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Language policy and education

Some Scottish – Catalan comparisons

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Language policy and education - some Scottish-Catalan comparisons

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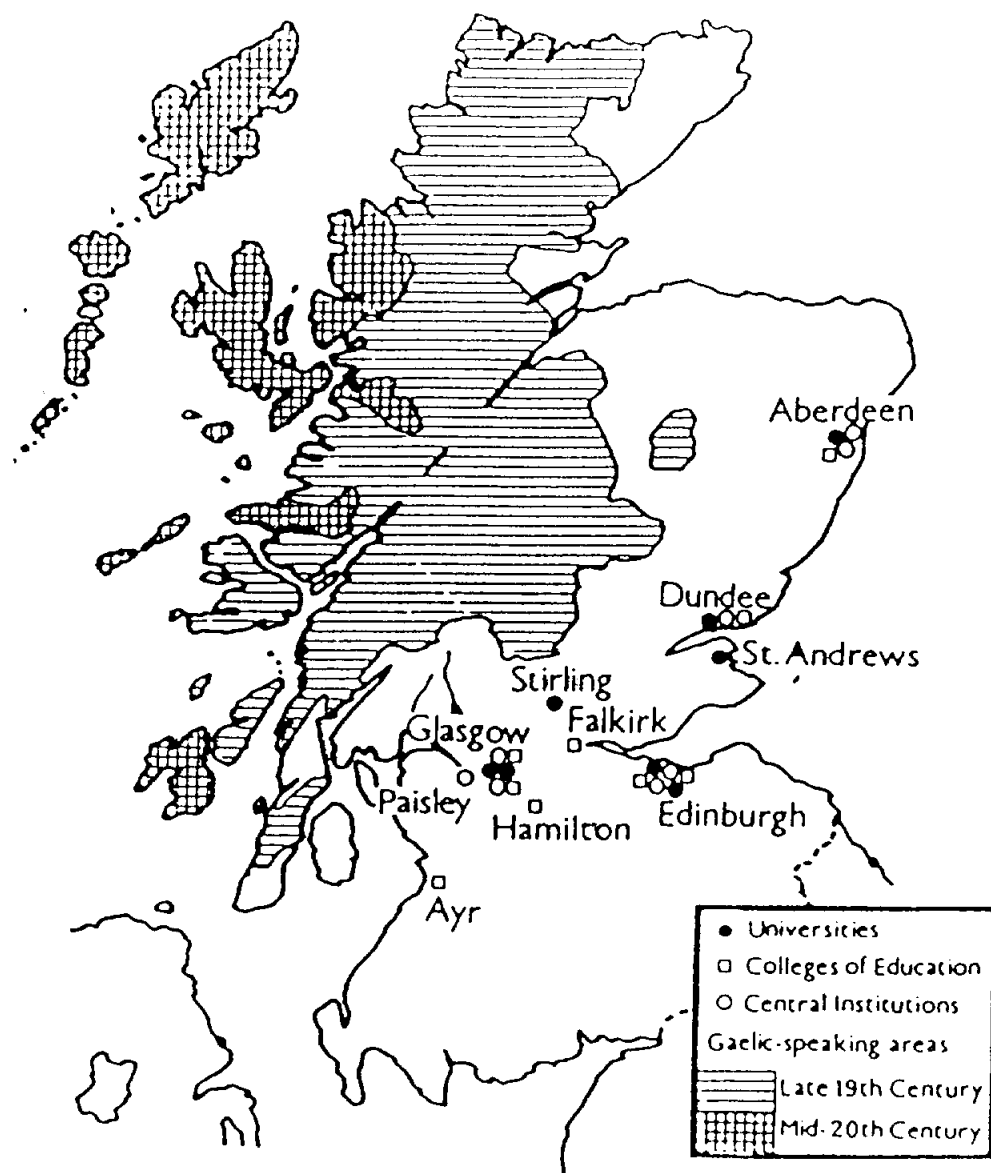
It is an apparent paradox that the increasing internationalisation of many countries, from what we eat and drink to the European Single Market and the process of European integration, have been accompanied in recent decades by the apparently contradictory tendency for linguistic and cultural minorities to reassert themselves. We have been witnessing a "revival of nationalism" in Eastern Europe, seen by many, perhaps most, as a liberating event. Sadly, but not surprisingly, this has its unlovely aspects also. In two multinational federal states, nationalism (and, it must be said, mishandling by the centre over decades) appears to be in the process of breaking the countries apart. In some places - Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Germany - demands for national rights have, familiarly enough, extended to demands to deny everyone else's. Racism and antisemitism appear to be on the increase, arousing uncomfortable memories. Even where these unpleasant features are not apparent, however, it is clear that the appeal of nationalism remains strong after decades of official "proletarian internationalism", which never seems to have gone very deep.

That is in the East, but both the negative and positive aspects can be found in the West as well. Generally, the extremist or violent forms are confined to small minorities, such as the IRA, and ETA in the Basque Country. But they are not typical of minorities, any more than the National Front in the UK, the Front National in France, Fuerza Nueva in Spain or the German Republicans are typical of majorities. Most of the nationalist, anti-centralist, home rule and cultural revival movements - and these are not necessarily the same thing - express their aspirations within a European and international framework, the "Europe of the peoples." In the United Kingdom, both the Scottish National Party and Plaid Cymru campaign for independence within Europe, and many other Scots and Welsh, while they would not go that far, are pressing for home rule, with the EC as a counterpoise to the centralising power of London. Many Catalans, including the Catalan *Generalitat*, see the European connection as a necessary counterbalance to Madrid.

But the mood that such movements are drawing on is not concerned exclusively with political "separatism". In Scotland, for example, opinion polls usually give the Scottish National Party around 20 per cent of public support,

fluctuating over and under Conservative support, which is of the same order. Support for independence is found among supporters of other parties as well, which can bring the total intermittently to 25 per cent or more. But the polls also show, fairly consistently, about 80 per cent of Scots in favour of some form of self-government, which is the policy of all political parties except the Conservatives.⁽¹⁾ Clearly, "separatism" is not the only form of self-assertion by small sections, federalism being a widely-supported alternative. There are currents of this kind in Brittany, Occitanie (Southern France), in some of the Italian regions, in Friesland, and so on. Not all of the "stateless nations" see their future in total separation, but rather in increased control over their own affairs.

Inevitably, there are cultural aspects to this tendency, especially in language, one of the chief "markers" of identity for any group. It may prove stronger than the political motive, occasionally even a substitute. It was remarked that when Irish attempts to secure independence failed yet again in the early 19th century, considerable energies were switched to attempts to revive Irish arts, Irish games and sports, and the Irish language.⁽²⁾ A speaker on a Channel 4 TV programme about the Kurds lamented the lack of political freedom and unity, and expressed his continuing determination to fight for them; "but meanwhile, I must create Kurdistan in my head" through music, literature and, of course, the Kurdish language.⁽³⁾ Similar developments have been obvious in Brittany, Friesland (especially the Dutch part), among Italian minorities like the speakers of Friulan, in Alsace, Occitanie, and many other minorities that governments usually did not wish to know about.⁽⁴⁾ In Wales, Welsh-medium schooling has been growing for over half a century, and has almost certainly been the main factor in the rise of the number of children speaking Welsh, especially in the anglophone south.⁽⁵⁾ Wales has the advantage of having a reasonably large numerical base and a well-established presence in the arts, the media, publishing and the professions. In Spain, the traditional *autonomías*, Galicia, the Basque Country and Catalonia, already have self-government after decades of suppression, but are continuing to press on with what the Catalans call *normalizació lingüística*, linguistic normalisation. In Scotland, where there is no single linguistic marker of identity, this process can be observed too. After the (contrived) debacle over the devolution referendum in 1979, expressions of anger were muffled and confused rather than explosive, but there was an upsurge of interest in Scottish culture, including an increase in enrolments in Gaelic evening classes.⁽⁶⁾



Map 1: *Scotland: Gaeldom and Higher Education*

Small nations and language communities tend to see their own prospects in terms of what they know. The Gaels of Scotland for a long time knew only of the pressures on their own language and culture, and, unsurprisingly, many had come to the conclusion that the language was doomed and that attempts to preserve it, let alone develop it, were futile. As we shall see, the forces arrayed against it were (and are) daunting. But knowledge of more successful revival movements has made a difference. Great comfort is taken from the experience of Wales, much invoked during the agitation for Gaelic-medium schooling in the Lowlands during the 1980s.⁽⁷⁾ Encouragement is found in the success of the Icelanders and Faeroese in developing modern standard languages, or the revival of Hebrew as the effective language of the Israeli state, without always considering whether the circumstances are similar enough to justify this. The example of Catalonia is arousing increasing interest. This is partly for historical reasons. Many Scots fought in the International Brigade during the Spanish Civil War - Glasgow was sometimes known as the "Barcelona of the North" during the 1930s, more on political grounds than any other. More recently, the regaining of autonomy, and the apparently successful reestablishment of the Catalan language after forty years of suppression, have been watched with some envy by an increasing number of Scots, especially those involved in trying to repair the fortunes of the Gaelic and Scots languages, and a number of educational links have been established. This is not altogether one-sided, as Catalans have been showing increased interest in Scotland too.

The purpose of this paper, then, is to examine language policy in education and its effects in the two countries, and to examine how far encouragement can justifiably be looked for, and lessons learned.

Scotland

Scotland has two indigenous languages, Gaelic and Scots, the latter sometimes known as Lowland Scots or Lallans.⁽⁸⁾ Objections are sometimes raised to their being called indigenous at all, as they were in their day just as adventitious as any other language used in Scotland, such as Italian, Polish, Punjabi, Urdu, Cantonese or English. Gaelic was brought to Scotland by settlers from Ulster about the sixth century, and up to the 17th century was commonly known as Irish (which, indeed, it still resembles quite closely.) Scots developed from the northern form of Anglian brought by the Northumbrian incursions into south-east Scotland, and was commonly known as Inglis into the 17th century. Until about the 16th century, there was no single form of

English. In earlier times, "Anglo-Saxon" was never called that by those who actually spoke it; they called it *Englisc*, a term equally applicable to the West Saxon of King Alfred or the Northumbrian of Caedmon. The *Inglis* of Barbour and the later writers was simply one of the many varieties of that Germanic tongue, just as what we now call Gaelic was one of the varieties of the Goidelic Celtic spoken in Ireland, Scotland and the Isle of Man.

There are good reasons for regarding the modern forms of both languages as indigenous. Scots is not now the same as any form of English, nor is Gaelic the same as any form of Irish, though the names are practically the same - Gàidhlig and Gaeilge, which sound closer than they look. Around the 16th century, in both cases, Scots and Gaelic developed in ways that distinguished them from their parent stocks, which were moving towards standardisation in their own countries. Whatever their origins, both languages have developed their present forms in Scotland, which surely makes them indigenous (and disposes of ignorant attempts to dismiss either as "just a dialect".) But there is another aspect to the argument. If Punjabi or Italian were to die out in Scotland - which is what happened with Norse and French - Scotland would be culturally the poorer, but the languages would still be alive and well in the Punjab and Italy. But if Gaelic and Scots were to die out in Scotland, they would simply die; they have nowhere else to go.⁽⁹⁾

The history of Gaelic has been one of constant, latterly dramatic decline, possibly followed in our own day by the beginnings of a modest revival. The position commonly presented is that by the mid-11th century, Scotland had become entirely Gaelic-speaking, and that shortly thereafter began the slow slide of the language into extinction. As usual, the real picture is more complex.

In the first place, it must be doubted whether Scotland ever was monoglot in Gaelic. By the time Malcolm II defeated the Angles at Carham and pushed his border to the Tweed, Gaelic had effectively displaced the British (i.e. Welsh) of Strathclyde and the Pictish of the northern half of the kingdom; but the Western Isles and much of north-west Scotland remained under Norwegian suzerainty until the Battle of Largs in 1263. Ironically, the Isles that in modern times retain the main concentration of Gaelic speakers were known as *Innse Gall*, the Isles of the Foreigners. The south-west appears to have been a mixture of Gaelic and Norse; Galloway (*Gàidhealgallaibh*) means "foreign Gael". As for Lothian, it is probably that the Scots conquest established Gaelic as the language of the warrior aristocracy, but its roots do not seem

to have gone very deep. Space does not permit a full account, but the main point is that Scotland was a multilingual and multicultural country at its inception, and so has remained.

When the High-King Macbeth MacInlay (MacBeatha MacFhionnlagh) was killed at Lumphanan in Aberdeenshire (not Dunsinane, despite Shakespeare's geographical inaccuracies), the Gaelic polity did not come to instant ruin, but the signs of retreat were there. It took Malcolm III (Canmore or Big-head) three years to get himself elected High-King, the period of the short reign of Macbeth's stepson Lulach. But Malcolm, who had been reared at the English court, had undoubtedly come under some English influence there; more to the point, though, he later married Margaret of England, who had fled to Scotland after the Norman Conquest. It was to be a fateful step.⁽¹⁰⁾

Margaret was apparently horrified at her new country's "barbarism", and determined to "civilise" it, after the usual manner of her kind. Norman French began to replace Gaelic as the Court language, English and Norman clerics were brought in to high office in the church, on which Margaret lavished money and which she pressurised to change from the Celtic to the Roman rite. (No wonder she was canonised.) After Malcolm's death, there was a brief Celtic reaction under his brother Domhnall Bàn (Shakespeare's Donalbain),⁽¹¹⁾ but he was overthrown by Margaret's sons, who demonstrated their superior civilisation by putting his eyes out. Malcolm's sons and their successors continued Margaret's policy. They brought in Norman knights as "military advisors" to keep turbulent subjects in order, though many of them became Gaelicised in time.⁽¹²⁾ Much more effective was the building of towns, and populating them with Flemings and Angles. As urbanisation progressed, therefore, *Inglis* spread also, at the expense of Gaelic.

It was this development that produced, eventually, the Highland-Lowland divide. This came relatively late, but the pattern was being set by the 16th century. The last King of Scots to speak Gaelic was probably James IV (he who fell at Flodden.) Significantly, the Spanish ambassador, in reporting James' impressive linguistic talents, says that "the King speaks, besides, the language of the savages who live in the northern parts of his kingdom and on the islands."⁽¹³⁾ By the time James' great-grandson, James VI (I of England) came to the throne, the Reformation had exacerbated the divide. The Highland clans, many of which remained Catholic, were regarded as disaffected in politics and religion, and their whole way of life, language included, as a threat to the stability of the state.

It is at this point that we find the Scottish state taking active measures against Scotland's oldest language, and using education as one of its main instruments. An Act of Privy Council of James VI (1616) concerning the establishment everywhere of the "trew religioun" declares that "the vulgar Inglishe toung shall be universallie plantit, and the Irishe language, which is one of the cheif and principall causis of the continewance of barbaritie and incivilitie amongis the inhabitants of the Heylandis and Islandis, shall be abolisheit and removit." Since, the Act went on, there was no means so powerful as schools for this "princelie porpois", a school should be established in every parish "where convenient means may be found for enterteyning a schoole."⁽¹⁴⁾ That such convenient means were rarely to be found limited the effects of the Act, but the intention was clear, and was to inform much educational policy until recent times.

By the late 19th century, what one author has called the "teaching out" of Gaelic was firmly in place.⁽¹⁵⁾ There was an apparent policy reversal, when the SPCK (Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge) decided to allow teaching through the medium of Gaelic in its Highland schools. But this was only a transitional measure, for most of the children spoke nothing else. They were taught in Gaelic, therefore, until they had acquired enough English to make the switch. The schools were determinedly anglophone as soon as circumstances permitted. The Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 made no mention of Gaelic at all, and the 1918 Act made a grudging concession to Gaelic availability "in Gaelic-speaking areas", without attempting to define what these were. There are people still alive who were beaten in school for speaking their own language, and the *màide-crochaidh* - a stick on a string hung round the necks of children caught lapsing into Gaelic, and marking them out for punishment - was still in use as late as the 1940s. Unsurprisingly, Gaelic and Highland culture were also systematically devalued in the school system.

The schools, of course, did not work alone. The political structure of Gaelic society was smashed at the Battle of Culloden in 1746, Highland dress and music were banned (except in the armed forces), and clan lands became the personal estates of increasingly absentee landlords. Subsistence farming did not pay, and it was not long before the landowners realised that clearing people off the land to make room for sheep was much more profitable. The notorious "Highland Clearances" caused massive personal suffering, and also drastically shifted the balance of the population. In the mid-18th century,

about half the population of Scotland lived north and west of the Highland Line; by the end of the 19th, the proportion was down to less than ten per cent, as the Gaels were scattered to Glasgow, Australia, Canada and elsewhere.

The bleeding away of people has continued, albeit on a less dramatic scale, until the 1970s, when some stabilisation was achieved. The causes were largely economic and educational-economic, in that a run-down peripheral economy offered hardly any opportunities, and educational in that even the system's successes encouraged emigration. This is common in peripheral societies which value education as a means of social upward mobility. Scotland sends more young people than England to higher education, one school leaver in five, as opposed to one in seven. By the same token, the participation rate in the Highlands and the Isles is greater than Scotland as a whole. But there is no higher education in the Highlands; "getting on" has meant getting out. (See Map1.) Since the economy has not been able to employ all these graduates, it has also meant staying out. There are cases where the language has survived, in Glasgow for example, into the second or even the third generation, but more often it has been lost from lack of educational opportunities or social support, rather like some rivers in Africa which flow into deserts and then dry up - *mar abhainn air chall ann am fàsach*.⁽¹⁶⁾ The very fact that success was associated with leaving meant that staying behind was associated with failure, thus devaluing the culture even in its home base.

The erosion of Gaelic did not pass unchallenged completely, however. The oldest language loyalty movement, *An Comann Gàidhealach*, was founded in 1891. It started the National *Mòd* (cultural festival) to keep alive the music, song and poetry of an extremely rich culture. This still survives, though it has been criticised in some quarters for concentrating on the folksy and sentimental. Celtic studies were established in the universities a hundred years ago, and are now offered in Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh.⁽¹⁷⁾ Gaelic appeared as an examination subject in schools, though it was often taught, like Latin, through English, and was normally available (ironically enough) to native speakers only. Generally, by the middle of the present century, Gaelic development had been reduced to an academic and cultural token presence, and the decline continued apace.

Then, slowly at first, things began to change. In 1958, some Gaelic-medium instruction was officially introduced in primary schools in bilingual areas, and in 1962 learners' papers were introduced in the Scottish Certificate of Education examinations, an important encouragement to those who were not

native speakers but who wanted to learn the language. There followed developments in what one might term the support structure : *Comann nan Leabharachain* (the Gaelic Books Council) in 1969, BBC Gaelic schools broadcasting in 1970, the establishment of the first Gaelic college at Sabhal Mor Ostaig in Skye in 1973, the first children's Gaelic TV series (Grampian TV) in 1976, the *Acair* publishing company founded in 1977, the opening of *Radio nan Eilean* (Radio of the Isles) in Stornoway in 1979, and the highly successful learners' programme on BBC (*Can Seo* - say this) in the same year. These and other developments not only seemed to indicate a change of mood, but made a beginning in the development of a support structure without which a language cannot function, whatever the schools do.⁽¹⁸⁾

But the first major breakthrough at the political level came with the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1975. This created *Comhairle nan Eilean* (Western Isles Council) giving the Isles a single authority for the first time in centuries. This council launched a bilingual education project (*Proisect Dà-Chànanach*) in short order, and established a totally bilingual policy in its administration in 1977. Subsequently, bilingual education spread to the secondary stage in the Isles, and several Gaelic-medium units began to grow and multiply; there are 11 currently open, and seven more are planned. Similar developments have been in train in Highland Region since 1978.⁽¹⁹⁾

Possibly more important in the long run, however, was the growing recognition that the population movements already referred to had made Gaelic a matter of concern for the whole of Scotland, not only the Highlands and Islands. After the Census of 1981 had shown a drop to about 80,000 speakers - back to the 1961 figure after what may have been a freak increase in 1971 - it was being pointed out with increasing force that the language was extremely vulnerable, that there were now more Gaels outside than inside the traditional Gaelic areas or *Gàidhealtachd*, and that the numbers of this diaspora were thus a dispersed minority with no environmental support or scholastic development of the language. From 1979 to 1983, the Department of Education of the University of Glasgow produced research showing, among other things, considerable parental demand for Gaelic-medium education in the Lowlands.⁽²⁰⁾ Research rarely influences policy by itself, but combined with lobbies and pressure-groups, it can have an effect, and these had been building up too.

Some of this can be traced to the attempt to give Gaelic official status in 1981 by the introduction of the Gaelic (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill in Parliament. The Bill was killed procedurally by "talking out", and the

resultant anger produced demonstrations, some direct action and the creation of more clamant organisations like *Ceartas* (Justice) and *Strì* (Struggle.) Not all the organisations were militant, however. The perception that children develop an attachment to the language in which they have fun led to the founding of *Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Araich* (Play-Groups Association) in 1982, and a proliferation of play-groups all over the country. *Comann Luchd-ionnsachaidh* (The Learners' Association), whose acronym CLI means "progress", was set up in 1984, with funding from the Highlands and Islands Development Board, and in the same year a Gaelic development agency, *Comann na Gàidhlig* (Gaelic Association) was set up as a coordinating body with government funding.

1985 saw events gathering pace. At a CNAG Conference at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, the Secretary of State announced further public support for Gaelic, and this was followed by a Scottish Office scheme for specific grants for Gaelic education, initially £250,000 per annum. As a result of lengthy lobbying, based on the Glasgow University research and pressure from *Comann nam Pàrant* (the Parents' Association), Strathclyde Region opened the first Gaelic primary school unit in Glasgow, and Highland Region shortly afterwards opened one in Inverness. These have also proliferated, by chain reaction, in Strathclyde, Highland, Western Isles and Lothian - currently 25, with many more in the pipeline. The decisive factor in every case appears to be parental demand. Interestingly, most of the parents sending their children to such schools in the Lowlands are not themselves Gaelic speakers, but want their children to learn it; extensive use is therefore made of immersion teaching.

The pace of development continues to accelerate. Sabhal Mòr has established business courses, externally validated; Gaelic-medium teaching (a little) has spread into the secondary level in Glasgow; there are now over 1000 children in Gaelic play-groups (including one in Canada), and there are now three authority-run Gaelic nursery schools in Inverness, Portree and Edinburgh. *Radio na Gàidhealtachd* (Highland Radio) broadcasts from Inverness. Gaelic teacher-training has expanded (both initial and in-service), the number of students taking Gaelic at University level has increased, as has Gaelic broadcasting (with £8 million government grant) and less formal activities: the Gaelic youth-club movement *Sradagan*, the National Gaelic Youth Theatre Scheme, greatly increased public support in the public opinion polls and, ironically, increases in government funding. (The specific grant for Gaelic education is now £2 million per annum.)(²¹)

Against the bleak backdrop of the recent past, the temptation is to lapse into a euphoria. It is, therefore, as well to remember that massive problems remain. Teacher supply has become a major difficulty, and is holding up further developments, largely because the training system had shrunk, and there was no system of training for teaching in Gaelic of other subjects. The main problem is the small scale of everything, which makes every initiative vulnerable. *Fir Chlis*, the Gaelic drama company, was set up in 1978; when it was axed through lack of funding three years later, the only Gaelic theatre group disappeared. The departure for promotion elsewhere of one teacher can jeopardise a whole school unit, and family movements, in or out, can make big differences to the viability of a school. 80,000 speakers is a fragile basis for the redevelopment of a language; the astonishing thing, given the forces arrayed against it, is that Gaelic did not die out long ago.⁽²²⁾

But the signs are there that the climate has changed. People with some knowledge of Gaelic are now more inclined to exaggerate it than conceal it, it is used (albeit symbolically) on many more occasions than in the past, more and more organisations feel it appropriate to have bilingual signs and stationery; it has more exposure in the media; even the Scottish Minister for Education tried to speak some in the House of Commons. All the signs, together with the concrete evidence of actual enrolments, suggests that there has been a definite shift of climate.

The reasons can hardly be utilitarian; almost all Gaels are now bilingual, and there are virtually no situations in which one has to speak Gaelic (which can create problems for learners who want practice - it is too easy to switch to English on getting into difficulties.) One reason may be the discrediting of the "bilingual deficit" notion, the belief that bilinguals were handicapped in general learning and the learning of English in particular; this led to many parents acquiescing in the "teaching out" or even beating out of Gaelic in the past, supported as it seemed to be by both common sense and linguistic theory. Since the 1960s, however, linguistic research has turned from the deficit model to one which even sees positive advantages in bilingualism, and the news has reached some parents at least.⁽²³⁾

But linguistic theory is unfamiliar to most people, and the surge of support has been too great for this to be a major explanation. It seems to be, rather, part of the national mood of growing self-confidence and self-awareness, the rediscovery of cultural roots in an international community where others are doing the same; and governmental response may be explained, with a cynicism

not entirely unjustified by experience, as an attempt to prevent this mood benefiting the Labour Party and the SNP yet further. This mood, could, of course, have been enhanced by the presence of Gaels all over Scotland, and a growing feeling that Gaelic language and culture concern the whole of Scotland, not just the periphery.

The position of Scots is rather worse - ironically, for Scots is easy for an English-speaker to learn, and is in fact spoken, in one form or another, by a large proportion of Scots. (Unfortunately, it is hard to be more specific than this, as no data for Scots - unlike Gaelic - are collected in any Census.) Educational recognition of Scots is totally ambivalent. There is a Department of Scottish Literature in the University of Glasgow, a School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh, and other institutions of higher education teach it as well. Scottish literature is taught in schools, more widely than twenty years ago, and some even encourage the use of the vernacular for creative writing. But there, usually, it stops. Spoken Scots is stigmatised as "bad English" (though it is no more bad English than Catalan is bad Spanish or Norwegian bad Danish), or a "debased dialect" (a social judgement, but linguistically meaningless), or even "insolence." Sometimes teachers (in cities) will express some regard for the "pure braid Scots" of the rural areas, but will not tolerate the "slovenly jargon" of the cities; their rural colleagues frequently extend this intolerance to their own local forms as well. Scots of any kind is never used as a teaching medium, and its use in school is discouraged, even punished. This schizophrenia goes deep; many teachers could report incidents like the Burns verse-speaking competition, in which children were given prizes for convincing utterance of the very language they had been punished for using the week before.⁽²⁴⁾

In the wider world outside, the same irony applies. In the media, Scots is used to great effect in comedy, rarely for anything serious. In public utterance, the odd literary quote or homely expression may be used to salt a speech, but to give a whole speech, or a lecture, in Scots would be regarded as ignorant or cranky; it would certainly be highly unusual. Scots, in short, is not publicly used for any purpose where the content is more important than the medium; for that, English with a Scots accent is acceptable, not Scots grammar or vocabulary.

It was not always so. As already mentioned, Scots developed from the Anglian speech brought in from Northumbria, one of a cluster of variants known as Englisc or Inglis. As English moved towards standardisation during the

sixteenth century, so did Scots, till it had developed into the official language of the Court, the courts, the Kirk, the schools, and high as well as popular literature. Quite apart from the brilliance of a literature that included Barbour, Dunbar, Henryson and Lindsay, the crucial point is that Scots was used by everyone, for all purposes.⁽²⁵⁾

One of the severest body-blows was the Union of the Crowns in 1603. James VI became James I of England, and promptly departed for the fleshpots of the south. With him went the whole apparatus of literary patronage and the Court itself. James continued to speak Scots till the end of his life, but did so in a context where the language had become provincialised. The other blow was the publication of the English Bible. There was no Scots version; there was no need, since the two languages were mutually comprehensible to a large extent, rather like the modern Scandinavian languages. But this began to reinforce the tendency, begun by the removal of the Court, to regard the high tongue, the language of power, authority and culture, as English. One of the post-Reformation laws in Scotland required householders over a certain property value to have in their houses "ane bibell and ane psalme buik in the vulgare tongue", which reinforced the deposition of Scots as a standard language.⁽²⁶⁾ The Union of 1707 removed Parliament as well, and hastened the process. Scots was still used in the courts well into the 18th century, but generally this was the age of "correctness" and linguistic uniformity. There were, to be sure, writers like Burns, who made brilliant use of the original dialect and were feted in the Edinburgh salons for their directness and vigour. But there was an air of condescension in all this; Burns was praised as the "heaven-instructed ploughman", a rough child of nature. Actually, Burns was thoroughly instructed by the Dominie of Alloway Miln, and gained a thorough grounding in English literature. Many of his admirers advised him to switch to "correct" English for his writing, but (apart from a few attempts, best forgotten) he fortunately ignored the advice. English, however, was now the language of the school; Scots had fragmented into a group of local dialects.

Much of the problem for Scots is its very closeness to English. There was no need to translate the Bible, or the laws, or anything else, into Scots, as the English was readily understood. Once Scots was deposed from its position as an official and standard language, its transformation into a low and uneducated "dialect" was perhaps inevitable; and the onslaught on the language in schools followed logically from this. Modern Scots has then been extensively penetrated, for even when it is used, the "standard" is always in



Map 2: Main Catalan Dialects

people's minds. There has been a considerable decline in the number of peculiarly Scots usages, even when the language is the normal speech of the area, and it is common to find, in Glasgow for example, the Scots and the English word being used in the same sentence. A great deal of written Scots, from Burns to Macdiarmid, makes liberal use of the apostrophe to show where a letter would be missing in English - wa', lo'e, han', o' (for wall, love, hand, of - or Scots, waa, loe, haun, o.) There have been attempts to reestablish a standard, with an orthography not derived from English, and vocabulary drawn from various forms of Scots.

This hes bin promovit bi mony scribevers, ettlin tae mak ane Scots leid agane. But it hisnae had muckle effect in ornar uis, for tae maist Scots, uisit tae speikan Scots bot wreitan English, it luiks orra. Shair, maist kin unnerstaun weill eneuch gin thei ettle, bot it disnae kum natural; thir haill experience o scuil an officialdom ar agin it. It maun tak mair nor a whein o makars an scribevers tae turn the haill clanjamfrie aboot. Still, the Norwegians an the Catalans hae duin it, sae maybe the thing is no inconceivable; bot it maun be ane lang gate tae gang.⁽²⁷⁾

The Catalans, like the Scots, have a long history of struggle to preserve their national and cultural identity from the encroachments of the majority power. Like the Scots, the Catalans enjoyed their own independent kingdom until a relatively recent time in European history. They retain a linguistic and cultural heritage that is distinctive in its own right.

The Paisos Catalans, or Catalan lands, have existed as a clearly defined geographic and political entity for approximately 10 centuries. This area includes not only Catalonia, but also Valencia, the Balearic Islands, Andorra (where Catalan is the official language of the principality), Catalogne Nord in France, and L'Alguer (Alghero) in Sardinia. Despite being a minority language, Catalan is spoken by over 6 million people, and it is understood by about 9 million.⁽²⁸⁾ This makes Catalan more widely spoken than certain majority languages such as Danish. Contrary to popular belief, Catalan is not a mere hybrid of French and Spanish. Rather, it is a fully fledged member of the Romance family, with Balear and Valencian as minor language variants.

The earliest written record of Catalan dates back to the 9th century. Usage of the language spread when James I (1213-1276), conquered the kingdoms of Valencia and Mallorca. Catalan remained the official language of the powerful Catalan-Aragonese kingdom, until it was supplanted by the Bourbons. They imposed Spanish as the official language in 1718, in the wake of the War of Spanish Succession.⁽²⁹⁾

Since then, the Catalans have been for most of their history a persecuted minority. From time to time, the Spanish State has allowed freedom for the expression of Catalan language and culture. However, much more often, the Catalan experience has been one of struggle to preserve these in the face of repression from Madrid. Clearly, such circumstances have had a significant impact on Catalan education. Educationalists have found themselves in the forefront of defending Catalan traditions, in the face of encroachments from the central government.

The history of the secular Catalan school goes back to 1560, when the *Conseil de Cent* (Council of a hundred) created one of the first free public schools in Europe. The Bourbons banned Catalan medium education in 1718. Despite prohibition, and the closure of this school, resistance continued in favour of Catalan language and culture. In 1749 for example, Baldiri Rexach published his influential pedagogical work *Instruccions per l'ensenyança de minyons*.⁽³⁰⁾

Whilst in 1780, the *Societat d'Amics del País de Mallorca*, opened two "patriotic schools", which aimed to maintain the tradition of Catalan learning.

The development of education with a Catalan ethos, became a little easier after 1857, when the Moyano Law gave local municipalities the responsibility for maintaining schools.⁽³¹⁾ The 19th century also saw a renaissance in Catalan literature, and the strengthening of Catalan as a standardised linguistic system. This process could be said to have begun when Joan-Pau Ballot published his *Gramàtica i apològia de la llengüa Catalana* in 1814.⁽³²⁾ The origins of the modern expression of Catalan nationalism is commonly traced back to a number of political and nationalistic works by Catalan writers written in the 1830's and 1840's. In 1833 Carlos Aribau published his poem "La Patria" whilst in the 1840's, Mila de la Roca, Ribot Fontserè, and Ferrer Subirana, published works that defined the political aspirations of Catalan nationalism.⁽³³⁾

In 1901 the *Lliga Regionalista* was formed by Catalan nationalists to press for devolution. The Lliga published its own Catalan language newspaper *La Veu de Catalunya* (The voice of Catalonia). This organisation proved to be more than a pressure group, when it forged an alliance with other Catalan political groups to contest the 1907 Spanish elections. This alliance won 41 of the 44 Catalan seats for the Spanish Cortes, and put devolution firmly on the agenda.⁽³⁴⁾

The eventual result of this pressure was the granting of a limited form of devolution in 1914. A local government body known as the *Mancomunitat* was created. The Mancomunitat had only limited powers. However, it was able to raise local taxes, and could support education within the area of Catalonia. The Mancomunitat developed a policy of support for Catalan medium education in schools, and supported research into Catalan in higher education. It also gave funds to the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* that had been formed in 1907.⁽³⁵⁾

Catalan medium education was once more prohibited by the dictators of Primo de Rivera in the 1920's. The Mancomunitat was also abolished.⁽³⁶⁾ The existence of a separate Catalan culture did not fit in well with Primo de Rivera's notion of one Spanish-speaking family, united by the values of "Hispanidad".⁽³⁷⁾

Despite pressure from Madrid, the preservation of Catalan cultural individuality was strengthened by the economic power of the Catalan speaking bourgeoisie. Catalonia (and the Basque Country too for that matter), as coastal areas of the Spanish state, have enjoyed readily accessible trade routes and business opportunities with the rest of Europe. During the long period when Catalan medium education was opposed by the Spanish government, there existed private funding to develop the Catalan school on an unofficial basis.

The emotional desire to preserve Catalan culture was supported by financial muscle too. This gave the Catalans an advantage that many minority groups, such as the Scots, lack. The Scottish experience has been that many of the most talented, as well as the poorest, have gone to develop other countries such as Canada, New Zealand and the United States. For example, one of the most moving songs of Robert Burns was written to a lady friend when he was about to emigrate to the West Indies. (Scotland was fortunate in that Burns changed his mind at the last minute.) The economic power of the Catalan bourgeoisie has for centuries been an important pillar in the defence of the Catalan people.

When Catalan medium education was once more banned by Primo de Rivera in the 1920s, the activities of the earlier years of the century had still sown the seeds for the development of a Catalan school which aimed to preserve Catalan culture, but which was also feeling towards strategies for the promotion of multilingual and multicultural education. These efforts started to bear fruit when the Spanish Republic at last gave genuine autonomy to Catalonia in the 1930s.

The advent of the Republic brought a variety of changes to the political, social and educational structures of Catalonia; these were to have long term consequences despite its defeat in the Spanish Civil War. The developments that took place in the 1930s strongly influenced the course of the post-Franco settlement between Madrid and the minorities in the late 1970s.

The most significant event for the promotion of Catalan nationhood in the 1930s was the creation of a local government structure known as the *Generalitat*, and the granting of a significant degree of political autonomy, including control of educational policy and administration, to the region.⁽³⁸⁾ Throughout the era of the Republic education in Catalonia was controlled by an

organ of the Generalitat known as the *Consell de l'Escola Nova Unificada* (Council of the New Unified School). The New Unified School was secular, free, and co-education, and also had a distinct multicultural and multilingual dimension.⁽³⁹⁾

Catalonia in the 1930s was clearly a multicultural region. The economic prosperity which helped to support Catalan cultural development had also encouraged migration into the region, notably from Galicia and Andalusia. This gave the *Consell* the need to define linguistic policy in Catalonia as applied to education. The 1931 Decree of Bilingualism gave children the right to education in the maternal tongue, whether Catalan or Spanish. This form of bilingualism was different from that implemented later in the century, in so far as there was no stipulation that Spanish speaking children should learn Catalan. However, Catalan children were required to undertake the study of Spanish from the age of eight years.

The decree of 1931 to a large extent conformed to bilingual and cognitive theory of that time. At the first International Conference on Bilingualism held in Luxembourg in 1928, the large majority of delegates advocated only mother tongue learning in the initial stages of education, followed by the academic learning of the second language in the later years of primary when cognitive facilities were "suitably developed".⁽⁴⁰⁾ Thus the 1930s concept of the bilingual school was one where two languages were used in the school, but in segregated classes with pupils receiving instructions only in the mother tongue. In Catalonia this philosophy led to the development of classes segregated by mother tongue within the same school.

Whilst this was a rather limited form of multicultural and multilingual education by present-day standards, it did set several important precedents. Firstly, it recognised the fundamental principle that the educational system had the duty to recognise the cultural and linguistic needs of the minority cultural group within the state. Secondly, it showed that at a practical level the school could function effectively whilst catering for cultural and linguistic diversity. Moreover, the Catalan educational system of the 1930s provided a good role model for teachers faced with the challenge of operating in a multicultural and multilingual environment. Although children learned in their maternal tongue, all teachers were required to have a knowledge of Catalan. In order to accomplish this, the Generalitat ran free courses for teachers, and Catalan could also be studied by correspondence by teachers in more remote rural districts.

Despite the fall of the Spanish Republic in 1939, important measures had been taken to bolster and nurture the Catalan school, and Catalan culture generally. The educational policy of the Republic with regard to its regions laid the foundations upon which the educational system is built in democratic Spain today.

There is space here only for a sketchy history of Catalan education, but even so it is not difficult to appreciate the vital role of education in the development of minority cultures. A unique culture demands a unique educational system, though this does not preclude coexistence with or integration into the majority system. The Catalan experience has shown that when political efforts are made to diminish or eradicate a minority culture, it is the pedagogues who bear a substantial part of the brunt of fighting the rearguard against this pressure. Of course such examples are not confined to the Catalan experience. For instance in the 19th century we have the famous example of the young Marie Curie(née Skłodowska) giving clandestine classes in Polish history, despite the restrictions of the Russian authorities. In the case of the Catalan situation, the men and women of learning have been rather successful over the long term in seeing off hostile politicians.

But, once again, minority cultures do not live by education alone. In the case of Catalonia under the Republic, a devolved educational system was only part of wider political and administrative autonomy under the auspices of the Generalitat. In the case of the Spanish Republic the Catalans as a minority were integrated into the majority state, through safeguards that ensured the development of the minority group. An indigenous educational system was obviously important in this respect. Equally important was political devolution, and the lifting of restrictions on the use of Catalan in the media. These measures served to give Catalan a social and legal status that raised the minority above the beleaguered state of partial, or complete, illegality under which it had previously laboured.

Therefore, one can see that, despite its demise in 1939, the Spanish Republic took actions that were to have a distinct bearing on the course of education in the *Paisos Catalans* after the death of Franco in 1975. For one thing, the creation of the Generalitat in the 1930s provided a functional model for devolved local government in the late 1970s. Secondly, we have during the 1930s the important step of the creation of schools which were organised around two languages, even although perceptions of bilingual education became more sophisticated after the 1930s. Thirdly, during the Spanish Republic,

Catalan gained equality with Spanish as the official language of the region. One sees the policy of retraining teachers in the Catalan language as the direct forebear of the programmes initiated by the second Generalitat after the death of Franco.

When the civil war ended in 1939 Franco wasted no time in reimposing Castilian dominance on the Catalan school. The *Paisos Catalans*, with the notable exception of Valencia, had of course been against him during the civil war, and Franco had no time for the separatist or multicultural aspirations of the Catalans (or of anyone else, for that matter.) Within weeks of his victory, Franco handed control of the great majority of Catalan schools back to the religious orders in a reversal of the secularisation of the Spanish Republic. In addition, the *Boletín de la Provincia de Barcelona* of 14 November 1939 revived the policy of the old decree of Nueva Planta by stating: "the inspectorate agreed to inform all teachers, in public or private schools of the province, that the medium of the school is Castilian only." This policy in the schools was accompanied by intermittent attempts to prohibit the speaking of Catalan in society at large.⁽⁴¹⁾

In spite of the repression, Catalan language and culture turned out to be remarkably resilient. Petty harassment such as the re-naming of streets in Barcelona with falangist rather than Catalan names seems to have made the Catalan population more determined to resist. In 1951, for example, a two-day general strike in Barcelona manifested both cultural and political resistance to the régime.⁽⁴²⁾

When in 1960, Franco visited Barcelona's main concert hall, the Palau de Musica, the audience sang the proscribed Catalan anthem, much to his annoyance, and proceedings were broken up by riot police.⁽⁴³⁾

During the 1960s, censorship eased a little in cultural matters, and there was something of a renaissance in Catalan art and literature. In 1966 Manuel Fraga, Franco's Minister of Information, allowed the publication of *Tele-Estel*, the first Catalan language periodical since 1939.⁽⁴⁴⁾ With a growing confidence in the arts and literature came renewed political activity. In 1971, an "Assembly of Catalonia" was formed by the anti-Franco groups in the region. The Assembly had several aims: amnesty for exiles and political prisoners, the restoration of democracy, and the re-establishment of political autonomy.⁽⁴⁵⁾

In the last years of Franco's régime Madrid finally began to make some small concession to the agitation for education in minority tongues. Under the *Nueva ley de la Educación* of 1970 it became permissible for schools to teach "native languages" for 3 hours per week. The term "native languages" meant Basque, Catalan, Valencian or Asturian. In fact three hours per week were hardly sufficient to promote the minority tongues. The significance of the change was to show the impossibility of legislating a language out of existence, when there exist organised groups of speakers sufficiently willing to defend it. The only lasting effect of Franco's monolingual policy was to have denied those who are today middle aged the opportunity to become literate in Catalan in their schooldays. However, it is clear that this generation was not to be denied functional literacy in their native language by the failure of the dictatorship to provide it in school.

On the death of Franco in 1975 Spain began to emerge from international isolation. Despite the hiccup of Tejero's attempted coup in 1981, the country underwent rapid transformation to become a modern Western European democracy.⁽⁴⁶⁾ The success of this transformation was acknowledged when Spain was admitted into the European Community.

Democracy, and the re-emergence of Spain on the international stage, benefited the Catalans in two ways. Firstly, the establishment of democracy made a constitutional settlement between Madrid and the minorities almost inevitable. This resulted in the granting of autonomy in local government in the 1980s. This did not apply solely to the traditional minority areas of Catalonia, Galicia, and the Basque Country, but to the other regions of Spain too. (See Map 3.) Secondly, the realisation that we are all minorities within the European Community made the suppression of national minorities seem even less logical.

The current relationship between Catalonia and Madrid has provided an encouraging example of how devolution allows the periphery to co-exist with the centre. The Linguistic Normalisation Law of 1983 restored the rights of Catalan and Spain's other minority languages. They now enjoy equal legal status with Spanish in their own region. Since the restoration of the Generalitat, Catalonia has continued to develop a bilingual and multicultural educational system. The programme of linguistic immersion has been particularly successful since 1983. The paedagogical theory behind linguistic

immersion has been well documented by Lambert, Cummins and others. The ambitious programme of the Generalitat from 1983-1984 has been to use total immersion to develop mass bilingualism in the region.

The programme is applied in classes where between 75% and 100% of pupils are not Catalan speakers. This means that it is most often employed in the working class "dormitory" suburbs of Barcelona, which have high proportions of non-Catalans who have migrated to the region from poorer areas such as Andalusia. At present an estimated 50,000 pupils are undergoing total immersion.⁽⁴⁷⁾

This programme has had an important influence on the number of people who are functional in Catalan. Between 1981 and 1990 there has been a 10% increase in the number of the general population who understand Catalan. The success of linguistic immersion is shown more clearly by the figure of 39.3% of young people aged 2 to 14 who have mastered written Catalan. This rises to 47.8% in the 15 to 29 age group, compared to 21.7% for those over 30.⁽⁴⁸⁾

It is clear, then, that educational policy has helped to promote the language, and by implication the culture, of the Catalans within the Spanish state. However, that is by no means the only reason for the strength of Catalan culture. It is of fundamental importance that Catalan is an appropriate language to use in every aspect of normal life. The extent of usage of the Catalan language has automatic spin-off benefits for the survival of the culture. In 1984, 5,300,000 copies of books published in Catalan were sold, an increase from 3,300,000 in 1980. Perhaps of even greater importance is the comprehensive nature of topics covered.⁽⁴⁹⁾

Similarly, broadcasting is well established. The T.V.3 channel broadcasts exclusively in Catalan, whilst the other state T.V. channels have a proportion of Catalan language programmes. Often these are not home produced, but may be foreign programmes such as North American films dubbed into Catalan. Many older Spaniards, for example, started learning Catalan by tuning into dubbed episodes of *Dallas* in the early 1980s. This situation means that business must pay heed to the linguistic preferences of the region, in order not to antagonise customers. Advertising has to be in Catalan as well as Spanish. Advertisements such as posters may be written in two languages, often being pasted separately.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The Catalan experience provides a good example of the survival and indeed of a minority culture flourishing when not obstructed by central government. Developments in the region provide an instructive "case study" of the positive coexistence of majority and minority groups.

Linguistic minorities sometimes take great encouragement from the successes of other minorities elsewhere. Many Gaels in Scotland have gained new hope from Catalonia (of which more in a moment) and from Wales, where the number of children speaking the language has been rising for some years, almost certainly as a result of Welsh-medium schooling, especially in the Anglophone south. Similarly, many Welsh-language enthusiasts have pointed to the successful revival of Hebrew as an effective spoken language in the state of Israel, to the recovery of Finnish from the domination of Swedish and Russian, of the resurgence of Icelandic and Faeroese (and Norwegian) from the shadow of Danish, Czech from overcasting by German, and so forth. Similar points have been made about the establishment of Kiswahili in Tanzania as a viable national, official and educational language.

It is important, however, not to read too much into these, because special factors applied that may not be valid elsewhere. Swahili, for example, had the supreme advantage of being an established lingua franca, at once African and tribally neutral, in a country fragmented (unlike its neighbours) into a large number of small tribal groups. Having become established and developed in Tanzania, it gained acceptability in Kenya and Uganda in a way that Kigikuyu and Luganda, the languages of single powerful (but overall minority) tribes could not as *national* languages. In the case of Icelandic and Faeroese, their improvement in status was certainly helped by the acquisition of independence or autonomy, but they had never ceased to be spoken by practically the entire population; much the same is true of Finnish (apart from a small Swedish-speaking minority.) In these cases, the problem was one of status, but not of use. Likewise with Czech; it is true that German tended to dominate in the towns - Franz Kafka wrote in German - but it never ceased to be the majority language, and was therefore a very strong basis for political change and the climate of opinion to work on. In Norway, the position is more complex, for alongside *riksmål* (which is virtually Danish with different pronunciation) has been developed *nýnorsk* or New Norwegian, developed from the local variants known collectively as *landsmål* (country speech.) The two enjoy equal official and educational status, though the

majority still speak *riksmål*. In all these cases, the language in question was already in place and widely in use; the task to enhance its prestige and develop its use for "high" purposes.⁽⁵¹⁾

The case of Hebrew is rather different. Although of course surviving as a sacred and liturgical language, it had by the time of the Maccabees been replaced by Aramaic. Nineteenth-century Zionists had tried to revive it, meeting opposition from the more conservative rabbis, who regarded it as too sacred for popular use. What gave it its chance was the establishment of the State of Israel and the increased immigration of Jews from all over the world, speaking Yiddish, Ladino, German, Russian, English, Portuguese, Arabic, Amharic and a host of others. Hebrew was not only the prominent religious and cultural language, but the only possible means of communication between the disparate groups.

It is worth adding that, embattled minority tongue though it is, Welsh has more going for it than either of the Scottish languages. It is spoken by about 20 per cent of the Welsh population (about half a million), as against 80,000 Gaelic speakers and an unknown number of Scots speakers. It has a much more effective and long-established use in education, the media, the chapels, and among the urban professional middle classes. It also is perceived, even among those who do not speak it, as the language of Wales, and thus has an identification with the whole country that neither Gaelic nor (Lowland) Scots can easily claim. Developments in Welsh, therefore, may show that it is *possible* to turn things around through education and by other means, but it must be remembered that Welsh was in a stronger position in the first place.

Against this background, some differences between Catalonia and Scotland, as well as some similarities, have to be borne in mind. First, and most obviously, Catalonia is autonomous, which Scotland is not. There is a case, however, for regarding Scotland as *potentially* autonomous; as already observed, all political parties - with the exception of the governing Conservatives, whose supporters form a small minority in Scotland - are committed to some kind of autonomy at least, as are 80 per cent of the population. This particular difference, therefore, may well disappear in the not too distant future.

Secondly, Catalonia is one of the most prosperous regions of Spain, with 15.9 per cent of the population of Spain but 16.6 per cent of the active population, 19.3 per cent of the Gross National Product, and over 23 per cent

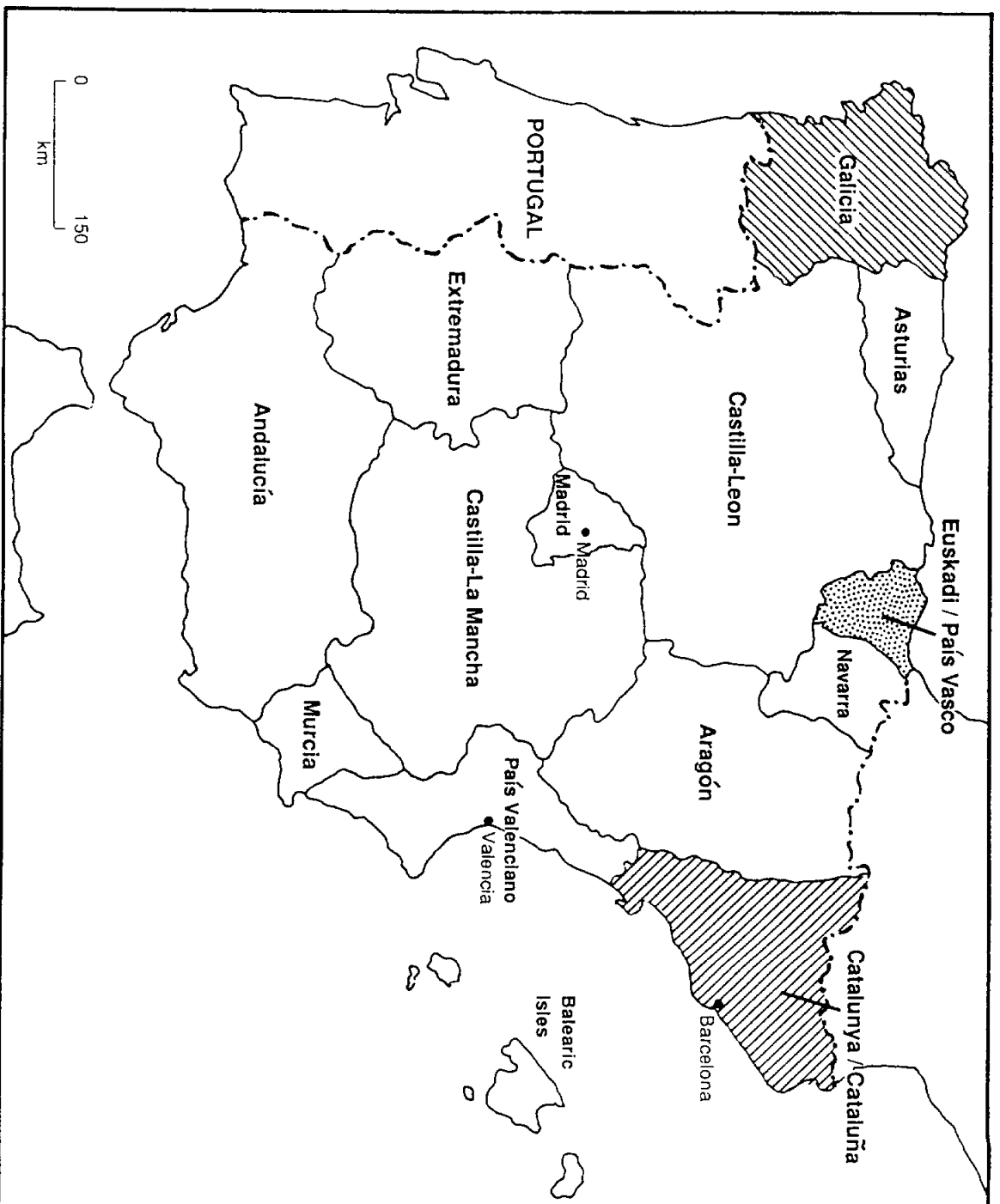
of the tax collection.⁽⁵²⁾ It thus not only retains its population, but attracts incomers from Castile, Extremadura, Andalucía and elsewhere. This poses challenges to the maintenance of Catalan language policy, but Catalan domination of government, the professions and the administration, as well as the closeness of Catalan and Castilian, make them challenges not insuperable. In the Basque Country, (also a more prosperous area and a magnet to incomers), whose language is a total isolate and difficult to learn, the problem is less tractable.⁽⁵³⁾ In Scotland, this is not the position. The economy is in post-industrial decline, the population is dwindling, and the location of the centres of power and opportunity elsewhere have long bled away many of the younger, more able and more ambitious. At the same time, the quality of life attracts many incomers, especially the retired and especially into the Highlands (where they are known as "white settlers".) Very few of them show any interest in the local language or inclination to learn it, and many can actively resent its use.

Thirdly, linguistic differences must be taken into account. Catalan is associated with the very existence and identity of the Catalan people, is spoken by most of them, and is used by virtually all social classes over the entire range of registers. It is used for university lectures and in the courts, and in bars and at football matches. It is used for "high" literature - it is, after all, the language of Ausías March and Ramón Llull - and for the mundane prints, even the rubbish. (It does not *quite* plumb the depths reached by the English-language tabloid press, but few languages do.) It is the natural language of most of the people for all purposes. It is relatively easy for Castilian-speaking incomers to learn. Finally, there is a clear official policy on "linguistic normalisation", with a considerable support, including its role in education.

The Scottish situation is rather different. There are two indigenous languages, Gaelic and Scots, neither of which has had in modern times the "national marker" role of Catalan, or even Welsh. Most Scots speak neither, but all speak English of one kind or another, sometimes shading into Scots. Gaelic is numerically the weaker, but at least is distinctive and has a standard form; Scots, though far more accessible to Anglophones, no longer has a standard, having broken up into a series of dialects after the Union. Both have a much more limited range of use. Rich as both are in high as well as folk literature, modern as well as ancient, there are whole areas of discourse where they are hardly used at all. There is plenty of good and even great poetry in Gaelic, but very little expository prose; in Scots, also

well-endowed in poetry and drama, there is almost no expository prose at all. There is some education in Gaelic - a little, but growing - but none in Scots. It *would* be as easy for English-speakers to learn Scots as for Castilian-speakers to learn Catalan, but it has no currency in official, educational or occupational use, and few see the point of doing so. Gaelic, on the other hand, is much more difficult to learn. Linguistically at least, the relationship of English to Scots and Gaelic is not unlike that of Castilian to Catalan and Euzkera (Basque) respectively (though Gaelic is an Indo-European language, albeit a distant relative of English.)

All of this suggests that, for Scotland, there is still a great deal of ground to be covered. But the Catalan experience also suggests that legislative, administrative and educational intervention has a role to play, provided that the political will is there. In both cases, official recognition and the growth of self-confidence appear to be critically important. For reasons already examined, Catalan always had hidden strengths, even at the time of its suppression, and it has become clear since Franco's death that it enjoys more advantages than either Scots or Gaelic. But it is worth recalling that Basque had none of these; indeed, it lacked some of the advantages of Gaelic, having had virtually no literature until the 19th century. Yet it has been experiencing an impressive public and educational revival, if less spectacularly than Catalan; the crucial factor here appears to be political will and consensual support. In fairness, one should also recognise the role of the Spanish state, until relatively recent times the chief persecutor of the minorities. Not only has it accepted and facilitated the development of autonomy. In what must be one of the most remarkable turn-arounds of modern times, the official view now regards pluralism as a positive feature, and its acceptance and understanding as a legitimate value for all Spaniards. In the *Ley Orgánica* of October 1990 (the School Reform Law), "education in respect of the linguistic and cultural plurality of Spain" is laid down as one of the principal objectives of the system.⁽⁵⁴⁾ It could be asked how far the thinking of the British state has so far progressed along a similar path.



Map 3: Autonomous Provinces of Spain

Notes and references

1. The Conservative Party in Scotland campaigned against the Scotland Act in 1978 on the grounds of the Act's inadequacy; opposition to devolution as such became clear party policy only after the election victory of 1979.
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3. *Kurdistan - the Last Colony*. Channel 4 TV, 11 March 1991, 11.00 p.m.
4. Official French statistics do not record the numbers of speakers of minority languages, but see Serant, P. (1965), *La France des minorités* (Paris, Laffont.)
5. The pied pipers speak Welsh. *The Economist*, 6 August 1983. Morgan, G. (1988). The place of the school in the maintenance of the Welsh language. *Comparative Education*, 24, 2, 1988, pp. 247-255.
6. The 1978 Referendum on devolution produced a majority in favour of the specific proposals in the Scotland Act, though by a narrow majority. Parliament had determined, however, uniquely for this occasion, that the Yes vote had to be not less than 40% of those on the electoral roll, including the double entries, the removed, the ill and the dead. This was not achieved, and the Government fell in the row that followed. Its Conservative successor then made it clear that it would have nothing to do with home rule.
7. Grant, J.H. (1983). *An investigation into the Feasibility of Gaelic/English Bilingual Primary Schools on the Mainland of Scotland* (M.Phil. Dissertation, University of Glasgow); Grant, N. (1985), Gaelic in education : needs and possibilities. *Modern Languages in Scotland*, 25 January 1985, pp. 141-150; Grannd, Niall (1984), A' Ghàidhlig agus foghlam air a' Ghàidhealtachd 's a' Ghalldachd an Alba. *Gairm*, 127, an Samhradh 1984, 205-211.
8. For a general survey, see Bannerman, John (1974), *Studies in the History of Dalriada* (Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press); Smout, T.C. (1969), *A History of the Scottish People* (London, Collins.); Prebble, John (1972), *The Lion in the North* (Harmondsworth, Penguin). Specifically on the language question, see MacKinnon (1991), *Gaelic: a Past and Future Aspect* (Edinburgh, Saltire), Durkacz, op. cit.
9. Grant, N. (1987). The education of indigenous linguistic minorities in Scotland. In Brock, C. (ed.), *The urban and cultural context of education: case studies in Great Britain*. *Aspects of Education*, 36, pp. 35-52.
10. Beresford Ellis, Peter (1982), *MacBeth* (London.)
11. This was quite proper under Celtic law; the monarchy was elective (from a small group, admittedly), not determined by primogeniture.
12. Norman names in Scotland include Bruce, Comyn, Fraser, Grant. They became Gaelicised fairly rapidly, a phenomenon also much remarked upon in Ireland.

13. Don Pedro de Ayala, 1498. Cit. Drikinson, W.C., Donaldson, G. and Milne, J. (eds.) (1963). *A Source Book of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, Nelson.)
14. Cit. MacKinnon, K. (1976), *The Lion's Tongue* (Inverness, Club Leabhar.)
15. MacKinnon, opp. cit.
16. Literally, "like a river lost in the desert."
17. Gillies, William (1989), *Gaelic and Scotland/Alba agus a' Ghàidhlig* (Edinburgh U.P.)
18. Fraser, A. (1989), *Gaelic in Primary Education : a Study of the Development of Gaelic Bilingual Education in Urban Contexts*. (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Glasgow.) [Also known as Anne Lorne Gillies, v.i.]
19. Gillies, A.L. (1990), *Gaelic education in Scotland : present and future* (Memorandum to EIS Advisory Committee on History.)
20. Grant, J.H., loc. cit. This formed the basis to a case presented to Strathclyde Region in 1984, and was probably instrumental, at least partly, in the opening of the first Gaelic-medium unit.
21. See, for example, Hulbert, John (ed.) (1985), *Gaelic : Looking to the Future* (Edinburgh, Andrew Fletcher Society); *Cor na Gàidhlig/Language, Community and Development* (Report prepared for the Highlands and Islands Development Board, November 1982); for public opinion, see MacKinnon, K. (1981), *Scottish Opinion on Gaelic* (Hatfield Polytechnic : Social Sciences Occasional Papers, 6.); MacKinnon, K. (1987), *Occupation, Migration and Language Maintenance in Gaelic Communities* (Hatfield Polytechnic : Business and Social Sciences Occasional Papers, BSS 15.) See also *Poileasaidh Foghlaim Gàidhlig/Gaelic Education Policy* (An Comann Gaidhealach, Inverness.)
22. The figures are from the 1981 Census; the returns from the 1991 Census are still awaited. For an analysis of the 1981 figures, see MacKinnon, K. (1991), "Ane end of ane auld sang" - or new dawn? A century of the Census for Scotland's Gaelic question. *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, Vol. LVI, 1988-1990 (Inverness, 1991.), pp. 21-51.
23. See, for example Hornby, P. (ed.) (1977), *Bilingualism : Psychological and Educational Implications* (New York: Academic Press), Lewis, E Glynn (1981), *Bilingualism and Bilingual Education* (Oxford: Pergamon); Beardsmore, H. Baetens (1982), *Bilingualism : Basic Principles* (Cleveland, Tieto.); Pride, J.B. and Holmes, J. (eds.) (1972), *Sociolinguistics* (Harmondsworth: Penguin); Dodson, C.J., *The Bilingual Method* (Aberystwyth, U.C. of Wales.)
24. Kay, B. (1986), *Scots - the Mither Tongue* (Edinburgh: Mainstream.)
25. McClure, J.D. (1988), *Why Scots Matters* (Edinburgh: Saltire.)
26. This issue is discussed both in Kay and McClure, loc. cit.

27. Translation, if necessary: "This has been promoted by many writers, trying to make one Scots language again. But it has not had much effect in ordinary use, for to most Scots, used to speaking Scots but writing English, it looks odd. Sure, most can understand well enough if they try, but it does not come naturally; their whole experience of school and officialdom are against it. It will have to take more than a few poets and writers to reverse the whole situation. Still, the Norwegians and the Catalans have done it, so perhaps the thing is not inconceivable; but it will have to be a long road to go."
28. Carulla, M., *The Catalan Language Today*, Publicacions de l'Institut de Sociolingüística Catalana, Departament de Cultura, Generalitat de Catalunya, 1980, 12.
29. Ibid, page 11.
30. Source: Unpublished background data kindly provided by the Department d'Ensenyament (Education Department), Generalitat de Catalunya.
31. For more information on the Moyano Law see Shubert, A., *A Social History of Modern Spain*, Unwin Hyman, 1990, p.182.
32. Fernandez-Armesto, F., *Barcelona: A Thousand Years of the City's Past*, Sinclair-Stevenson, 1991, p. 162.
33. Ibid.
34. Read, J., *The Catalans*, Faber and Faber, 1978, pp. 180-182.
35. Ibid.
36. The attempt by Primo to suppress Catalan autonomy and national feeling seems to have had the opposite effect. In 1923 the Catalan writer Cambo wrote a book called *Per la Concordia*, in which he ironically thanks Primo de Rivera for "forcing it (Catalan nationalism) to recognise itself".

Quoted in Alba, V., *Catalonia: A Profile*, Praeger, 1975, p. 103.
37. In his influential book *Modern Spain*, Raymond Carr says of Primo de Rivera ". . . he shared the Castilian view that regionalism that went beyond folklore and home crafts was a cover for 'blind and perverse separatists'. He thought that Catalanism was the work of a small minority of university professors and intellectuals; its manifestations - the use of Catalan in church, the Catalan flag and the national dance - were suppressed."

Carr, R., *Modern Spain*, Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 104.
38. The Generalitat was given legal authority by the Republic on 18th April 1931. The original Statute Text that defines the powers devolved to Catalonia can be read in *Diario de las Sesiones de los Cortes Constituyentes*, Madrid, 18th August 1931.
39. The broadening and democratisation of the educational system brought about by these changes provoked a rather curious editorial in the "Times" newspaper on 22nd October 1931. It noted that professional scribes in Barcelona were worried that the coming of mass literacy,

promoted by these changes, would destroy their livelihood. The editorial goes on to lament the demise of the skilled letter writer, and beemoan the poor standards of letter writing "in modern times".

The Times, 22nd October 1931, p. 12, col. G.

40. For these comments on the history of bilingual education I am grateful to Vila, Ignasi, *Reflexions sobre l'educació bilingüe : Llengua de Lallar i Llengua d'Instrucció* (Departament d'Ensenyament, Generalitat de Catalunya).
41. In 1939, shortly after the fall of Barcelona, Ridruejo, a prominent member of the Falange (the Spanish fascists) arrived in the town to distribute pro-Franco propaganda literature. To his surprise he was not allowed to do so because his material was written in Catalan.

Gilmour, D., *The Transformation of Spain : from Franco to Constitutional Monarchy*, Quartet Books, 1985, p. 121.
42. Ellwood, S.M., *Spanish Facism in the Franco Era*, Macmillan Press, 1987, p. 100.
43. Hooper, J., *The Spaniards*, Viking, 1986, p. 236.
44. Gilmour, D., op. cit., p. 125.
45. Ibid.
46. In February 1981 Civil Guardsmen, under the command of Lt. Col. Tejero, occupied the Cortes and held the deputies present hostage for almost 17 hours. At the same time General Milans del Bosch declared a state of emergency and sent tanks onto the streets of Valencia. This was supposed to be the start of a military coup against the constitutional government. However, King Juan Carlos condemned the conspiracy, and order was soon restored by loyal army units.
47. Source: Departament d'Ensenyament, Generalitat de Catalunya.
48. Data based on 1986 municipal census for Catalonia, compiled by Consorci di'Informació i Documentació de Catalunya (Catalan Census Office). Quoted in Carulla, M., op. cit., p.15.
49. Publishers' Union of Catalonia. Quoted in Carulla, M., op. cit., p. 36.
50. A good example of this is the advertising displayed by Pekin's in Barcelona underground stations. Pekin's is a company that retails hot takeaway fast food such as hamburgers, French fries, etc. In its Catalan language advertising it emphasises that it is a Catalan company. In advertising current in early 1991, the message was even printed on the poster in such a way that it looked at first glance as if it was handwritten. It would perhaps be rather strange if in Scotland a fast food firm appealed to customers by stressing its connections with Gaelicdom, even if such connections genuinely existed. In Barcelona, on the other hand, the status and usage of Catalan is so well established as to make local associations an important aspect of the advertising campaign.
51. See Haugen et al., loc. cit.

52. *Figures of Catalonia 1988/89* (Generalitat de Catalunya; Consorci d'informació i documentació de Catalunya.)
53. Bernstein-Tarrow, Norma (1985). The autonomous Basque community in Spain - language, culture and education. In Brock, C. and Tulasiewicz, W. (eds.), *Cultural Identity and Educational Policy* (London: Croom Helm), pp. 244-270.
54. *Ley Orgánica 1/1990 de 3 de octubre, de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo* (Jefatura del Estado, Madrid.)

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