has been mixed, as have attitudes regarding their aims and effectiveness. Many academics (Wardhaugh 1987; Fernandez Rodriguez et al 1994; Gutiérrez et al 2007), and, as I will point out in Chapter 6, teachers, think the laws fail in their aim to promote competence and use of Galician.

Title III, Article 12:1 of the Linguistic Normalization Law introduced compulsory teaching of Galician to all public school students in 1983. This law solidified Galician as the official language of education at all levels, guaranteed children the right to receive early education in their mother language, and ensured that the study of Galician would be compulsory in all levels of pre-university education. Specific educational instructions for implementation of the model have been periodically elaborated since 1983. Following are the current language education laws; most recently updated in 2015, which all public schools in Galicia must comply with.

**Article 5.- Early Childhood Education**
1. In early childhood education, teachers will use the predominant mother tongue of students in the classroom, also taking into account the language of the environment to ensure that students acquire, orally and in writing, knowledge of the other official language of Galicia within the limits of grade or stage.
2. The predominant mother tongue will be determined by the school, using results of questions given to parents/guardians of students about the first language of their son/daughter before the start of the school year.
3. Individual attention will be paid to students regarding mother tongue.
4. Each school must protect both languages by specifying activities, projects, and learning strategies to be carried out in the lesser-utilized language, so that students acquire oral and written knowledge of both languages.

Article 6.-Primary Education
1. Guarantees the acquisition of linguistic competence in each level or stage of both official languages of Galicia.
2. Language subjects will be taught in the referenced language.
3. The subjects of natural, social and cultural sciences will be given in Galician, and mathematics will be given in Castilian.
4. Each school will decide in which language to teach the remaining subjects for each grade, guaranteeing that the materials taught in Galician and Castilian are given equal percentage of hours per week, without prejudice to chapter IV (on the teaching of subjects in foreign languages). This distribution process will be held every four school years.

Article 7.-Obligatory Secondary Education
1. Guaranteed acquisition of linguistic competence in each level or stage of both official languages.
2. Raw language subjects will be taught in the language of reference.
3. The subjects of social sciences; geography and history, natural sciences; biology and geology will be given in Galician, and mathematics, physics and technology, and chemistry will be given in Castilian.
4. Each school, according to the procedure described in the school regulations, will decide how to divide the remaining subjects between the languages for each grade, ensuring that the materials in Spanish and Galician are given the same percentage of hours per week, without prejudice to chapter IV (on the teaching of foreign languages). This distribution process will be repeated every four school years.

Xunta de Galicia (2010)
https://lexislacioneducativa.wordpress.com/2-2/16-linguas-e-plurilinguismo/

Similarly to the Catalonian model, the Galician public school system sets aside a group of subjects to be taught in Galician through primary and secondary school. It is important to note however, that unlike in Catalonia, educación infantil (preschool and kindergarten) is to be given in the child’s mother tongue or first language. Before 2007 this stipulation applied to both early childhood and primary education years. This has been the subject of much criticism, with many claiming that language bias will have already been solidified by the time that children get to older grades. The research of Fernandez Rodriguez et al. (1994) found that although positive
steps had been taken to introduce Galician into the classroom, the percentage of people who
could understand and speak the language was nowhere near equal with the percentage who could
read and write the language. While over 90% of respondents claimed to understand Galician, less
than half could read it, and less then a third claimed writing competency. Studies such as this,
coupled with census data, found that by the early 1990s not enough had changed to elevate
Galician into a written language on par with Castilian (IGE 2013). Further changes were made to
the language laws in the mid 1990s, provisioning the minimum subject hours for Galician
instruction. The law was again changed in 2007, mandating that primary school education (ages
5-13) also be given 50 percent in Galician and 50 percent in Castilian, divided by subject. It has
changed again, most recently in 2010, stipulating that the subject distribution process repeat
every four years.

In addition to a Galician language course, classes taught in Galician have usually been
designated as the social sciences, history, biology, and geology. Castilian is reserved as the
language of instruction for math, technology, physics, and chemistry. Furthermore, every 4 years
each school decides how the remaining subjects are to be divided between the languages while
making sure the same number of classroom hours are given to each language. These language
laws are to be carried out identically by each school throughout the region regardless of language
predominance.

The specificity and ever changing nature of Galician language laws is in part due to
practices that were solidified during dictatorial rule. During the Franco years, each village did
things differently depending on the amount of Castilian and Galician speaking teachers and the
amount of regulation from the central government they experienced. In many rural villages,
students were taught completely in Galician, despite the harsh crackdown on regional languages.
In cities on the other hand, students were taught in Castilian, populating urban centers with students who would grow up never learning Galician. These geographic behaviors continued well into the 1990s even after the death of Franco, with rural villages enjoying the freedom to teach and speak totally in Galician and urban schools continuing to speak Castilian by default, despite positive attitudes towards the Galician language (Seminario de Sociolinguistica 1996). The tendency to code switch which was observed right before the democratic transition, especially from Galician to Castilian in urban environments (Castillo & Perez Vilariño 1977; Del Campo & Tezanos 1977) is a behavior that persists today. The elaboration of Galician language laws attempts to addresses and correct this geographic linguistic discrimination.

**Galician Usage Today**

Despite a long history of cultural and linguistic suppression, which was detailed in Chapter 3, Galicia retains a high level of speakership in the region, much higher than Catalonia and Basque Country due to a variety of historical factors. When the Kingdom of Castile settled Galicia in the 15th century, Castile reestablished cities, which had declined since the Roman Empire, clustering their language and minimizing its influence from the largely agrarian Galician populace. Galicians only felt the need to code switch in domains controlled by Castilians, such as church and urban spaces. While Catalonia and Basque Country had long since industrialized, pulling rural populations to cities such as Barcelona and Bilbao, Galicia remained an agrarian economy with small urban populations throughout the Franco years. Galicia’s largely rural population protected the language from policing, which was far more enforceable in urban spaces. Unlike Catalonia and Basque Country, Galicia never received immigrants from other parts of Spain, as Galicia has always been an underperforming economic region. The lack of immigration kept language unmodified in the region. These factors have protected the language...
until recently, as industrialization and urbanization fuelled by EU economics has grown Galicia’s urban populations, and as a result the number of people who speak Galician as their primary language has decreased (see Chapter 4). Galician continues to lack status in those historically Castilian spaces. Despite the co-official status of the Galician language in the region, white-collar workers associated with cities have continued speaking Castilian, the language of higher prestige, whereas farmers and villagers continue to use Galician.

Data taken from the IGE every five years since 2003 gives an indication of general language use patterns along various indexes. IGE is a Galician government organization and established in the late 1990s to gather statistical information about economic, demographic, and social issues. The language statistics are based on interviews conducted across the region in various social, professional, and educational settings. Figure 11 shows habitual language use as a percentage among all Galicians from 2003, 2008, and 2013. The percentage that always use Galician has gone notably gone down from 2003 to 2013. Likewise, the percentage of people who always use Castilian has gone up from 2003 to 2013 (IGE 2013). This is more than likely due to rural depopulation as young Galicians move in greater numbers to urban areas where
Castilian predominates. Bilingual use is still more prevalent than sole use of either language overall.

Tables 3 and 4 display language competency within the education system. The percentage of Galicians with a high school diploma or above who can understand Galician perfectly, while high at 71.74%, is down from 2003 at which time 80.89% of high school seniors understood all of it. Looking at writing competency in Galician, the numbers are even less optimistic as the percentage of high school seniors who were proficient at writing in Galician in 2003 fell by 3.97% in 2013 (IGE 2013). These drops in language competency have occurred despite institutionalized language laws throughout the region and normalization laws described earlier in this chapter. Despite the co-official status and careful implementation of normalization laws and education policies, Galician is still generally used in vernacular form and relegated to rural places and familial spaces. Castilian is still used in urban places and in spaces of formality, intergroup functions, and with strangers (Beswick 2007). Although language use in Galicia is not categorical and the right to use either language in any situation is protected by law, the picture that presents itself is one of geographical bifurcation between urban and rural Galicia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Proficient</strong></td>
<td>80.89</td>
<td>70.46</td>
<td>71.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adequate</strong></td>
<td>15.75</td>
<td>24.15</td>
<td>23.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Poor</strong></td>
<td>3.35</td>
<td>5.39</td>
<td>4.53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. High school educated Galician language competency levels (IGE 2013)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Proficient</strong></td>
<td>41.94</td>
<td>36.11</td>
<td>37.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adequate</strong></td>
<td>30.57</td>
<td>37.44</td>
<td>34.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Poor</strong></td>
<td>27.49</td>
<td>26.45</td>
<td>27.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. High school educated Galician writing competency levels (IGE 2013)
Conclusions

In 1978, Spanish regional languages gained co-official status with Castilian, yet regional languages are still not on equal footing with the majority language of the state, particularly in Galicia where social norms keep regional language prestige low and geographically isolate speakers. Laws within each region have sought to regain use of their unique language in a variety of ways. Utilizing normalization laws to promote language use in all contexts, Catalonia, Basque Country, and Galicia have developed education policies that disseminate standardized official languages to fit their regional populations. In Galicia, a bilingual situation is promoted through a standardized curriculum consisting of classroom hours to be divided between school subjects, half to be taught in Galician and half in Castilian. Despite normalized implementation of education policies since 1983, the linguistic situation in Galicia shows a slip in speakership with speakers being lost every few years as elderly speakers die and younger speakers move to cities where code switching to Castilian is the norm. To begin to form an idea of what is occurring, it is necessary to go into institutions and talk with teachers about where these policies are and are not connecting with speakers and what practices are perpetuated in classrooms.
CHAPTER 6- LANGUAGE BEHAVIOR IN URBAN AND RURAL SCHOOLS

Increased regional autonomy has allowed for the incorporation and promotion of local languages within the state system. Education policies are of utmost importance to the continued survival and usage of national languages. Sub-regional language segregation however, begs the question as to how language policy implementation differs between schools in a given region. In Galicia, the two official languages of Castilian and Galician have been incorporated into the education framework. Language laws dictate the ‘equal and harmonious’ use of both languages in all educational settings, (rhetorically) providing the necessary groundwork for both languages to thrive. The language laws reflect the positive attitudes Galicians have toward the use of both languages. The linguistic reality, however, is far different from the harmonious language situation that the laws are meant to foster. Other legal rhetoric dictates that Castilian is the only language required to be known by all Galicians, despite education laws which mandate equality of the two, which suggests a tolerance oriented rather than a promotion oriented atmosphere (Kloss 1971; 1977). These laws are aimed at reversing a trend of language shift within Galicia where within a rapidly urbanizing economy, the national language of Galician is being used less frequently. The language shift perpetuated in Galicia is rooted in a longstanding linguistic geography wherein Castilian is seen as the language of higher prestige and therefore spoken in urban settings where places of business and cultural exchanges are more common. Galician, due to its historic relegation in the countryside, is seen as a language of the lower class and the uncultured. Consequently the majority of Galicians have chosen to switch to Castilian more and
more frequently, particularly in urban spaces and for socially formal purposes. Galician, on the other hand, is generally still spoken in rural settings and for informal, familial contexts.

Language trends in Galicia have remained consistent for generations despite language laws implemented in 1982 that promote the equal use of both. Due to the fractured linguistic geography of Galicia, research as to the differences in classroom language use between urban and rural schools is necessary to gauge the effectiveness of language policy and attitudes toward the government legislation of linguistic education policies in different locales. Are geographic disparities of language use in Galicia perpetuated in schools, and if so, do educators deviate from the language policies? How do both teachers feel about the Galician language and language education policies on the whole? By answering these questions, I can begin to extrapolate the nature of linguistic nationalism and national identity sentiments between urban and rural locales in Galicia and similar regions. Following my research design, this chapter will explore my findings classroom language use, attitudes towards the education laws, and the Xunta’s treatment of the language from teachers across my urban and rural school samples. This data will be corroborated with student perceptions of language of instruction and student language habits at each location.

**Research Design**

This case study has been analyzed by gathering interview data to be triangulated with legal documents regarding Galicia’s language policies. Interview data probes for formal and informal language practices, language usage and attitudes, and attitudes about language legislation and linguistic identity from a sample of teachers and students in urban and rural schools in Galicia. I visited six schools in total, three urban and three rural, to talk to teachers and students. I interviewed convenience samples of 8-11 teachers and 8-10 students from each
school. In NVivo, I coded this data for themes of national identity, national image, language attitudes, urban/rural divide, political mistrust, teacher language comfort, code-switching contexts and frequency, policy comprehension, and policy attitudes. The design of my research secures confidence in the validity of my data and its ability to show geographic differences in language policy adherence, linguistic nationalism, and the role that schools play in (re)producing a linguistically segregated geography in Galicia.

Site

Many communities in the world have experienced the subjugation of regional language in favor of central state language. In order to investigate linguistic separation between urban and rural spaces, I chose a site that is still in the early stages of language shift, a region that still exhibits high speakership levels of both the regional and central state languages. Galicia is a multilingual historic community in the northwest of Spain (Figure 12). From 2011-2012, I lived in Galicia, and worked as a teacher in a rural school. It was then that I became aware of the socio-linguistic divide and apprehensive feelings of Galicians toward their political representation. This position as a former American teacher in the region and as a fluent Castilian speaker gave me an insider/outsider position while conducting the research (Kusek & Smiley

Figure 22. Galicia (blue) within Spain. Map compiled by Mark Rhodes
The position aided me in this project, as it provided otherwise impossible access to schools, and classrooms to collect data, as well as built upon an established trust network that I had maintained over the years. Furthermore, it would have been impossible to conduct the interviews in English not only because Galicia has a low level of English competency (Eurobarometer 2012), but also because the sensitive and detailed nature of discussing identity, language, and the minutiae of everyday practice necessitates that the interviewee be able to fully express their experience in one of their mother tongues. I conducted the majority of the interviews with both myself and the subject speaking in Castilian. In 13 of my interviews, the interviewee was more comfortable with Galician or a mix of Castilian and Galician; In those interviews I still spoke Castilian, but later had a Galician help me with the translation and transcription.

Due to Galicia’s substantial rural tradition coupled with the relative similarity of the languages, both Castilian and Galician maintain high speakership levels by the vast majority of Galicians. The fact that Galicians are able to choose which language to speak in which setting allows for a rich study into the linguistic geography of the region and what it reveals about nationalist sentiment, identity, and citizenship. The complex historical, social, and economic processes that inform regional language shift necessitate a case study (Yin 2014). A case study allows for the inclusion of the context surrounding geographically skewed language shift in modern Galicia.

**Samples & Sample Size**

I visited six school sites in Galicia in June 2015 during their final weeks of instruction (Figure 13). The schools used in the study were suggested by Galicians to be either urban or rural and had populations fitting the description of either locale; I was directed to three schools in
metro areas and three in villages. These sites provide the data necessary to compare language usage between urban (U) and rural (R) schools in the region. Using my privileged insider/outsider position, I secured my school sites from two former co-workers, one of whom works in the rural school of Monterroso where I used to teach and the other in the urban school of Ferrol. Table 5 outlines relevant data about each school locale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School site</th>
<th>Monterroso</th>
<th>Palas del Rei</th>
<th>Navia de Suarna</th>
<th>Ferrol</th>
<th>Betanzos</th>
<th>Lugo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Locale</td>
<td>Rural interior</td>
<td>Rural interior</td>
<td>Rural Eastern border</td>
<td>Urban Northwest coast</td>
<td>Urban Northwest inlet</td>
<td>Urban interior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metro population</td>
<td>3,779</td>
<td>3,601</td>
<td>1,254</td>
<td>419,800</td>
<td>419,800</td>
<td>98,560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Density</td>
<td>82/sq mile</td>
<td>47/sq mile</td>
<td>13/sq mile</td>
<td>17,130/sq mile</td>
<td>17,130/sq mile</td>
<td>770/sq mile</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. School site information (IGE 2013)

Figure 13. Urban (red) and rural (blue) school sites (Google Tables 2015)
My sample size was an overestimate to ensure that I would have sufficient corroborative data to answer my question soundly. Josselson and Lieblich (2003) agree that saturation, or redundancy of results, is the key determinant in sample size. Guest, Bunce, and Johnson (2006) determined that theoretical saturation is complete after twelve interviews, which is less than half of my sample for each group. It was clear by the end of my interview gathering that I had a thoroughly saturated overall data set with my 54 teacher interviews and 48 student questionnaires. Answers to my questions had yielded largely the same results, and no new information had emerged from either group by the end of collection.

**Instruments & Raw Data**

This research project utilizes a set of semi-structured interview questions for teachers, and simple questionnaires for students (see Appendix A for interview and questionnaire protocol). I tested questions on pilot groups of Galician acquaintances before entering the field, so they had been thoroughly work-shopped to avoid any translation errors. Many others have successfully utilized (semi)structured interviews to answer questions of identity and language use, such as Papademetre (1994), who conducted interviews of Greek diaspora in Australia to probe for linguistically expressed identity, and Goldstein (1995), who used a structured question set as well as conversation to analyze social belonging amongst Portuguese line workers. Haste (2004) outlines ways in which interviews can be used to gather data about citizenship education and national identity. She urges interviewers to be cognizant of positioning and the importance of interviewee self-identification and narrative. Following the *Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Kvale, 2009) and Haste’s (2004) outline for conducting interviews on identity and citizenship, I probed any pertinent themes as they come up in conversation with further unscripted questions. Most subjects were interviewed alone and asked the same set of questions.
Two of my interviews took place in group format, with groups of two and three teachers respectively who chose to sit together and each answer one by one. Each of the teachers I interviewed answered the same base set of 12 semi-structured questions. Some were asked probe questions in addition to this set. Following the interview techniques of Helms (2004), Goldstien (1995), and Papademetre (1994), my extra probes were utilized for clarification of answers to my question set and to glean more thematic information. I only deviated from my interview protocol by using an unscripted probe in four of my fifty-two interviews. Teachers were audio recorded during the interview, from which I acquired audio data ranging from 5-15 minutes in length for each subject. Students answered three questions in a quick questionnaire format, while I noted their responses in writing. This process resulted in rich data that is comparable across subjects and school sites.

**Data Treatment**

Interviews were translated from Castilian and/or Galician into English before being entered into data management software. I translated and transcribed the Castilian interviews while a Galician assistant did the bulk of work on translating the Galician interviews. This assistant is a Galician whom I met while living in the region in 2012. The translated and transcribed interviews were entered in NVivo where I coded sentence units along the thematic constructs of regional citizenship, national identity, language comfort, code-switching (frequency and contexts), and policy (comprehension and attitudes). I utilized the software to display my data in quantitative form and assigned theoretic value to code frequency in order to easily display my results. The last question of my interview lends itself to word count (see Appendix B for full word list). I have used a word cloud to display this data, using the visual to drive home the themes of linguistic nationalism that have been teased out of my data as a whole.
I aggregated the urban and rural data to show theme frequency between and within the two groups, resulting in comparable data sets with which to answer my research questions. The coded interviews and word count data reveal the linguistic phenomenon at play in this region and help to understand the attitudes of teachers and students in Galicia. Furthermore, analyzing my data in this way allows me to explore the nuance of language difference between my urban and rural groups and display the subtleties of difference in code switching, classroom language use, home language use, and student usage. I have also compared the coded data sets for themes of national identity, looking for difference or similarity in identity and language sentiment. The coded interviews allow me to quantify my findings by weighted theme and self-identified language use perception. My analyzed data has also allowed me to easily pull out illustrative quotations to demonstrate themes.

While coding, I kept a constant validity check by looking for disagreements among key informants, looking for informant accuracy, and most of all welcoming negative evidence. None of my key informants disagreed, and inaccuracy among my informants was rare although welcomed because that shed light on their interpretation of what was happening. I did, however, interview two people who gave me negative evidence. I welcomed these challenges and in the end found they fit in with the set of theories I have used to inform my direction.

**Geographical Language Norms**

In Galicia, as in many bilingual communities, a well understood urban/rural divide exists between languages. Efforts to reverse the linguistic bifurcation of Galicia along geographical and social lines have focused on schools, themselves a space of social reproduction. As described in detail in Chapter 5, Galicia has implemented laws that establish the “equal and harmonious use” of its co-official languages of Castilian and Galician in all public schools throughout the region.
The Galician education policy established in 1983 mandates equal classroom hours be distributed between Castilian and Galician, minus foreign language hours. The most recent amendments to the education laws made in 2010 mandate that the core subjects of Geography, History, Biology, and Geology are to be taught in Galician, whereas Math, Chemistry, Physics, and Technology are to be taught in Castilian. The remaining subjects are to be equitably distributed between the languages by each school. The distribution process is to take place every four years, and each school must demonstrate language hour compliance to a visiting government auditor each year. Despite the highly regulated educational setting mandated by these laws, my findings indicate various types of code switching, teacher non-compliance, and/or school non-compliance between interviewees and school sites, which perpetuate the urban/rural language divide so referenced as an area of concern from both the Xunta and the Galician people. Despite language laws attempting to standardize the use of language throughout Galicia, the geographical language norms distinguishing urban and rural populations are replicated by language practices within urban and rural schools.

As detailed in Chapter 4, urban areas speak more Castilian, which is the official language of the Spanish central state, whereas Galician continues to be spoken in villages. The urban/rural linguistic divide in Galicia is well known and commonly referred to by interviewees. When teachers were asked which language students in each school prefer, they overwhelmingly replied Castilian in urban and Galician in rural schools (Table 6). Accompanying these perceived preferences was often commentary about the urban rural language differences:

I think it depends on the environment. And by environment I mean the geographic zone, the language of the area, what language predominates more in which zone. And Galician right now of course, is not doing so well, every year there are fewer speakers in some industrial zones, and this is one of them.

-Ferrol (U) #1
There are people who want to stop the influence of Galician. When I was in other schools like Ferrol (urban), because of the prestige of Castilian, or because of the history of that zone, almost 100% of the students speak Castilian. So the only contact that they have with Galician is in the classes where it’s given. It doesn’t transmit to where students speak Galician between themselves. Schools like Ferrol it’s terrible. So in that sense they are “de-galicianizing” in these places. On the other hand in an interior school like Navia, everyone speaks Galician.

-Navia (R) #4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Galician</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castilian</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;No Difference&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Teacher references to Student Language Preferences

References to the linguistic differences between urban and rural speakers were made a total of 33 times from 23 informants. This theme appeared throughout the interviews, unprompted by any one particular question. History of the area is often cited as accounting for linguistic differences, stemming from economic inequality and social stratification that led to Galician being seen as a poor, uncultured language along with the rural populace who speak it. Some cited the Franco regime and its success in banning the use of Galician in cities. Internal migration has also affected some urban locations such as Ferrol, which houses a large military base, bringing Castilian speakers in from other regions although not nearly as many as Catalonia and the Basque Country experienced midcentury (Conversi 2000). Many spoke to the social inequities between language groups that have mirrored geographical language boundaries between urban and rural spaces in Galicia:

Galician is a language of rural people, so people always wanted to speak Galician less. If you speak in Galician, you are a person of less culture, less intelligence. That’s the largest problem.
Before 1983, Galician schools had never included the language in the official curriculum. During the Franco regime, monolingualism along with central state nationalism was brutally enforced. One interviewee spoke of her grandmother who witnessed children being beaten at school for speaking Galician. Through the collective trauma of being devalued as a people and society, over the years Galicians came to develop a complex of *auto-odio* or self hate (Ramilo 1992). Unlike Catalonia or Basque Country, Galicia is seen as much more quiet in its sense of national pride, not too aggrandizing or ambitious. Its national language consequently never gained usage in formal contexts and continued to be thought of as a language used in the home with family. These attitudes about language in Galicia are so entrenched that despite efforts to reverse language shift and sentiments as to the importance of Galician, the willingness to go outside of one’s linguistic comfort zone may be the missing piece in restoring usage of Galician.

*Language Practices*

Of the 54 teachers I interviewed, 24 taught at urban schools, and 30 taught at rural schools. Teachers answered questions such as “What language do you usually use in the classroom?” in order to gauge their language use. Since the law mandates they teach 100% of any given subject in one language or the other and since many teachers give more than one subject, this question is only helpful in establishing language heavy load for a given group of subjects, not necessarily for gauging language law compliance. Going into the interviews I had no way of selecting interviewees based on subject. Rather, I gathered a convenience sample which was randomly based on presence in the teachers lounge and willingness to be interviewed. Since some teachers teach more than one subject, they indicated the language they use most of the time and were tallied correspondingly. This question is not “What language are you supposed
to teach in by law?” but “What language do you usually use in the classroom?” purposefully asking for reality rather than law. Table 7 shows the language load distribution among interviewees. Due to the manner in which I recruited interviewees, the subject language load data in and of itself does not indicate an institutional language preference between geographic locations; it is merely a grouping distinction within each locale. It is an important base distinction from which to look at answers given in each group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Load Type</th>
<th>Urban Group</th>
<th>Rural Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Castilian Heavy Load</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galician Heavy Load</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50/50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7. Interviewee language loads

An important consideration when thinking about teacher language of instruction is that not every teacher lives in the village or city in which they teach. Due to the nature of the education system in Galicia, many teachers are placed in schools far away from where they live and have to wait to be promoted to get a teaching post closer to home. Many interviewees spoke of experiences at other schools, especially to make comparisons between language norms between urban and rural locales. Of the rural schools, Palas del Rei and Monterroso are both about 30 minutes one-way from the interior city of Lugo, and Navia is about an hour one-way. Most of the interviewees, regardless of school, live in cities and commute to work. All schools have majority urban commuters except for Navia, which only had two commuters from Lugo. Home language use is more predicated on where an individual grew up than where they currently live, illuminating a correlation between birth location and home
language use. When asked what their home language is, rural teachers collectively tallied 14 for Castilian and 16 for Galician. Urban teachers more definitively use Castilian with their families, with 15 Castilian and 8 Galician home speakers, and one individual who indicated equal usage of both at home (Table 8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Home language (Castilian)</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Home Language (Galician)</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Both                      |       | 0     |

Table 8. Teacher Home Languages

Because core subjects are pre-established by the Xunta and the rest pre-established by each school, many teachers must teach in their second language. While proficiency in both Galician and Castilian is a requirement for all public servants in Galicia, some teachers indicated a discomfort teaching in Galician, saying that their students prefer they speak in their first language so as to better transmit the materials. I found that sometimes these teachers are not native Galicians but transplants from neighboring autonomous communities such as Leon or Asturias. Mostly the teachers who made these comments grew up in Castilian speaking households, and continue to speak Castilian in their homes.

I however did not grow up speaking Galician because my mother always spoke to us in Castilian because she thought that if we spoke Galician in school we would be held back, that we would not be well thought of. So to me it’s a shame, I can speak it but its not very natural.

-Palas (R) #4

6 teachers spoke of personal language discomfort; two were urban teachers and the other four rural. However, another 10 references were made by 9 interviewees to general teacher language skill concerns. The teachers who made these references gave examples of teachers
being forced to teach in a language they are uncomfortable in and consequently teaching badly, code switching very often, or abandoning the required language for their language of reference all together.

I have been at schools where certain subjects were forced to be taught in Galician, and it ended up fostering bad blood between teachers, because some were forced to speak a language they were not comfortable with.

-Navia (R) #11

They are forcing you to speak, but it’s not natural, it's an exaggerated form. I think that teachers should be able to teach in the languages in which they are comfortable, and if not it’s an imposition which will not transmit the material well.

-Navia (R) #1

Interestingly, both personal language discomfort and general references to teacher language skill concerns came far more from rural schools. The rural predominance of this concern speaks to the greater need for Galician speaking teachers in rural schools where students actually prefer Galician as opposed to the urban schools where Galician is not the norm and therefore not a complaint from students and not a concern for teachers. One source spoke to the evolving situation as he has witnessed it since he started his teaching career:

“In 2001-2003, it was much worse though, because there were hardly any teachers who were Galician speakers that they could find to fill the hours teaching.”

-Navia (R) #4

**Code Switching**

A follow-up to teacher subject language load and teacher language preferences is discovering how often teachers code switch in the classroom and how the frequency fluctuates based on subject language and location. I asked this question of each of my interviewees and while many said “never”, most indicated code switching that was either self-induced, (due to being tired, angry, or needing to explain something with more clarity), latent (reflexive switching based on recipient preferences), or due to material constraints (books and other materials not
available in a subject language). Sociolinguistic code switching reflects power and inequality and indexes attitudes attributed to language groups across social categories (Auer 2013). Code switching activities are displayed in Table 9, clustered by language load in order to highlight code switching tendencies between languages and then organized by locale within the table to show behavior between groups. These numbers represent only teachers who reported code switching and do not represent total respondents. Analyzing the code switching activities between urban and rural schools in Castilian and Galician subject classrooms reveals the high frequency of code switching even in the regulated space of the classroom, and replication of sociolinguistic norms in Galicia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castilian Heavy Teaching Loads</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Code Switching (Often)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code Switching (Seldom)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Galician Heavy Teaching Loads</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Code Switching (Often)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code Switching (Seldom)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9. Self reported code switching

In the urban group, of the 13 Castilian heavy teaching load respondents only 1 indicated frequent or every day code switching, while 8 indicated seldom or less than once a week code switching. Conversely of the rural Castilian load heavy respondents, 6 indicated frequent code switching, while 2 indicated seldom switching. Switching from Castilian to Galician was more common in rural settings, as rural students presumably need to be spoken to more often in
Galician for clarification, discipline, or mere ease. Castilian was seldom swapped in favor for Galician in the urban group, as here Castilian predominates as the student language of choice.

Among the urban Galician heavy teaching load respondents, one reported switching often or every day, and six said they switch seldomly. Among rural Galician heavy respondents, ten claimed that they code switch often, and three reported seldom code switching in the classroom. Urban schools seldomly code switch whereas rural schools seem to code switch more even when teaching in Galician. These results seem to throw the presumed pattern off, however, the social prestige of Galician as a language comes back into play when looking at this data set. Galician has a short written history and an even shorter standardized tradition. Students have been known to habitually speak in Galician yet choose Castilian for writing purposes, and some respondents spoke about not having materials in Galician at which point they are forced to switch to Castilian. First language Galician speakers are more adept at switching languages than first language Castilian speakers since Galician speakers have historically needed to switch more often and in more contexts. The residue of the unequal prestige of Galician is present in this data set, as rural schools experience more code switching regardless of language of instruction, indicating the normalcy of diglossia for first language Galician speakers.

References to what I call latent code switching, or the usage of language based on what the other person speaks, were also made frequently when asking about language use and code switching. This type of code switching is not self-induced; it is an automatic reaction to accommodate the other person(s) in the conversational context. There were a total of eleven references to latent code switching from nine respondents in the urban group. Among the seventeen urban respondents who indicated some sort of classroom code switching, seven made references to latent code switching practices when speaking of their own language habits.
Another three respondents made general references to latent code switching as a problem that inhibits language learning.

Depending on how the students speak to me, I adapt to what language they speak. It depends on the students.

-Lugo (U) #7

In the rural group, there were 15 references to latent code switching among 11 respondents. Of the 21 teachers who acknowledge code switching while teaching, 8 said they switch based on what the students speak. Another 3 teachers spoke again of the tendency for Galicians to reflexively switch and that it is a problem not only for speakership levels but for the status of the language (Table 10).

“The reality is that the high class used Castilian, and that started a trend that is so difficult to stop if you don’t have a strong personality. Castilian was language A, and when there is not a clear conception of the use of one’s own language, it’s so easy for people to succumb to speak the other language… Is not about the legal fact, but the reality is that Castilian has more social prestige than Galician.”

-Palas (R) #1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latent Code-Switching</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10. References to Latent Code Switching

Code switching practices are developed based not only on conversational content but also on social consequences. Within any bilingual conversation, a negotiation process is taking place where each party decides what linguistic variety best transmits the rights and obligations implicit in each choice between speaker and addressee (Scotton 1983). Norms relating to one language over the other accompany choices made in this negotiation process. Norms attached to language
and language varieties are tacit knowledge among speakers, and build basic communicative
competence in a society. The language choices resulting from this negotiation process carry
social meaning and serve to either disrupt the social norm or reinforce it (Hymes 1972). In
Galicia the norm is to speak in the language and variety in which you are addressed, a practice
which promotes heteroglossia- the relative value of knowing standard and non standard Galician
and Castilian (Del Valle 2000). However, heteroglossia also ingrains linguistic indexes and
social norms despite there being value in knowing both languages. The prevalence of code
switching activities in a regulated space such as a classroom speaks to the embedded nature of
this practice in Galicia and mirrors the social and class structure of Galicia (Gal 1982; Hill 1985;

Many teachers who admitted to code switching in the classroom themselves did not
indicate there is any problem with it. One teacher from Navia said that teaching her math class
“one hundred percent in Galician, …(is) defiantly not what you are supposed to do”. Some in the
urban group assured me that there is no problem with the practice because everyone for the most
part understands both languages. Many teachers, along with some who code switch themselves,
pointed to various types of code switching as a real problem undermining the education laws in
Galicia. Most of the teachers who were outright with these comments were more stalwart of the
policies guiding their classroom language choices, indicating never or very seldomly code
switching themselves.

Despite the vast majority of my interviewees who find that the language education
system is not working and that something needs to change, about half are cognizant of code
switching and its function in replicating linguistic norms. Of those who are cognizant of the
function of code switching in undermining the language laws, more than half admit to code
switching themselves, out of ease, habit, or politeness.

I feel guilty. I mean that if I’m with people who speak Galician, I speak Galician, but
the moment that they speak to me in Castilian, I switch to Castilian, even though my
intent is to speak Galician.

-Ferrol (U) #7

Some individuals lamented the fact that Galicians so carelessly switch, comparing themselves to
Catalonians, who switch less commonly.

In other communities like in Catalonia, they are much more serious about preserving
their language and making it normalized. In Catalonia, everyone speaks Catalan. It
doesn’t matter if you speak to them in Castilian they will reply in Catalan. Here that
doesn’t happen; people switch. Especially in cities, where people continue to
stigmatize Galician as something bad. So there is a handicap on our ability to
normalize and preserve the language.

-Palas (R) #4

(we are viewed) as a community that is very apathetic. We are not viewed as a
nationalist community [laughter] like people view the Basques or the Catalans.

-Betanzos (R) #6

In addition to teacher practices, student surveys corroborate language behavior between
locations. Student surveys support the teacher interview data that indicate the school sites have
different language practices between urban and rural locales. As seen in the teacher data,
mandatory language loads are often not adhered to, either partially through code switching or
wholly through disregard of the language laws. I asked students which language they speak with
their families, which language they prefer speaking with friends, and what percentage of the time
they think they are taught in Galician. The same students were asked all three questions. Average
answers displayed in Table 11 show how language norms in both urban and rural locales are
being replicated in the classroom. In urban schools Galician is the perceived language of
instruction an average of 40% of the time or less, whereas in rural schools it is half of the time or
more, up to an 81% average perception in Navia, the most remote of the sites. Some students
report speaking Galician with their families, yet switching to Castilian among their friend
groups, reflecting not only the relatively higher competency of Castilian among all Galician first
language speakers compared to Galician among Castilian speakers, but also the higher out group
prestige of Castilian. Galician at home and Castilian with friends was reported twice among rural
students, and six times among urban students (for full student data table see Appendix C)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Betanzos (U)</th>
<th>Ferrol (U)</th>
<th>Lugo (U)</th>
<th>Monterroso (R)</th>
<th>Palas del Rei (R)</th>
<th>Navia De Suarna (R)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Language</td>
<td>Castilian</td>
<td>Castilian</td>
<td>Castilian</td>
<td>Galician</td>
<td>Galician</td>
<td>Galician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>most used at home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Language</td>
<td>Castilian</td>
<td>Castilian</td>
<td>Castilian</td>
<td>Galician</td>
<td>Galician</td>
<td>Galician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>most used with</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galician</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11. Student questionnaire averages

Attitudes Toward the Language Laws and the Xunta

The majority of interviewees said they do not feel that the current language laws are
adequate to equalize Galician and Castilian. Often this apprehension was connected to a sense of
mistrust towards the Xunta and their sincerity in preserving the language. These sentiments came
from urban and rural schools alike. Out of the total 54 interviews, only 5 said they believe the
Xunta is sincere in their efforts to preserve the Galician language. Only 2 urban teachers and 2
rural teachers felt that the laws achieve linguistic harmony while the other 50 interviewees
strongly voiced negative opinions of the language laws as they stand. The most frequent theme
among these responses was the difference between the theory of the law and the application of it in the classroom:

Now days, there is lots of hypocrisy and incoherence from the legal to reality.
   -Palas (R) #1

Theoretically, it’s a good system. But in practice, there is not very much control about how it’s implemented. Some teachers are sensible and try to stick to the system, but others are not, and they throw in the towel, and go with what is easiest. And the kids don’t complain.
   -Monterroso (R) #7

Hypocrisy is noticeable, because it is always said that if there is an imbalanced situation the laws must favor the language that is in inferiority to try to compensate it; this is a positive discrimination that exists in many aspects of life. In this case, there was a moment where were enacted laws to reach that positive discrimination, but right now the laws just promote a legal balance that always is on the majority language side.
   -Palas (R) #1

Sentiments of disapproval also reflected the continuing decline of the language, implying that the laws have done little to help this language shift:

If you look at it by statistics, every year the number of Galician speakers lowers, or at least the number that say that they speak Galician.
   -Betanzos (U) #1

Other responses described the folly of changing the laws every few years when a new political party comes to power. Many spoke of not being able to keep up with these changes, and situations in which the teachers and/or administration lose the incentive to adhere to the language laws:

It always changing, depending on who is in charge; so it’s not adapted to reality, it’s adapted to political climate.
   -Monterroso (R) #5

Every time there is new leadership they change the laws. And I don’t think that that’s good for us. The way we have gained so many new laws in so few years; that affects the quality of our language programs. And that affects Castilian as much as Galician.
The theme of program quality was also prevalent within the question of legal attitude. As noted by the previous quote of Ferrol #1, teachers feel that the constant changing of laws negatively affects their ability to successfully impart either language. The word “forced” was used many times to describe the practical application of the laws, tension many said that students do feel. Interviewees noted that classroom compliance of the legal language hours can become very difficult when dealing with translations and working with books in the wrong language:

The languages are so similar in many ways that it gets hard, everything is contaminated, in that we don’t speak Galician well, nor do we speak Castilian well.

- Monterroso (R) #7

(Students) prefer you speak in the same language as the book. That makes everything easier for them. If they are always trying to translate, it’s hugely ineffective. Then they start to mix mechanics and learn both the languages badly.

- Palas (R) #9

Some teachers pointed out what they feel is a discriminatory portion of the law; The STEM subjects (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math) are mandated to be taught in Castilian, and the humanities in Galician. Many felt that this sends a subversive message about the relative value of the languages tied to the subjects, which are themselves given more value by most administrations and the Spanish Government.

(The laws treat Galician) very badly. They don’t give the sciences in Galician, by law, so it’s very bad for the kids, it sends a bad message about the language.

- Navia (R) #3

There is a certain discrimination. For example, there are some subjects that must be taught in Castilian, like math. Why can’t math be taught in Galician? Subjects associated with math and science is given in Castilian, and Galician is given in the humanities. So I don’t know, but I think that is certain discrimination. It’s a form of prestige transferal; these are the subjects of higher prestige, so they are imparted in Castilian. (…) We value math much more, so the administration utilizes this to advance Castilian.

- Navia (R) #5
I asked respondents to tell me if they thought the Xunta’s effort to preserve the Galician language is sincere. The vast majority immediately said no, often reiterating their disbelief several times. Only 5 rural respondents and 4 urban respondents said they believe in the Xunta’s sincerity. Of those 9 respondents, 4 followed up with a qualification such as “even though I am worried about the language” or “but it doesn’t appear to be working, does it?” The other 46 teachers spoke about a perception of hypocrisy from the Xunta. Many used figurative symbolism to illustrate what they feel is going on. Words like mask, smoke, and pantomime appeared multiple times throughout the interviews:

No. It’s political. On the part of the government it’s all a mask. It’s not important to them. On the contrary, right-leaning voters don’t want Galician, so they don’t promote it.

-Monterroso (R) #9

No. No, no, no. There is a lot of hypocrisy when it comes to language, and sometimes the theme of language gets treated as a cultural relic, like folklore.

-Navia (R) #5

I don’t think it bothers them much. They utilize it just as a mask, a pantomime. It’s a formality, but not really an interest.

-Lugo (U) #1

No. Politicians don’t utilize it, and they are not worried about it(…)From the Xunta right now it’s smoke, smoke, smoke, some pretty words about all this, and then leave to do something else. And it’s that same reason that no one really uses it, it’s all smoke.

-Palas (R) #8

Many of my interviewees pointed to the Xunta cabinet’s poor use of Galician. For many this seems to be proof of a false motive when it comes to the protection of Galician:

It is so common that members of political parties, they talk in Galician to their electors in their speeches. but they don’t believe at all in our language and they don’t use it in their families or socially.

-Palas (R) #1
I don’t think it interests them. The president of the Xunta speaks Galician very badly, very badly.

-Ferrol (U) #9

Some respondents made comments as to the changing nature of governmental sincerity, which depends on the political party in power. The right-leaning government of the moment is perceived to be more in line with Madrid and the central government, whereas the left-leaning Galician national party is thought to be very sincere in its efforts.

No, absolutely not. In regards to the current government? No. From my point of view, this government has an attitude against Galician. Whereas sometimes they demonstrate only what they need to be politically correct.

-Navia (R) #4

Depends on the government that is in power within the Xunta. Right now we have the PP (*Partido Popular*) and in for them it’s not a priority. Other governments that we have had have defended it more. The changes in government are reflected in the education system. You can tell.

-Monterroso (R) #1

Some respondents drew comparisons to the language laws in Spain’s other multilingual regions. These comparisons highlight what they see as the Xunta’s apathy in linguistic protection and normalization:

Yes there are norms, but in other communities, like in Catalonia, they are much more serious about preserving their language and making it normalized.

-Palas (R) #4

No, it’s political. Totally. They only do it because it gives them votes or something. What’s missing is the emotion behind it, emotion like the Catalans, or the Basques.

-Lugo (U) #7

(…) there are some who say the government needs to do more. If you look at other systems, especially like what they have in Catalonia, education is in Catalan, equal to Spanish. I think we should look to that, as well as Basque Country.

-Betanzos (U) #7
Conclusions

Language norms are replicated within Galician classrooms, furthering the linguistic divide between urban and rural Galicia. Despite language laws, differing language practices between urban and rural classrooms in Galicia indicate an institutional apathy regarding language of instruction. Well over half of the teachers interviewed indicate code switching out of their intended language of instruction either every day or once a week. Intergenerational habits built around the use of Galician for informal purposes persist. Some spoke to the tendency for themselves and students to write in Castilian regardless of class language load. Many teachers spoke of frustration in not being able to teach in the language that they want to, claiming that the mandatory language load is an “imposition” and “forced”. Some spoke to the inability to get sufficient Galician speaking teachers to fill the mandatory Galician classroom hours. These comments together with the tendency for teachers to code switch across the board point to an institutional passivity among all schools, both urban and rural. Student questionnaire data backs up the language practice information supplied by teachers, indicating far more Galician instruction in rural schools than urban schools, as well as student code switching from a home language of Galician to a friend group language of Castilian. Code switching at a high rate reinforces Galician as a familial in-group language and Castilian as a formal out-group language. Schools as spaces of social replication have been rightly targeted as a key space of language normalization implementation in Galicia. In order to promote the harmonious and equal use of both Castilian and Galician throughout the region, schools are mandated to give equal classroom hours to each. These practices are occurring in an atmosphere where teachers have overall negative attitudes about the laws they are charged with enforcing. A feeling of hypocrisy towards the government and consistently slipping speakership does little to bolster enthusiasm.
Deviations of various sorts construct a picture of school language use that is neither equal nor harmonious by the definition of Galicia’s normalization laws. In Chapter 7 I will look at attitudes surrounding Galicia’s position within Spain, and the language itself in order to get a clearer idea of how language is related to national identity in this region.
CHAPTER 7 - LANGUAGE, LANDSCAPE, AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN GALICIA

Language has always been central to the Galician national movement and remains key to the idea of Galician national identity. Many national movements utilize language as a token of difference, but its significance varies related to other factors such as economic strength, political sovereignty, and external support. Galicia has never been an economic powerhouse like Catalonia or Basque Country, and consequently it has been more dependent on the central state, suffering from a self-described inferiority complex (Ramilo 1992) due to a low level of social prestige assigned to Galician speakers. A certain stigma is still placed upon Galician as a language of the poor and uncultured, despite nearly forty years of legislation attempting to equalize Galicia’s co-official languages. As discussed in Chapter 6, normal code switching behavior often ignores the legislation in place, perpetuating the linguistic geography that has led to language shift; Galician is still used in informal settings and is more commonly spoken in rural areas whereas Castilian is used for formal purposes and is more often spoken in urban settings. Code switching is more prevalent in Galician heavy areas, indicating an overall comfort with both languages and a normalcy of code switching for first language Galician speakers. Despite the perceived stigma of Galician and normalcy of code switching behaviors, which contribute to language shift, the language is held up as the embodiment of Galician identity, tying its people to its history and its land. Language and landscape remain the biggest differences between Galicia and other Spanish regions, both of which tap into a sense of pride shared by the majority of Galicians, regardless of first language or nationalist tendencies. Galicians hold onto an overall positive, yet conflicted, mentality about their history, society, and their dual place both
within and apart from Spain. This mentality is reflected in the sentiments they attach to their language and the ways in which Galicians use their language to signify both concrete and imagined attributes of their landscape, unique as it is to the rest of Spain.

**Development of Galician National Identity**

Galicia has been under Spanish rule for over 500 years, its language surviving in the countryside, spoken by the agrarian region’s historically large rural population. Castilian started to be used by the wealthy and other privileged groups in the 14th and 15th centuries, as Castilian nobility began to take hold of land and the church (Rodríguez 1991). Castilian speaking nobility and clergy solidified the linguistic geography of the region that can be seen today, as they came to dominate cities and normalized Castilian for formal purposes, while relegating Galician to informal, familial usage. Consequently Galician has suffered from a low level of prestige, as it’s generally thought of as a poor man’s language and not suitable for use in cultured contexts (Beswick 2007; Barrero 1999; Suárez 2009). In the mid 19th century, political and social crises unfolded in Spain with the loss of their American colonies, facilitating an environment in which peripheral national identities were strengthened (Campos 2002). At the end of the 19th century, the Galician national movement of *Rexurdimento* (resurgence) utilized Galician in publications advocating for Galician pride and independence from Spain (Flitter 2000). Galicia’s intelligentsias have since fostered the language parallel to the rural Galician-speaking base.

Accompanying language cultivation were the building of cultural myths that served to differentiate the Atlantic culture of Galicia with the stereotyped Mediterranean culture of southern Spain (Campos 2002). Playing off of a mystical landscape and Christian mythology as the resting place of St. James, Galicia was portrayed as a spiritual and transcendental place, its people of a tragic spirit as opposed to the epic fantasies of Mediterranean lore (Garcia Martí
Rexurdimentos actively promoted the use of Galician as a salient marker of difference and employed these spiritual myths in writings on Galician history, culture, and oppression. In a poem by Galician nationalist Ramón Cabanillas (1996), a knight is sent forth by King Arthur from Wales to the land of Galicia where the Holy Grail appeared to a peasant along the Jacobean trail of St. James. Before leaving, the knight shrugs off all symbols of honor and bravery such as a sword and shield in favor of symbols of purity and spirituality, which are hallmarks of the Celtic race. Upon arriving in Galicia, he discovers a lush floral landscape, which reflects Galicia’s inherent purity and spiritual nature. Originally debuted in 1921, this poem demonstrates connections to European, and especially Celtic, heritage that Rexurdimento authors centralized in their works. The hero here is of a gentle nature with spirituality being his only goal. This figure is in clear contrast to famous Spanish heroes like Don Quixote, Don Juan, and El Cid, who fight with vengeance for honor and notoriety (Campos 2002). Because Galicia was not influenced by Moorish reach and its citizens were largely onlookers in the brutal Reconquista, Galician nationalists capitalized upon the differences between the north and south that these events produced. What developed after these events was a split between the Medieval Carolingian tradition and the Celtic tradition fostered in Galicia (Garcia Martí 1927).

The Galician language embodied the gentile, musical, and sensitive quality that nationalists worked to foster. These qualities stood in opposition to the epic expressions coming out of the Mediterranean (Campos 2002). The movement’s journal, A Nosa Terra, (Our Land) was written in Galician and was circulated throughout Galleguista (Galician nationalist) circles at home and abroad. Authors such as Rosalia de Castro and Alfonzo R. Castelao contributed to the re-birth of Galician, using it in their own poetry, literature, political satire, and in movement meetings (Patterson 2011). Rexurdimentos wrote history books, dictionaries, and grammars and
attempted to standardize Galician (Del Vale 2000; Sánchez Conejero 2004). In 1936, the movement produced a statute of autonomy in which the Galician language was declared as co-official with Castilian. That same year saw the breakout of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), leading to the Franco dictatorship, and the end of any hope for autonomy. At the onset of regime change many Galician intellectuals either fled or were later exiled to Latin American countries. Writers such as Castelao continued the nationalist movement from afar, playing upon the beauty of the language and recollections of the landscape to unify a global community of Galician emigrants to the nationalist cause. Works such as Follas Novas (New Leaves) by De Castro published in 1880 and Sempre en Galiza (Always in Galicia) by Castelao published in 1944 are held up to this day as manifestos of Galician nationalism.

**A Global Galicia**

Galicia’s emigrant history and massive diaspora are an important element in the construction of Galician national identity. Galicia’s identity as a place of linguistic, literary, and cultural heritage extends beyond its borders to a global Galician emigrant population (Rivas 1989). Much like Ireland, Galicia experienced a huge outpouring of population due to centuries of economic depression in an essentially feudal agrarian system (Beiras 1972; Ferrás 1996) and similarly aligned its real and imagined geographical identity as central to its collective national identity. This massive emigration occurred in many peripheral regions of Europe including Wales, Ireland, and Brittany, which share marine climates, agrarian economies, geographic isolation, and persistent poverty (Beiras 1972; García Fernández 1975; Villares 2004; Sánchez-Alonso 2000). Since the second half of the 19th century, Galicians have continuously migrated to and from the Americas. Most emigrants went in search of work, establishing Galician enclaves mostly in Latin American countries such as Argentina and Cuba. Some families returned,
spawning cross Atlantic relationships, which strengthened idealistic ties between revolutionary
movements in Cuba and elsewhere with the budding Galician resurgence movement back home
(Axeitos 2006; Bermúdez 2002). With the work of the transnational Rexurdimento in the late 19th
and early 20th centuries, the vast Galician population abroad were brought into the fold of
Galician nationalism, and the two were made aware that the reasons for leaving and the aims of
the cause were part and parcel to one another. In the middle of the 20th, the largest numbers of
Galicians were not in Spain but in the capital cities of South America. In 2012, Galicians abroad
made up 10 percent of Galician voters (LeFluer 2013), a significant number of the electorate.
Not surprisingly given these numbers, Galicia is one of the few places where politicians often
campaign outside of the nation (Hooper 2006). An estimated 10 million people worldwide can
trace their ancestry back to Galicia (Fillosdegalicia.org), and there are 400 cultural centers
around the globe that promote Galician culture and heritage to Galicians abroad.

Beginning with the journal A Nosa Terra and literary works including Castelao’s Sempre
en Galiza (which was written in exile) leading up to modern literature, films, and citizenship
rights of latter generation emigrants, Galicians abroad are constantly reintegrated into the
national consciousness and reminded of the Galician homeland (Colmeiro 2009).
Correspondingly, Galicians in Spain consistently cite the global Galician population, its history,
and its meaning as being significant in the imagining of the Galician nation as they know it
(Núñez Seixas 2002). The literature, personal family ties, and historical rhetoric contribute to
Galicia’s dual internal and external national identity (Colmeiro 2009; Patterson 2011; Romero
2006). This domestic/global nature of Galician nationality must also be considered alongside a
partial Spanish identity. More so than the Basque Country or Catalonia, Galicia due to its
historical economic disadvantage, has been more or less complacent in Spanish influx, trading
development, and urbanization for language shift. Catalonia and Basque Country have utilized their strong elite core to galvanize politically and socially against Madrid, elevating their own regional markers as status symbols above anything Spanish. In Galicia, the Spanish symbols have always been associated with wealth and status including the use of Castilian, which incentivizes many to switch languages in formal settings. Given this fact, the reality of diglossia and unequal prestige between Galician and Castilian persists. However, the love and care expressed for the Galician language is strong, and its history and survival are important to the Galician sense of national identity.

**Celtic Galicia**

Galicia proposes its Celtic heritage alongside its unique language throughout both medieval and modern popular culture, utilizing and benefiting from the Pan Celtic relationship to invoke and promote images of its green landscape and Atlantic maritime culture. In 1883 *Rexurdimento* authors wrote a history of Galicia, for the first time connecting Galicia to the Celtic race in an academic way, going beyond folklore to solidify the Celtic symbolism within Galica (Sánchez Conejero 2004). Galicia’s image of itself as belonging to the Celtic fringe is indicative of the mythology surrounding the region’s otherness within Spain. Celebrations of Galician culture are often centered around the maritime lifestyle and agricultural production of the region as well as traditional displays of music, dance, and dress connected to a Pan Celtic quality. Figure 14 shows a group of Galician bagpipers playing in the streets of Lugo during a festival. Bagpipes, wooden drums, people donning Roman togas or Celtic garb are common during the many festivals celebrated throughout Galicia’s calendar year. The use of these cultural
symbols emanate a rural and nostalgic view of Galicia’s premodern past and serve to highlight similarities with other Celtic regions such as Ireland and Scotland as well as the contrasts between Galicia and the rest of Iberia (Warf & Ferras 2015). While some scholars have questioned the accuracy of Galicia’s Celtic lineage (Fernandez Posse 1998), Galicia’s identity remains nonetheless tied to these founding myths as important distinctions of difference and national pride (Santana 2002). Galicia’s belonging to the Celtic fringe identity is further strengthened when considering the Galician landscape itself: green, wet, and lush, it gives the impression of a mystical and rugged quality akin to Ireland or Scotland. Among this landscape one does feel much closer culturally and geographically to the British Isles than to the typical imagery of hot and dry Spain. Like any landscape, the relationship between Galician national identity, language, and landscape is due to a collective transformation of nature, which has been imbued with spiritual, ideological, and symbolic layers of belonging (Clifford & King 1993; Häkli 1999). In the case of Galicia, this transformation has taken place over many thousands of
years and given value and sentiment by authors, poets, and politicians. This landscape is interpreted as a national symbol, speaking to the culture of the past and galvanizing the people of a nation in the present (Cossgrove 1989; McDowell 1994). Various iconic visions can be used to demonstrate the strong connection between the Galician landscape and the Galician nation of Celtic heritage and unique linguistic identity. Castle ruins from pre-Castilian Galicia dot the hills and mountains now overrun by wet moss. Ruined Roman settlements can also be found along the Galician coast, a potent link to Galicia’s past (Villas 1984)(Figure 15). This harsh coastline is a far cry from the gentle beaches of southern Spain. The mountains of Galicia act as a natural barrier from the rest of Spain; they helped keep the Moors at bay in the 14th century and helped slow the influx of Castilian culture and language to the region. The mountains also isolate Galicia’s maritime climate, producing the highest percentage of rainfall in the Iberian Peninsula, as well as a foggy atmosphere, which yields a mossy layer on most every stone building in the region. There are over seventy words for the various types of rain experienced throughout

Figure 15. Castro de Fazouro Roman ruins along the northern coast. Photo courtesy of Lindsey Olsen
Galicia (Carabaña 2012). For example *choviña* or *patuña*, both mean misty or very light rain, are used mostly around the municipality of A Ulloa. The rainy climate in Galicia has given it the nickname ‘green Spain’ in guidebooks, and indeed Galicians are very proud of their green landscape.

**Linguistic Landscape.** Layered upon the green and historic Galician landscape is another layer of nationalism, commonly found in the form of amateur graffiti. Manifestations of banal nationalism such as money, clothing, bumper stickers, and stamps are expressions of everyday life (Billig 1995). Graffiti is uniquely inexpensive and anarchic, finding presence in the everyday, but generally used by marginalized groups (Waldner & Dobratz 2013). This tool is utilized as a cheap means of political expression in Galicia, where the nationalist party has slipped out of electoral favor. One can typically find walls spray-painted with protest slogans admonishing Spanish rule (Figure 16) or hailing the nationalist party (Figure 17). Other common forms of graffiti protest in Galicia are signs changed from Castilian to Galician, exemplified by a sign on the Galician-Portugal border signaling the entrance into Spain, which is commonly crossed out with “Galiza” spray painted beneath to indicate the difference between entering Spain and entering Galicia. Other examples point out the failure of the government to uphold the legally mandated use of Galician for all official purposes. Figure 18 shows graffiti on top of a tourist plaque overlooking the nationally protected wine producing river valley *Ribera Sacra*, simply pointing out that it should be in Galician not in Castilian. Such displays tie language to the landscape, reminding viewers they are in a national community.
Figure 16. Graffiti in Santiago de Compostela. “Outside of Spanish Rule. Galician Cause” Source: Author

Figure 17. National party (BNG) graffiti. “Auto determination and Democracy” Source: Author

Figure 18. Graffiti over informative plaque. Source: Author
**Linguistic Nationalism**

Galician and Castilian have enjoyed co-official status within Galicia since 1978, and the use of Galician is protected in every setting. Galician normalization laws promote the use of Galician through teaching in schools and mandate all public sector workers have proficient use of the language. Officially, governmental policies attempt to correct a history of Galician subjugation and bring Galician back onto equal footing with Castilian. However, many are not happy with the normalization efforts as they have done very little for bolstering speakership or leveling prestige. Galician speakership has been on a steady decline despite its official presence in classrooms, media, and the government (see Chapters 4 and 5). While the language policies may have introduced Galician into contexts previously dominated by Castilian, they have done very little to change code switching behavior, or the overall stigma that Galicians attach to their language (Pellitero Ramilo 1992). Many feel that harmonious bilingualism is impossible given the unequal status and prevalence of diglossia between the two official languages (Fernández-Velho & Henríquez Salido 1991). The policies in and of themselves cannot alter the unequal status; rather, it is argued that the policies mask the fragile nature of Galician, promoting a falsely harmonious situation among speakers while actually doing nothing to address the real disparity.

Parallel to these dissents is a general feeling that the government appropriates the Galician language as a political tool. Since the language is so central to the region’s identity, rhetoric on planning and policies rallies support from the majority of the populace who are concerned about the survival of their language. Domínguez Seco (1993) analyzed school textbooks and found that language previously associated with nationalist parties has been appropriated and re-somaticized to match the discourse of non-nationalist regional governments.
The semiotic system that Galicians respond to is based on their long history of otherness and oppression within the Spanish state. Galicians respond to the semantics of nationalist language in which cultural markers of national identity are extolled as central to who they are as a regionalist nation. Centrist or right leaning party powers (non-nationalists) are seen as having utilized the causes of nationalism, promising such things as language protection, in order to gain support from the Galician populace. Over the years, language shift under these parties has continued, and many now feel the language policies in place serve to quell proponents of linguistic nationalism, as opposed to actually protecting the Galician language. Whatever the unhappiness with Galicia’s language policies, nationalistic fervor has not compelled Galicians to stop code switching behaviors or to eschew Castilian in favor of a wholly Galician identity.

As shown in Chapter 6, Galicians continue to normalize Castilian as a means of communication in certain contexts as well as accept a Spanish identity within the EU and beyond. Because of this dual identity, which is partially reflected back upon it by its outside connections, Galicia’s conception of itself is sometimes sad, longing for an idyllic past, or self-loathing, placing blame squarely on their own shoulders for lack of nationalistic fervor or economic excellence. Some maintain that Galician sadness is due to the lack of an essential self or a whole identity (López Valcárcel 1990), which will lead to a “cultural schizophrenia, a division in their social self” (Domínguez Seco 1993 p.149). Yet these emotions are complexly bound up with a sense of national pride especially with the use of the Galician language and an idealistic sense of homeland. Del Valle (2000) contends that while geographically uneven language shift is real, the language policies employed in Galicia are of a monoglossic nature, meaning they assume a western conception of one language one identity in which languages (and identities) in a bilingual society are in constant competition. Building off the work of Mauro
Fernández (1998), Del Valle (2000) writes that Galicia has a heteroglossic culture, in which language use is not intrinsic of a Galician or Spanish national identity, but where speakers of either language feel no less Galician nor are perceived to be any less Galician based on language choice. Based on this analysis, the prevalence of code switching in Galicia is not a political or cultural endemic but a normal and accepted performance of Galician identity in and of itself. Del Valle’s (2000) deduction of heteroglossia is certainly reflected in code switching behavior (see Chapter 5), as code switching is prevalent in both urban and rural locales, where language preferences differ drastically. However, what is not accounted for in such a harmonious picture of heteroglossia is the sense of sadness accompanying linguistic sentiment and lament surrounding language shift, which is recognized to be perpetuated by diglossia and code switching.

Language behaviors in Galicia certainly reflect the normalcy of heteroglossia yet when interviewees were asked to think about language practices, I found sentiments related to language practices such as code switching to be mixed. In the next section, I present findings related to linguistic sentiment based on my interviews with teachers across Galicia. Overall, there is a strong relationship between the Galician language and Galician national identity, and correspondingly, a sense of sadness associated with language shift. Galician is a strong marker of national identity, itself embodying tokens of ‘Galicianness’ including history, landscape, culture, and ancestry. This does not mean that the use of Castilian is exclusive of a Galician national identity, nor is the use of Galician exclusive of a Spanish national identity; they are nested identities and the interchange of both languages in Galicia is normal and even expected. However, Galicians across the board identify Galician as an important symbol whether they use
it or not and lament its shift as the impending loss of a portion of their identity. Linguistic nationalism in Galicia remains salient if not in practice, then at least in theory.

Linguistic Sentiment Among Galician Educators

The centrality of language to Galician national identity persists hundreds of years after *Rexurdimento* authors solidified these concepts as being quintessentially Galician. Most Galicians today are comfortable with dual Spanish and Galician national identities (Maíz 2003) as well as the near universal heteroglossia between Castilian and Galician (Del Valle 2000). Yet the Galician language is still held up as a token of what it means to be Galician, to know its history and be connected to the land. Likewise, fear of language loss is described as a loss of culture and a disconnection from the roots of Galicia. After centuries of language suppression, the connection between the Galician language and the land and people of Galicia is inextricable, despite the normal everyday linguistic practices that have propelled a shift of Galician in favor of Castilian.

Throughout the interview process, various comments were made that touched upon linguistic nationalism. Regardless of first language (preferred language), mother language (language first learned), or code switching activities, interviewees teaching at both urban and rural locales associated the Galician language to Galician national identity- a cultural patrimony connecting the people to the land and its history, handed down through the language. At the end of each interview, I asked the individual to give me three words that symbolized what the Galician language meant to them. Figure 19 is a word cloud of all these words given by interviewees. Many words were given multiple times by different individuals. The higher the frequency, the larger the word appears in the cloud. Many commonly chosen words indicate the general beauty of the language, its musical qualities, and its poetic history. Musical, beauty, and
sweet were common among words that carried this theme. Some respondents expanded upon their choices:

*Herrimoso* (Beautiful). Catalan and Basque are a bit harsh, but Galician is beautiful, soft and melodic.

- Palas (R) #7.

*Belleza* (Beauty). In regards to all the literature, as well as all the aesthetic. (There are) things you can say with the language that you can’t really describe with others.

- Ferrol (U) #3

Others chose words to transmit the melancholy associated with the language, with words like sadness, or thoughtfulness. That lyrical quality which is so conducive to poetry and romantic literature is quite often employed in a mournful way. This usage and interpretation is also bound up with Galician oppression and struggle, validating its use yet connoting more sadness.

*Tristesa* (Sadness). It’s a sad language

- Monterroso (R) #1

*Sisifo* (Sisyphus). A mythical character who always had to move the same rock up a mountain only to have it tumble back down.

- Palas (R) #9

Referring to the myth of Sisyphus in relation to the language places emphasis on the seemingly endless struggle that Galicians have endured in order to be able to speak their language and display their culture. Now that Galician is an official language, shift is occurring faster than ever, and this quote points out that the struggle is still not over.

Some chose words that point to the familial usage of Galician. Words such as childhood, love, home, infancy, and family reflect the normal pattern of Galician use for casual, in-group settings. Many people in Galicia learn the language in their home, but then switch to Castilian when they get older. This is especially common in urban settings. Some spoke directly of their family when describing what the language means to them:
Familiar (Familial). Because it’s always been a language that we speak with our families.
- Ferrol (U) #8

Família (Family). Our roots, everything that we have come from is in the language.
- Ferrol (U) #7

Niñeto (Childhood). It’s what you were born into, it’s what you feel, what you love, what you eat, what you smell, your work, everything. It’s a language that is valid in that sense, like any other language.
- Monterroso #9

Respondents who chose words connoting family were not all necessarily first or mother language Galician speakers, yet the language still resonates as something of meaning for their family, perhaps going back many generations:

Família- (Family). My parents and grandparents speak Galician even though I don’t. I however, did not grow up speaking Galician because my mother always spoke to us in Castilian, because she thought that if we spoke Galician in school we would be held back, that we would not be well thought of. So to me it’s a shame, I can speak it, but it’s not very natural.
- Palas (R) #4

Cercano (Close). It was stigmatized […), so people disassociated with it, it was not taught to me. So for me I always think back to the era when I was growing up, and I feel closeness in my heart for the language, even though I was never taught it, it represents that time for me. Just like Italian or French are beautiful languages, that it how I feel about Galician, even though I don’t speak it well. I always overthink the grammar and I cut myself off. I like to write it though, it makes me feel closer to the person I’m writing to.
- Palas (R) #11

Related to the theme of family and childhood is the interestingly frequent choice of the word morriña, and its near synonym in Portuguese, saudade. Both are difficult to translate, and many individuals who gave these words attempted to explain them. The general translation is a deep sense of longing or missing. The literal translation of morriña is homesickness, which was chosen for the word cloud. For saudade, I chose longing, because even though the literal
translation is missing, it is supposed to signify a deeper emotion. Some spoke of this in relation to a feeling of nostalgia:

*Morriña* (Homesickness). Its like nostalgia, it doesn’t have a translation.
- Betanzos (U) #6

*Morriña* (Homesickness). Its indefinable, it could be kind of like nostalgia. In Portuguese the word is *saudade* (longing)
- Betanzos (U) #4

The sense of longing and nostalgia many Galicians associate with the language may be associated with nostalgia on a personal level for their childhoods, connecting the words ‘home’ and ‘childhood’ to the word ‘homesickness’ that many chose. As others described, the sentiment has more to do with longing for the land and represents how the language and the landscape are intertwined. Both language and the land represent the nation of Galicia, and both are still held up in comparison to other Spanish regions:

*Saudade* (Longing). It is the same as *morriña*, you think of the language and the sentiment it brings you and you get a feeling of longing for your nation.
- Palas (R) #7

*Saudade* (Longing). Like nostalgia but more melancholy. I think this word connotes the climate we have here too. Like Andalusians who have lots of sun and heat, we have rain and fog. Its about the landscape.
- Betanzos (U) #6

Language and landscape have been tied together over the course of Galician folklore and are held up as unique within Spain. Receiving more rainfall than any other place in the Iberian Peninsula, Galicia is known as ‘the green Spain’, the destination of the mythical *Camino de Santiago* or Way of St. James, and a spiritual place of Celtic heritage. These are stark contrasts to the high desert of Don Quixote and sunny beaches of tourist brochures. The unique language that has been fostered here is connected to that landscape. When asked to give the three words that
best describe language sentiment, many respondents chose words that are associated with the geography of Galicia, both in abstract and concrete terms. Many chose nación, Castilian for nation or paixae, which is Galician for nation. Terra, which is Galician for land or earth was another popular choice as was pueblo, meaning village. In many cases interviewees gave me words that directly associate their language with the life-giving forces of nature:

\[
\text{Sol (Sun)} \\
\quad \text{-Lugo (U) #3}
\]

\[
\text{Agua (Water). It forms a part of the landscape, its part of the substance of Galicia. It’s in everything, in the rain, in the snow, in the rivers, its how the forests grow. It’s life.} \\
\quad \text{-Monterroso (R) #10}
\]

Otherwise innocuous elements associated with Galicia’s natural landscape were also chosen to signify feelings about the Galician language;

\[
\text{Anduriña (Swallow)} \\
\quad \text{-Monterroso (R) #4}
\]

\[
\text{Nogueira (Walnut Tree)} \\
\quad \text{-Monterroso (R) #10}
\]

\[
\text{Castaña (Chestnut)} \\
\quad \text{-Palas (R) #6}
\]

Swallows are very common migratory birds that nest in Galicia over the summer and are important symbols in Galician folklore. Rosalia De Castro featured the swallow several times in her poetry, in many cases describing the bird flying over water to far away lands. Due to the imagery in De Castro’s poems, as well as the migratory nature of the swallow, Anduriña has evolved into a symbol of Galician emigrants. There are Galician organizations in Argentina named Anduriña as well as Galician periodicals compiled by emigrants of the same name (largallegosevilla.com n.d). Chestnuts are a traditional crop, inspiring annual festivals held
throughout Galicia. Walnut trees are also very common throughout Galicia as well as Portugal, and *noguera* is also a normal surname in both countries. There are many villages in southern Galicia and more commonly in northern Portugal named *Nogueira*. In addition to conveying the Galician landscape, this choice perhaps highlights Galicia’s connection to Portugal, and its pre-Spanish history.

Many chose to place their sentiments regarding the language in a theme of tradition. Word choices such as tradition(al), culture, roots, ancient, origin, history, and patrimony all imply a sense of past that is brought to mind when asked to think about the language. Some wanted to point out the language’s long history, and in turn, the long history of Galicia as a nation apart from, yet just as glorious as Spain:

> *Historia* –(History). It has the same long history as Spanish.
> -Lugo (U) #8

Relating to heritage and tradition, many took the opportunity of this question to assert the connection between Galician identity and the Galician language. Words like ours, us, identity, authentic, people, and unity transmit a general sentiment about what it means to be Galician. Even if someone doesn’t speak Galician themselves, it represents something about the community as a whole, and its survival is seen as critical for that group identity.

The continued survival of Galician is an issue apparent in many of these word choices as well. Circling from themes of the past, such as history and tradition, and into themes of culture and identity, many used words of hope, looking to the future of the Galician language. Such choices as coherence, pertinence, fight, opportunity, beneficial, wealth, and recognition express the will to stop the ongoing shift of Galician and the fight that must take place to save it. These words also indicate the belief that knowing and using Galician is beneficial, and brings
opportunities. Despite these sentiments, as discussed in Chapter 6 code switching is omnipresent, facilitating shift, and furthering linguistic bifurcation between urban and rural geographies:

_Esfuerzo_ (Effort). Because everyone has to try very hard to speak Galician. Not just me, but politicians, people who want to save it, you really have to try hard to do so.
- Palas (R) #9

_Lucha_ (Fight). I feel guilty. I mean that if I’m with people who speak Galician, I speak Galician, but the moment that they speak to me in Castilian, I switch to Castilian, even though my intent is to speak Galician.
- Ferrol (U) #7

While a few interviewees chose words like abandoned, lost and flee, there is an overall sense of hope attached to the fight to save Galician. Alive, hope and wealth point to a faith in the ability of the language to raise to a level of prominence that Galicia had at one time, and the ability to benefit its speakers socially and economically:

_Esperanza_ (Hope). I see how the youth is proud of being Galician
- Monterroso (R) #7

_Esperanza_ (Hope). I hope that things go better for Galicia in the future. I hope that we can return to what Galicia was before, before Spain was not Spain. When it was just a bunch of monarchies, the kingdom of Galicia was very important. Our king had land all the way to Castile, the north of Portugal, and we were really very important. Now, for maybe the past century, we are considered to just be to the side of Spain, in the corner given little attention. We are still over here, less well known to the world.
- Monterroso #1
Conclusions

In my 54 individual interviews with Galician educators, an overwhelming sense of linguistic nationalism was conveyed through the pride taken in the language, statements of identity being tied to language, and remorse about its loss but also hope for its future. These sentiments are somewhat paradoxical to the language behavior I uncovered and discussed in Chapter 6. 52 out of the 54 interviewees expressed a remorse surrounding the language situation in Galicia. While language and identity are concomitant in Galicia, language behavior shows code-switching frequency among nearly all of my interviewees. Code switching perpetuates language shift, and the perpetuation of the low language status of Galician. Some expressed the difficulty of not switching, and that in order to save the language everyone must make an effort to keep speaking Galician. Most found no problem with code switching, reflecting the hertoroglossic
norms of the community. Whatever the linguistic practices of individuals, in nearly every case the language was still held up as an important symbol in Galician perceptions, imagery, and collective identity.

The connection between the meaning of the language and the Galician landscape were portrayed in the interviews as intertwined pieces of cultural and national heritage. Galician identity has been fused to its language and landscape through nearly two centuries of literature, folklore, and mythmaking, distinguishing Galicia from other parts of Spain. In ontologically separating themselves from Spain, Galicians have worked to foster a pan-Celtic relationship rooted in a fuzzy pre-history, strengthened by a similarly green landscape and rainy climate. The Celtic tie in Galicia has also contributed to the building of similar spiritual qualities, musical sensibilities, and Atlantic maritime culture and production. While legitimacy in the Celtic fringe is disputed, the pan Celtic relationship is also one of solidarity for Galicia. Like Wales, Ireland, and Brittany, Galicia has experienced internal colonization, language loss, economic marginalization, and cultural subjugation.

Galicians see themselves as unique within Spain, and utilize the spiritual, lyrical, and sometimes morose qualities of their language to link themselves to the land. Galicians also take pride in their Portuguese connections, in some ways seeing themselves as an extension of Portugal that just happens to be under Spanish consolidation by some twist of history. Galicia’s huge emigrant population to mostly Portuguese speaking countries further ties the two languages and peoples. Emigrant Galicia continues to be active in Galician identity making, participating in political elections, producing Galician publications from afar, and maintaining Galician cultural centers around the globe. Since so much of Galicia’s foundational nationalist literature from the
18th and early 19th centuries was written from an expatriate viewpoint, Galicia’s image of itself remains tied up in reflections and ruminations from the outside.

Galicians retain an overall positive conception of their language and place its importance as central to their sense of national identity. Unlike hyper nationalistic Catalonia or Basque Country, Galicians still see themselves as a part of Spain, having been reliant on the central government from an economic standpoint. Yet they are also a historic nationality apart from Spain and are often marginalized because of it. This tortured past has contributed to an inferiority complex within Galicia. Over the years however, pride in the language and what it represents has rebounded, even at a time when language shift is more rapid than ever. While shift is ongoing and the behaviors facilitating that shift persist, language has been affixed to the core sense of Galician identity. The symbolism of the language, its acknowledgement, and overall survival seem to be more important to the sense of Galician identity than the individual practice of speaking. Yet despite these language behaviors, Galician is a symbol of the region’s unique place apart from the rest of Spain, connoting the green landscape, mystical past, and emigrant population and as such remains central to Galician national identity.
CHAPTER 8- CONCLUSION

This study investigates patterns of language practice and linguistic attitudes in urban and rural public schools Galicia, Spain. I identified the prevalence of diglossia through various code switching practices in both urban and rural classrooms, as well as between Galician and Castilian teaching loads. Overall attitudes surrounding two aspects of the Galician language were also gleaned. Attitudes about the legal framework of Galician language laws, and the application of such laws in schools were offered in conjunction to attitudes about the Galician language and its role in the conception of a Galician identity and the Galician nation. My research seeks to answer several questions;

- Are geographic disparities of language use in Galicia perpetuated in schools and if so how?
- How do teachers feel about the language laws, and the Galician language on the whole?

By answering these questions, I found that language shift is being perpetuated in classrooms primarily through latent code switching practices, which occur everyday between teachers and students, resulting in the usage which is most comfortable for students in a given classroom. Somewhat paradoxically, this finding is accompanied with a strong linkage between the Galician language and Galician identity. Most teachers felt that the current laws are inadequate to change language shift in Galicia, with many adding an element of distrust toward the government, stating that the effort to preserve the Galician language is not sincere.

Classroom Language Practices

Among my 54 interviewees, well over half self-reported to code switching behavior while teaching. 22 indicated code switching in the classroom on a regular or everyday basis and
20 indicated code switching seldomly or on a roughly once a week basis. Of the teachers who indicated code switching often, 17 were teachers in rural schools and only 4 were teachers at urban schools. Of those who indicated seldom code switching, 6 were rural school teachers and 14 were urban school teachers. Galician and Castilian heavy subject loads were just about equal in code-switching frequency. Overall, this indicates that code switching occurs more frequently in rural classrooms than in urban classrooms regardless of language of instruction. While unexpected, these figures fit within the established linguistic geography of Galicia. The tendency for rural schools to display a higher frequency of code switching aligns with the historic hegemony of Castilian, as here students would presumably be switching out of Galician and into Castilian with the same ease that all Galicians are taught to do. Switching from Castilian to Galician on the other hand, is a bit more laborious, as many of my informants told me.

Self-induced code switching seems to play a large role in this teacher data since many of my informants are Castilian speakers at home yet commute to rural schools to teach. This is especially true in Palas and Monterroso, which are both only thirty minutes from Lugo one-way. Many of my Castilian speaking informants described being unhappy with being “forced” to speak in Galician if they are not comfortable with it or the tendency to switch to Castilian when tired. Galician is seen as a language of limited use, its purposes traditionally restricted to informal conversations. Castilian on the other hand, is a multipurpose language; it can be spoken among Castilian speaking families and is the preferred language of formal gatherings traditionally being used by the upper classes in Galicia. Thus, rural students are better trained to absorb both languages than urban students, as code switching from Galician to Castilian is far more common in Galicia on the whole than the other way around. If you grow up in a Galician-speaking household, as most of the rural students do, you would still learn Castilian at a young
age. Conversely, if you grow up in a Castilian-speaking household, as many of the urban students do, you would not be required to learn Galician until entering primary school.

Other than teacher language preferences leading to self-induced code switching, latent code switching is another element that contributes to the diglossic situation in Galicia. Galicians are amenable to switching languages at the drop of a hat, and the instigation to switch usually comes from whom one is speaking to and which language they use. The reflexive switching from one’s language of preference to the language of the other speaker is what I have termed latent code switching. This type of code-switching it turns out is prevalent even in classrooms and seems to cut through teacher-student power structures. 21 of my informants made references to latent code switching in a grand total of 26 references. These individuals often told me that they respond in whichever language the students speak and that this is a normal practice. The prevalence of latent code switching, even in a regulated space such as a classroom, indicates a strong social inclination to accommodate both languages and to make the other speaker feel at ease. However, this also perpetuates a Castilian dominance since Castilian speakers are less likely to be comfortable with Galician whereas Galician speakers are more comfortable with both languages.

Student questionnaire data somewhat corroborated teacher interviews, although the students painted a more expected picture of the linguistic geography of their schools. Students surveyed in urban schools perceived receiving less than half of their instruction in Galician, whereas in rural schools students perceived Galician instruction time as over half. The percentage of instruction time in Galician is highest in Navia, the most remote of the locations, and lowest in Ferrol, the most urban. This reflects the well known linguistic geography of the region and indicates a degree of classroom code switching going on in every location. Students
were also asked which language they speak at home and which they speak with their friends. Those answers also by and large correlated to the linguistic geography of Galicia, as most students in urban schools reported speaking Castilian with both their families and their friends and most in rural schools said they speak Galician with both families and friends. However, a few students in both locations reported speaking Galician with their families yet switching to Castilian when speaking with their friends. This pattern was seen twice among rural students and six times among urban students. No student reported a home language of Castilian and a friend language of Galician. This piece of the student data again reveals the relatively higher competency of Castilian among first language Galician students, as well as the higher likelihood of Galician speakers to switch to Castilian when around Castilian speakers than vice-versa.

Language Attitudes

Despite the prevalence of code switching in both urban and rural Galician schools, sentiments as to the importance of maintaining the Galician language and its importance to a Galician sense of identity and nation were very strong. The centrality of language to the Galician national sense of self was referenced again and again throughout my interviews. Since Galicia has historically not had economic strength or outside support to rally a nationalistic cause, the language always served as the key factor of Galician difference and continues to serve that role today. The self-described inferiority complex, which has plagued Galicians for generations, has not kept Galician speakers from developing a true sense of love for their language and for its ability to uniquely convey Galicia and its landscape, history and people, in a way that Castilian simply cannot.

Interviewees attached various sentiments to their language reflecting the overall positive yet sometimes tortured relationship that they have with it. The Galician language is an identity
token that while described as personal, vital, and beautiful, has also procured so much stigma for its speakers over the years. This may be why Galicians enthusiastically link their identity to the Celtic fringe, finding solidarity in other peripheral nations of Europe of a similar economic, linguistic, and social character. The Celtic image is also useful when characterizing the green and rainy Galician landscape, so unique in the Iberian Peninsula. Expressions of linguistic heritage and identity were often connected to this green and fertile landscape, with informants giving concrete descriptors such as ‘water’, ‘chestnut’ and ‘sun’ to describe the life-giving qualities that they attach to the Galician language. This indicates that the language is viewed as part and parcel to the very existence of Galicia itself. It is something that has always been a part of the land, evolving with it from the Romans to the Visgoths to Franco to industrialization and EU inclusion. It has survived all that, yet there remains a sad quality, bringing to life the reality of auto-odio, and the current state of language shift in the region. The tortured mentality expressed by interviewees extends to Galicia itself, both within and apart from Spain, yet not nationalistic like Catalonia or Basque Country. Some hypothesized that this is the real problem; the tendency to code switch being so automatic comes from a national apathy, a banal concession to the status quo that is Castilian dominance.

**Implications**

The proud yet quiet position that Galicians hold on the periphery of Spain is reflected in the loving sentiments attached to Galician as well as in the normal code switching behavior shown in the data, which inadvertently contributes to diglossia and language shift in the region. Behaviors such as latent code switching seem to be so totally normalized that it is not seen as problematic even to staunch Galician advocates. Here it does seem that Galicia is a herteroglossic society, since they are able to switch languages so frequently, and maintain such
positive attitudes about their language despite the historic social stigma attached to it. Yet a picture of harmonious heteroglossia is still not complete because the majority of my informants expressed concern for the future of the language and frustration that the Xunta de Galicia does not seem sincere in their efforts to reverse shift. Therefore behaviorally Galicia does exist in a harmonious bilingual society, wherein most everyone has no problem switching back and forth between languages. However, underneath the normal switching customs lies a grave concern that the language of the land, the essence of the Galician identity, will be lost due to an unsupportive government and a largely apathetic populace.

The behavior and attitudes uncovered in Galicia shed light on the complications facing many minority language communities throughout Europe and the world. In a globalized, urban centric era, language societies such as Galicia must negotiate their desire for modernization and economic convergence with their cultural identity as a people both othered and self-identified by a marker of language. Language is a salient group boundary marker and as we have seen here it is the everyday act of speaking a language that can ground group members to a common heritage and a sense of homeland despite the dispersal of the group. Europe has hundreds of regional languages that are quietly shifting much like Galician, without the language prestige of say Catalan to save them. Within the EU, rhetorical protection of these languages will only go so far when abutted by economic pressure and majority language competition. Globally, thousands of language communities are feeling their identities slip as increased migration disperses populations, and global influences such as supra-state entities continue to incorporate, influence, and regulate relations within minority communities using the language and practices of majority groups. In many places this process has only sped up in the past decade, begging for more questions. What power structures need to shift in order to change the extinction trajectory of low
prestige languages? What will post minority language community identities use in place of language to underpin group belonging? Will the lament of language loss last more than one generation, and if so how do communities memorialize something like language?

Through this project we have seen that the everyday actions that influence a sense of self within a community is at the core of group identity. The banal practice of speaking is something that everyone does every day, yet the meaning bound up in this action is monumentally loaded, especially in a bilingual community. Diglossia, including the various types of code switching demonstrated in this project re-enforces power balances between languages, which are deeply rooted in history and economic influence. Switching from one language to another, whether for a specialized purpose, due to speaker constrains, or recipient comfort, has become an everyday linguistic behavior in Galicia. These unconscious behaviors do not contradict linguistic pride and the deep sense of nation and homeland that that are tied to a minority group language. Despite the lament of minority language loss, it is the unconscious behaviors practiced in everyday settings that will continue to perpetuate ongoing language shift and possible identity crisis in the coming era.
Works Cited


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Vernet, J., Pons, E., Pou, A., Solé, JR., Pla. A., 'Dret Lingüístic' Santiago Vilardell i Codina


Appendix A

Interview & Questionnaire Scripts

Blank Script (teachers)

1. Where are you from?
2. What language do you prefer to speak with your family?
3. What percentage of the time do you teach in Galician and in Castilian?
4. How often do you change language in the classroom?
5. Do you think that the student here prefer one language over the other?
6. How do you think the education system treats the harmony of the languages?
7. What do you think should change?
8. Do you think the intent to preserve the language is sincere?
9. How do you think that Galicia is imagined in the rest of Spain?
10. Please give me three words that describe your feelings for the Galician language.

Questionnaire (students)

1. What language do you speak at home?
2. What language do you speak with your friends?
3. What percentage of the time would you say you taught in Galician?
Appendix B

Full list of words from final interview question (These words generate the p.136 Word Cloud)

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Appendix C

Full Student Questionnaire Data  (Answers averaged for table 11 on Pg. 109)

Language spoken at home

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Language Spoken with friends

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166
Perceived percentage of Galician instruction time

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Appendix D

IRB Approval

RE: Protocol #15-025 - entitled “Linguistic Disparity and Attitudes in Galicia, Spain”

We have assigned your application the following IRB number: 15-025. Please reference this number when corresponding with our office regarding your application.

The Kent State University Institutional Review Board has reviewed and approved your Application for Approval to Use Human Research Participants as Level I/Exempt from Annual review research. Your research project involves minimal risk to human subjects and meets the criteria for the following category of exemption under federal regulations:

- Exemption 2: Educational Tests, Surveys, Interviews, Public Behavior Observation

This application was approved on January 16, 2015.

***Submission of annual review reports is not required for Level I/Exempt projects. We do NOT stamp Level I protocol consent documents.

If any modifications are made in research design, methodology, or procedures that increase the risks to subjects or includes activities that do not fall within the approved exemption category, those modifications must be submitted to and approved by the IRB before implementation.

Please contact an IRB discipline specific reviewer or the Office of Research Compliance to discuss the changes and whether a new application must be submitted.

http://www.kent.edu/research/researchsafetyandcompliance/irb/index.cfm

Kent State University has a Federal Wide Assurance on file with the Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP); FWA Number 00002853.

If you have any questions or concerns, please contact us at Researchcompliance@kent.edu or by phone at 330-672-2704 or 330.672.8058.
Amendment/Change Approval

RE: IRB # 15-025 entitled “Linguistic Disparity and Attitudes in Galicia, Spain”

Hello,
The Kent State University Institutional Review Board (IRB) has reviewed and approved your protocol amendment/change request. It is understood that the research is continuing with modifications including to collect soundscape data. The modification to this protocol was approved on April 10, 2015.

*If applicable, a copy of the IRB approved consent form is attached to this email. This “stamped” copy is the consent form that you must use for your research participants. It is important for you to also keep an unstamped text copy (i.e., Microsoft Word version) of your consent form for subsequent submissions. Note that if you are conducting an online study the stamped consent form is only for record keeping purposes.

Federal regulations and Kent State University IRB policy requires that research be reviewed at intervals appropriate to the degree of risk, but not less than once per year.

HHS regulations and Kent State University Institutional Review Board guidelines require that any changes in research methodology, protocol design, or principal investigator have the prior approval of the IRB before implementation and continuation of the protocol. The IRB must also be informed of any adverse events associated with the study. The IRB further requests a final report at the conclusion of the study.

Kent State University has a Federal Wide Assurance on file with the Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP); FWA Number 000001853.

If you have any questions or concerns, please contact us at Researchcompliance@kent.edu or by phone at 330-672-2704 or 330.672.8058.

Thank you,
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For links to obtain general information, access forms, and complete required training, visit our website at www.kent.edu/research.