6 Reclaiming Voice through Family Language Policies: Parental (Socio)linguistic Citizenship in Castilian-Spanish-Dominated Multilingual Settings

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Drawing on Stroud's (2018) analytical framework of (socio)linguistic citizenship, this chapter investigates the complex association between governmental language policies and how they are interpreted, implemented and/or negotiated by various social actors (e.g. parents, children), revealing ideological spaces for the use or non-use of minority languages in multilingual societies. This will be studied in relation to urban landscapes of two Castilian-Spanish-dominated geopolitical settings of Spain: Galicia and the Basque Autonomous Community, where a collective of pro-minority language parents have made a conscious decision to bring up their children in either Galician or Basque. Using multiple qualitative research methods, including observations, interviews and focus groups, we demonstrate how these parents become policy intermediaries at home and in the exterior by monitoring their children's language development through favourable literacy atmosphere in the minority language, developing prestige for the minority language through continuous encouragement, selecting and promoting companionship with minority-language-speaking peers of their children. Moreover, we argue that the parents' under-the-radar participation in the policy discourse may appear extremely intermittent and ad hoc, *but their individual actions, when galvanised into collective mobilisations such as setting up minority-language-medium schools (historically in the BAC and more recently in Galicia), can lead to bottom-up language policies.*

Introduction

The preservation of cultural and linguistic diversity in today's world is a major concern to scientists, governments, policymakers, community stakeholders, and advocates of linguistic human rights. National language policy that is implemented by the government is perceived as official legislation designed to influence people's linguistic lived experiences (Stroud, 2009). In addition to top-down policies, the family's language decisions towards minority languages and cultures, for instance, are vital as they offer important insights into the dynamics of identity formation and language maintenance in threatened language communities. The home-use of a minority language fosters its intergenerational transmission while simultaneously family plays a significant role in the reproduction and transference of exogenous social structures, ideologies and discourses. This is largely because parents provide their children with material, human, social and cultural capital whose transmissions create 'inequalities in children's educational and occupational attainment' (Tzanakis, 2011: 76). This is especially pertinent to the choice, application and use of language in the home domain.

Considering language policy as a multi-layered mechanism ranging from government sectors to education, home and community, the primary intention of this study will be to analyse the complex association between governmental policies towards minority languages and how these policies are interpreted, appropriated, practiced and/or negotiated by grassroots-level agents (e.g. parents, caregivers and children) opening up ideological spaces for the use or non-use of minority languages (cf. Stroud, 2001: 353). Based on observation, in-depth fieldwork interviews and focus groups, this will be studied in relation to two Castilian-Spanish-dominated urban landscapes within Spain: Santiago de Compostela (Galicia) and a municipality from the Greater Bilbao area (the Basque Autonomous Community, hence, BAC), where a collective of pro-minority language parents have made a conscious decision to bring up their children in either Galician or Basque. Drawing on the analytical framework of (socio)linguistic citizenship (Stroud, 2018; Rampton *et al.*, 2018), this chapter delves into how the individual as well as collective efforts of these parents act as policy intermediaries influencing their children's language development.

This chapter commences with a discussion that situates family as an integral part of the language policy regime. Building the notion of (socio)linguistic citizenship, it will underscore the role of parental agency in framing bottom-up family language policies. This is followed by a brief outline of the sociolinguistic situation of each context, including its top-down language policies and their immediate impact on the sociolinguistic evolution of Basque and Galician. The next section offers an account of the research methodology and, finally, it culminates with a thematic analysis of the data.

Family as a Language Policy Regime: Power, Agency and (Socio)linguistic Citizenship

Whereas language policy research has received considerable academic attention over the past number of years, much of the focus has been on policy as a structured top-down (governmental) phenomenon. However, grassroots policies (e.g. family language policy) and the role of the actors within this discourse, such as parents, caregivers and children, remain largely understudied. Having emerged as an independent field only in the past decade, Family Language Policy (hence, FLP) quickly became an important domain in minority language research taking account of the 'explicit and overt decisions parents make about language use and language learning as well as implicit processes that legitimise certain language and literacy practices over others in the home' (Fogle, 2013: 83). Since the parents are individual entities, they may also differ in their 'impact beliefs', meaning the level to which parents find themselves as competent to exercise their power and 'responsible for shaping their children's language' (King *et al*., 2008: 910). Although traditionally the field of language transmission was seen as unidirectional (i.e. parents to children), more recent studies (see King, 2016; Wilson, 2020) suggest that children are also apt, resourceful and active agents of language socialisation. While socialising, they develop their own agency and start contributing to the reproduction of the public sphere inside the family domain (Nandi, in press). For instance, in some language revitalisation contexts where there is a strong presence of the minority language in education (e.g. Basque, Irish), children brought the minority language home from school, and thereby played a key role in reversing the shift (see Kasares, 2017; McGee, 2018).

Language policies, whether top-down or inside the home, include three interrelated, albeit independent, factors: language ideologies, language management and language practices (Spolsky, 2004). The ideologies component within FLP includes beliefs, attitudes, and norms that describe the value of a language. Language revival attempts, whether governmental or bottom-up, always already involve the advancement of a new ideology or ideologies about the value and use of a minoritised language in the face of more dominant, conventionalised ideologies that endorse the hegemonic language(s) in a society (Nandi & Devasundaram, 2017). Language ideologies are manifested through language practices. In the family context, individual parents can often be seen to transmit their ideologies through their 'language choices in interaction and hence socialize their children into this ideology' (Lanza, 2007: 61). Language planning or 'management', on the other hand, is defined as conscious and explicit efforts made by actors who maintain or intend to exert control over the subjects in a specific context to modify their language behaviour (Spolsky, 2019). Therefore, a family's language management refers to the choices and attempts that parents and other adult family members make

to maintain a language. However, the distinction between language management and practice inside the home domain, as Curdt-Christiansen (2014: 38) argues, 'is somewhat blurred'. This is because the parents in the FLP environment often adopt the role of custodians and tend to control children's everyday language conducts. This chapter conceives and locates the agentive role of parents as *in situ* language managers as one form of (socio)linguistic citizenship, a concept that will be elucidated further in the following paragraphs.

Citizenship, in its simplest form, can be understood as an individual's connection with the state (Spotti, 2011). Since today's postmodern societies are increasingly polycentric and put 'high demands on register development for those who live and act in them' (Blommaert, 2013: 195), the notion of 'citizenship' should not be seen as mere claims to recognition or a membership (Isin, 2008). It is rather linked to agency, a 'socioculturally mediated capacity to act' (Ahearn, 2001: 132). Since language is at the epicentre of citizenship struggles (Stroud, 2007), (socio)linguistic citizenship is defined as 'acts of language, frequently and of necessity, performed outside of the institutional *status quo*, that engage with voices on the margins to create conditions for a transformative agency' (Stroud & Kerfoot, 2020: 10). Therefore, it concerns speakers as agents for claiming their linguistic rights rather than having the state as the main agent (Deumert, 2018). In the context of macro-level language policies, the state is considered responsible for developing and implementing them into the public domain using various ideological state apparatuses (Althusser, 1971) such as education, mass media and religion. Although these dispositions are not ideally under the state's control, they are often used to perpetuate top-down ideologies on civil society (see Rampton *et al*., 2018: 73). The family as a micro social unit is not beyond these macro societal structures. Consequently, it can be argued that an FLP essentially involves the inner dimensions of ideological conditioning of individual family members and the external influence of state-level policies on them (Nandi, 2017a). Previous research on the intersection between governmental and micro level language policies further underscores that the formulation of an autonomous language agenda in the face of disillusionment with supervening state policy implementation is frequently enacted at the grassroots level, particularly within the family (see Curdt-Christiansen & Lanza, 2018; Nandi *et al*., 2022). As such, parents from the interiority of their private sphere can use their individual apprehension and interpretation of the top-down policy to raise public awareness, in order to contest the dominant ideologies (Nandi, 2018).

Sometimes individual families' discourses of (socio)linguistic citizenship may adopt a larger social role in minority language revitalisation contexts, as occurred in the Basque Country during the Franco regime where parents created privately funded Basque-medium schools, the so-called *ikastolak*, as a response to the top-down anti-Basque policies (see

Urla, 2012). A similar situation, although not identical, is taking place in the Galician urban terrain. In Galicia, as a reaction to the present top-down policy of the Galician government that has been seen to shrink the space for Galician in the public education curriculum, many like-minded parents have formed cooperatives to fund Galician-medium immersion schools. These activist parents took on this effort with an intention of extending their pro-Galician FLP to the education system, as public schools were becoming a space for de-Galicianisation during the early ages. Their bottom-up contestation through alternative discourses of power further underscores the aforementioned claim of a knowledge/power nexus (see also Mbembe, 2016; Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013). In the absence of access to the 'instruments of power' mentioned earlier, we shall now inspect the alternative pragmatic modes in form of (socio)linguistic citizenship through which pro-Galician/Basque parents bridge inner and outer spatial and social spheres, so as to create new conversations around the language revitalisation on the ground.

The Urban Sociolinguistic Settings of Basque and Galician

In the Spanish state sociolinguistic scenario, Franco's dictatorship (1936–1975) made the use of Castilian obligatory as the sole language for administration, education and media which marked an era of repression and discrimination for its minority languages including Galician and Basque. During this period, the use of these languages was mostly restricted to the home domain and informal conversations. The Basque territories posed a resistance to Franco's hegemonic policy towards the community's indigenous language and culture. In the early 1960s, the urban territories of the region witnessed the establishment of Basque-medium schools, the so-called *ikastolak*. These schools were often maintained by a collective of language activists including teachers, parents and members of local communities, many of which were driven by a strong nationalist sentiment towards Basque. The creation and expansion of *ikastolak* constitutes a fundamental collective phenomenon of the Basque society in the past 60 years (Euskaltzaindia, 2011). This bottom-up mobilisation not only contributed to establishing networks among pro-Basque activists, but the 'movement of *ikastolak*' and 'the *ikastolak* conscience' were also extended to the Basque geopolitical region (Fernandez, 1994). Overall, the expansion of *ikastolak* needs to be placed in the general environment against the Francoist regime and its sociolinguistic, cultural and political discrimination (Urla, 1993).

After Franco's demise, the new Constitution was written in 1978, leading to a new legal framework for its regional languages. This new constitutional right conferred diverse degrees of co-officiality to Galician and Basque alongside Castilian-Spanish in their respective Autonomous Communities. Consequently, provisions were made for the inclusion of

these languages in key institutional contexts including education and other formal domains from which they had been previously excluded. The 1982 Law for the Normalization of the Use of Basque and the 1983 Law defining the presence and role of Basque and Spanish in compulsory education marked a foundation for pro-Basque governmental policies. Basque and Spanish became compulsory subjects, and parents had the right to choose the language of instruction: only Spanish (model A), both Basque and Spanish (model B), and only Basque (model D). The increasing social prestige of Basque became especially visible in the educational context, where many parents, teachers and school principals supported model D (Zalbide, 1998). The evolution of the models clearly reflects the impact of all those educational language policy efforts (Manterola, 2019): the choice of model A has decreased from 65% in the 1980s to 5% nowadays, whereas enrolment in model D has increased from 20% to 75% in the same period.

One of the most positive impacts of this evolution has been the increase of potential Basque speakers among children and young generations. For instance, 25% among the age group of 16–24 knew Basque in 1991, whereas in 2016, the percentage was 71.4 (Basque Government, 2019). It is estimated that in the past 25 years, 300,000 people from Spanish-speaking homes have learnt Basque in compulsory education and adult education (Consejo Asesor del Euskera, 2016). However, other sociolinguistic trends are not so positive: concerning language transmission, the percentage of the population for whom Basque is (one of) the language(s) acquired at home remains approximately 23% between 1991 and 2016 (Sistema de Indicadores del Euskera, 2021). Referring to the use of Basque at home, the percentage has increased just 1.7 points between 1991 and 2016 (17.3% and 19%, respectively). Overall, the increase of potential Basque speakers has not turned into a significant increase in the use of the language in everyday social interactions. This complex evolution picture has led both governmental actors as well as pro-Basque social advocates to describe the current period of language policy in terms of 'active crisis' and 'crossroads' (Amonarriz & Martinez de Lagos, 2017; Irizar, 2017). As Irizar (2017: 12) puts it, keeping the business as usual will not result in the growth lived before, but we are actively looking for new ways to improve the situation.

In the Galician situation, the interaction between social and symbolic capital reveals itself in the superior status afforded to Castilian, widely perceived to retain a greater degree of symbolic capital. Gradual migration to urban areas since the mid-60s from poverty-ridden rural areas, where Galician was the main language has destabilised the demographic base of Galician. This facilitated a clear linguistic division in urban Galicia between a numerically small but socially dominant Castilian-speaking elite and a statistically large but socially marginalised Galician-speaking population relocating from rural areas (Nandi,

2019). Moreover, the strong centralist-nationalist propaganda of the Francoist regime considered the use of Galician as something unpatriotic, rustic and often treated it as a 'dialect' of Castilian that aggravated the pressure on Galician speakers of the time to switch to Castilian (O'Rourke, 2011). These linguistic lived-experiences had a negative impact on the Galician-speaking population especially from the urban/semi-urban areas, as many of them formed a pro-Castilian FLP and stopped speaking altogether their first language to the children.

Top-down language policy for Galician revolves around what is referred to as *Lei de Normalización Lingüística* (Law of Linguistic Normalisation) of 1983. Over the almost past four decades, institutional language policy discourses in Galicia focus mainly on medium of instruction in the school system supporting a progressive incorporation of Galician in the school curricula in form of bilingual programmes to achieve the goal of a 'balanced bilingualism' (Monteagudo, 2012). However, the policymakers of the conservative centralist party, which had been in the government almost successively during the first two decades of language policy in Galicia (1982–2004), took very little interest in implementing the policy initiatives on the ground. They were more interested in not upsetting certain Castilian-speaking urban middle-class elites in the Galician society (Nandi, 2017b). The same conservative government introduced further changes to the educational language policy in 2010 through a new decree, *O Decreto de Plurilingüismo* (The Decree of Plurilingualism, henceforth DdP).

There is a contradictory as well as a deceptive element in this new policy. Although it allows the continuation of Galician in primary and secondary school curricula with Castilian, it ensures that the medium of instruction to be that of the children's home language. Since Castilian remains the most widely spoken language in urban Galicia, a majority of Galician children tend to be brought up speaking Castilian by Castilian-speaking parents. Therefore, with the application of the decree, Castilian automatically becomes the medium of instruction in the urban schools. Ultimately, this present policy towards language in education further constricts the access to Galician among urban pre-primary and primary school students. It is also important to note that ever since this educational policy was put into practice, language shift in the urban regions has consistently gained momentum (Monteagudo *et al.*, 2019). Discontent with such top-down practices has in many ways rattled the mood of a pro-Galician urban-demographic who have initiated several grassroots-level mobilisations involving the creation of Galician-medium immersion school following the Basque *ikastola* model. This profile refers to a group of highly dedicated individuals comprising parents who are committed to the cause of Galician language revival bottom-up. In the remainder of our chapter, we will look at how these parents coming from two very sociohistorically different

policy contexts engage in this reflective process. The following section offers a methodological outline of this research.

Methodology

Our study adopts a qualitative ethnographic research design for data collection. Consequently, the primary data for this study were gathered from (i) field notes and observations from the research sites, (ii) in-depth semi-structured interviews with individual parents and (iii) focus-group discussions. In BAC, the data were collected from a Spanish-dominant municipality of the Greater Bilbao area with favourable policies towards the Basque language. Parents from one *ikastola* were selected for this study due to the historical value of these schools in the Basque language revitalisation process. The intention was also to understand parental interests in encouraging the use of Basque outside the school context. In Galicia, the fieldwork was conducted in Santiago, the capital city. It represents an interesting research site because of the area's sociolinguistic profile that includes both monolingual and bilingual speakers of Castilian and Galician. The parents who took part in this study are mostly public sector employees; therefore, they often use Galician at work due to the legal stipulation. The intention was to investigate the family language management of this educated middle-class sector of the population.

The target research samples of this study are Spanish nationals and parents from urban/semi-urban backgrounds between the age group of 30–50 years old, from various occupations. Notably, in bilingual settings of Galicia and BAC, the upper age range of the sample ensures the inclusion of parents who have experienced the education system's transition from Franco's regime to the current system of autonomous communities. It is also worth mentioning that this chapter has derived from a larger body of two doctoral studies. In Galicia, the data were drawn from 18 families through two focus group discussions with couples and 18 semi-structured interviews with individual parents between 2013 and 2015 (Nandi, 2017a). The data from BAC were collected between 2018 and 2020 from 19 families through a questionnaire, two focus groups, and 17 in-depth interviews (Garcia-Ruiz, in progress). The questionnaire included closed and open questions which were used to identify the different family profiles of the *ikastola*. This chapter uses interview data from five families in each context. The interviewees were informed that we sought to document their perception as caregivers while raising their children in either Basque or Galician.

Interviews in Galicia, whether individual or in group, were conducted through the medium of Galician. In BAC, although most individual interviews were in Basque, both focus groups were conducted in Castilian as there were participants who did not speak Basque. Fictitious names have been used to protect the real identity of the respondents. While searching the prominent themes, we were particularly interested in understanding how these parents perceived their agentive role as language planners on

the ground and what collective narrative of (socio)linguistic citizenship they were constructing (if any) as policy intermediaries. In what follows, we present excerpts which highlight these themes.

Parental (Socio)linguistic Citizenship through Bottom-up Discourses

This section offers an overview of language management strategies from pro-Galician/Basque parents and demonstrates how their individual language management and practices, when galvanised into collective mobilisations, can impact language behaviour on the ground:

Reclaiming voice: Questioning the conventionalisation of Castilian

In the Galician sociolinguistic situation, the parents interviewed were overtly critical of the medium of instruction policy in compulsory education and underlined the apparent lack of provision for Galician and the government's intention to promote it. They unanimously agreed that there was inadequate support for Galician in mainstream schooling and that the application of DdP was not leading to proficiency in the minority language:

Lara: Si. A primeira lingua ten que ser o galego na escola e despois, evidentemente estudar tamén castelán, como outras linguas. Virgilio: Eu tamén coincido. Galego e inglés, castelán, así por: ese orden porque o castelán e algo que están aprendendo de maneira natural. Elena: Eu creo que tamén (…) a realidade é que moitos dos nenos que saen do sistema educativo non teñen un galego fluído, quere dicir que porque e a escolarización non lles dá ó mellor, suficiente ferramenta pra poder facelo. [In Galician]	Lara: Yes. The first language in school has to be Galician and then, obviously children will study Castilian like other languages. Virgilio: I also concur. Galician and English, then Castilian in this order because Castilian is something that they will learn in a natural way… Elena: I believe the same (…) the reality is that many children who study in this education system don't have a fluency in Galician because the school does not offer them the best supporting tool to do that. [Authors' translation]

The above discussion indicates the parental awareness of the Galician sociolinguistic scene. Virgilio's observation that 'Castilian is something that they [the children] will learn naturally' reiterates the potency of Castilian's practical and ideological dominance in contemporary Galicia which is further reinforced through top-down pro-Castilian policies over the past decades. If the knowledge of Castilian is imbued with symbolic capital, this knowledge becomes susceptible to the discourses and dictates of power. This intricate knowledge/power relationship plays out in the domains of both school and home, where teachers and parents under the custodianship

of the state could become arbiters of the use of either Galician or Castilian or both. As such, these parents are in favour of an increased level of Galician or an exclusively Galician-centred education where Spanish and English would be taught only as subjects. Whereas most of the parents are unequivocal about their language choices in education, Elena, a mother from Santiago, questions the top-down goal of 'balanced bilingualism'. As mentioned earlier, governmental policies in Galicia set out to ensure bilingual competence in both Galician and Castilian at the end of compulsory education. However, in practice, as Elena underscores, many children who study in the public education system do not achieve fluency in Galician after finishing their compulsory education, emphasising the space between policy rhetoric and its implementation on the ground (cf. Stroud, 2001: 340).

The following extract from the Basque context also relates to educational language policies. It should be considered that from the 1990s onwards, English has been taught as a subject in lots of infant and primary schools. Besides, many schools have set up Content and Language Integrated Learning programmes where a limited number of subjects such as Science or History are taught through the medium of English (Cenoz, 2009). Despite the general trilingual framework, there are some schools that emphasise further on English and give more school-hours to the language. It is in this context where parents in the extract below refer to children's trilingual competence and to the debate whether Basque, Spanish and English all need to be used as languages of instruction.

> Fernanda: yo tengo compañeros de trabajo que mandan a colegios de esos trilingües porque a ellos les importa el euskara bastante poco, les importa más el inglés (…) El castellano porque es el castellano, porque es omnipresente. (…) Que no saben inglés y euskera (...).
> Garazi: ¿y salen trilingües?
> Ekiñe: ¿qué van a salir trilingües? Salen monolingües de castellano.
> Fernanda: saben algo de euskera y algo de inglés.
> Ekiñe: no, euskera tampoco saben, me parece vergonzoso. [In Spanish]
>
> Fernanda: some of my co-workers send their kids to those trilingual schools, because they are not concerned about Basque, they care more about English (...) Spanish because it is Spanish, it is omnipresent. (...) They don't know English nor Basque (...).
> Garazi: And are they trilingual?
> Ekiñe: no way. They are Spanish monolinguals.
> Fernanda: they know some Basque and some English.
> Ekiñe: no, they do not know Basque either, it is shameful. [Authors' translation]

In this extract, Fernanda criticises the parents who take their children to Basque–Spanish–English trilingual schools. According to her, these parents are more interested in their children's acquisition of English rather than Basque. A key aspect of the Basque revitalisation process in the BAC has been the generalised choice of model D by non-Basque-speaking parents, which reflects that parents have overall positive attitudes towards the learning of Basque by their children (Amorrortu *et al.*, 2009). However, Fernanda's

appraisal of the policy can be interpreted as a voice reclaiming a stronger position for Basque in parents' ideology towards multilingualism. The extract also refers to the issue of trilingual competence, which is strongly put under critical scanner by these *ikastola* parents. These mothers reject the idea that a trilingual school promotes a balanced linguistic competence in all three languages and argue that the students only reach a good command of Castilian. Overall, parents from both contexts consciously exert their agency to reclaim their voice by interrogating the lower status of Galician and Basque as opposed to the privileged status of Castilian in the educational contexts of Galicia and the BAC, respectively.

(Socio)linguistic citizenship through bottom-up language management

Since there are currently no public schools offering immersion programmes in Galician, a pro-Galician urban demographic including parents are involved in a bottom-up discourse of resistance that melds their individual (socio)linguistic citizenship with broader collective mobilisations. To cater for the needs of parents who opt for a Galician-only educational model, various cooperatives have been formed to fund Galician-medium schools. For instance, parents from the focus group conducted in Santiago had enrolled their children in two Galician-medium pre-schools functioning as non-profit associations: *Escola Infantil Raiola* (Raiola Kindergarten School) and *Escolas de Ensino Galego Semente* (Semente Galician Education Schools, henceforth Semente). Among the five families studied in this paper, four took their children to Semente and one family attended Raiola. While Raiola has been offering Galician as a medium of instruction for the past two decades, Semente started only in 2011 as a response to DdP. Raquel, a mother who is one of the founding members of the school and also the president of the parents' association at the time of research, underscores the importance of immersion programmes in Galician:

> Raquel: É moi necesario en Galicia. Porque temos a garantía de que aos cativos se lle vai a dar un ensino integramente en galego. *Eso* non pasa en ningún sitio, nin escolas privadas, nin concertadas, nin públicas. Todo o contrario, o que adoita pasar é que os nenos e nenas entran galegofalantes en infantil, *y* ós tres anos saen falando só en español (...) Se no sistema público nós puidéramos atopar o que temos nesta escola, Semente non sería necesaria. [In Galician]
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> Raquel: It is necessary for Galicia. Because we have the guarantee that children will be taught entirely in Galician. It doesn't happen anywhere, neither in private schools, nor charter schools, nor public schools. On the contrary, what usually happens is that Galician-speaking children start kindergarten, and at the age of three they end up speaking only Castilian (...) If the public education system could offer what we have in this school, *Semente* would not be necessary. [Authors' translation]

While discussing the reasons behind creating the Semente model, Raquel emphasises how state-driven kindergartens have transformed into contexts for de-galicianisation for children from Galician-speaking homes during early years. Her observation concurs with the macro level statistical evidence for language shift towards Castilian among children and young adolescents (see Seminario de Sociolingüística, 2017), indicating that the pendulum of 'elite power' is swaying towards Castilian in the exterior space. Therefore, in the face of disillusionment with supervening state policy implementation, parents such as Raquel as grassroots-level citizens, from the interiority of their private sphere, use their individual apprehension and interpretation of this shift to raise public awareness, in order to contest the domination of Castilian. Currently, there are more than 100 members in the Parents' Association of Semente (Galicia Confidencial, 2020). During fieldwork, several visits were made to Semente, and it was noted that the classrooms were filled with literacy materials in Galician involving storybooks for different age groups, lyrics of traditional Galician songs, and other audio-visual materials. Interested families can borrow these resources to create a Galician-centred literacy environment at home. This illustrates how Galician is being promoted at Semente.

In the BAC, while public schools and other non-public schools than *ikastolak* endorse Basque through different language policy models, a majority of parents interviewed in this study commonly agreed on the significance of *ikastolak* in the teaching/learning and promotion of Basque. Fermin, a father, underlines the importance of these programmes:

> Fermin: (…) Zer nahi duzu zure umeak euskaraz ikastea edo publikoak aurrera eramatea? Nire esperientzia herri honetan, eta ez dut esango ikastola denik onena. Ni mucho menos. Baina aukeratzekotan, ba aukeratu genuen ikastola batez ere euskaragatik. Anaia saiatu zan publikora eramaten eta bera publikoaren aldekoa da, baina hirugarren urtean atera zituen eta eraman zituen ikastolara, eta batez ere hizkuntzagatik. Ez zuten ondo ikasten (...) publikoan, euskara ez da sustatu ikastoletan bezala. [In Basque]
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> Fermin: (…) If you want your child to learn Basque or to promote public education, in my experience, I will not say that *ikastola* is the best, but having to choose, we chose *ikastola* for Basque. My brother tried to send his children to a public school, and he is in favour of public education, but he brought them to *ikastola* in the third year, mainly due to the language. They didn't learn it well (…) but in the public, Basque has not been promoted the same way as in *ikastolak*. [Authors' translation]

Fermin considers that the public education system does not promote Basque the same way as *ikastolak* do. To defend his statement, Fermin draws on his brother's experience who is apparently 'in favour of public

education' and sent 'his children to a public school'. However, his brother had to enrol the children in an *ikastola* as the Basque level they were reaching in the public system was not the one he desired. As Fermin underlines, 'they didn't learn it [Basque] well'. The above extracts explain how Semente and *Ikastola* schools have transformed into a pivotal source of language maintenance for some urban parents addressing the grassroots-level vacuum in the form of the government's failure to supply adequate and accessible learning space in Galician or Basque in the public system. Such larger cohesions formed by like-minded parents straddling the school, social and home spheres to challenge the supremacy of Castilian, can be interpreted as one form of collective (socio)linguistic citizenship (cf. Stroud & Heugh, 2004).

Parental bottom-up language management and negotiation on the ground

In Santiago, Bea, another mother, states that, as parents, they are aware of the hegemony of Castilian in the Galician society. Therefore, to prevent language shift during the initial years of their children, they formed a pro-Galician parents' WhatsApp group entitled *Tribo* (literally, the Tribe) that wants their children to be educated and socialised in Galician. Three families interviewed from the Semente Parents Association also belong to this collective:

> Bea: Entón se ti tes o grupo [de amigos] de fóra habitualmente si cho falara castelán, o máis habitual supoño que será que muden de lingua. Pero nós a *verdá* é que fixemos así o grupo de amizades de Susi é galego. I como na escola tamén lle falan galego e tamén hai moitos nenos que falan galego na escola (...) por ahora, onde máis notou o cambio de idioma foi nas *vacaciós* cando iamos á praia ou así dábanse conta. Ó *millor* ibamos con algún amigo i entre eles falaban galego pero dábanse conta que os nenos todos do entorno estaban falando en castelán. [In Galician]
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> Bea: Therefore, if you have a group [of friends] outside that normally communicate in Castilian, most usual, as I think would be that they will shift from Galician. But we made a group [in WhatsApp], for Susi [their daughter] and her friends to socialise in Galician. And the medium of instruction in school is also Galician and there are many Galician speaking kids in school (...) for now, where she noticed the difference in language was during vacation when we visited the beach. We went with one of her friends and they spoke Galician among them but they started realising that other children were speaking in Castilian on the beach. [Authors' translation]

Started as a WhatsApp messenger group in July 2013, *Tribo* now includes more than 40 families who meet very often to socialise and converse in

Galician (Nandi, 2017a). Parents interested in joining the collective generally contact the group members through WhatsApp to organise or participate in various extracurricular activities around Santiago that involve their children's interaction in Galician. The above language management strategy where Bea and like-minded parents take up the role of policy intermediaries and attempt to create communication space and conditions for their children to use Galician uninterruptedly can be considered as another stylised form of collective (socio)linguistic citizenship. However, it still has to be determined whether these parents can effectively restore the process of intergenerational transmission of Galician by monitoring their children's contexts of socialisation. Bea's concern for this is evident in her observation that her daughter 'started realising that other children were speaking in Castilian on the beach'. Although parents often intervene with an intention to determine children's linguistic practices, their assumptions may fail dramatically as children reach adolescence (Schwartz, 2020). The reason may be manifold, including a clash over cultural beliefs and norms with individual parents (Nandi, in press), the role of peers in early adolescence (Revis, 2016), and symbolic dominance of a majority language outside the home (Li, 2018) among others. These scenarios may transform the home domain into a complex context of agnostic negotiation of conflicting ideologies among different family members.

Akin to urban Galicia, the Greater Bilbao area in the BAC is also predominantly Castilian-speaking. Janire and her partner, who speak only Basque at home, moved from a Basque-dominant area in Gipuzkoa. Even though there is some top-down support from the local government to promote the use of Basque, Castilian remains the primary language for socialisation among children. As such, these pro-Basque parents, like those in Galicia, also created a group of friends to develop a more Basque-dominant environment for their children while growing up:

> Janire: (...) Guk egin genuen talde euskalduntxo bat eta azkenean zu batzen bazara, ba umeak ere. (Nire herrian) izango balitzateke, ba nik nire koadrila daukat eta nire koadrilarekin ibiliko nintzateke, baina klaro guk hemen inor ez genuen ezagutzen. (...) Bai, gu ere batu gara euskaldun jendearekin. [In Basque]
>
> Janire: We created a Basque group, and if you start meeting, children too. If it was in my hometown, I would have my group of friends, but here, we didn't know anyone, so we gathered with Basque-speaking people. [Authors' translation]

The above scenario further underscores the parental (socio)linguistic citizenship through selecting peers for their children that, as discussed before, can be considered as a strategy of bottom-up resistance towards the conventionalisation of Castilian in urban terrains. Despite favourable

institutional support for Basque for the past few decades, as discussed previously, opportunities to use the language in the public domain remain restricted. In urban milieu, the use of Basque outside the home or educational context (including *ikastolak*) is sometimes seen as breaking long established social norms which denotes the potency of Castilian's practical and ideological dominance in the urban milieu (Goirigolzarri *et al*., 2019). This gives rise to contexts of negotiation on the ground among Basque-speaking families and users of Castilian as it is happening in the following situation where a Castilian-speaking granny complains about a father–daughter communication in Basque:

> Haritz: (...) behin hemen egon ginen bazkaltzen eta zegoen nire emaztearen ama, eta ni alabarekin hitz egiten euskaraz. Eta esan zion 'jo, es que no entiendo lo que decís' esan zigun amamak, eta esan zion nire alabak 'jo, y para que me mandáis a ikastola?' (...) Ni superpozik erantzunarekin. [In Basque]
>
> Haritz: (…) once we were having lunch with my mother-in-law, and I was speaking in Basque with my daughter. The grandma told her 'I don't understand what you say' and my daughter replied 'then, why did you send me to *ikastola*?'. (…) I was extremely happy with that answer. [Authors' translation]

Even though Haritz's partner does not have enough competence to speak in Basque, the couple decided to send their daughter to an *ikastola*. In addition, Haritz speaks only Basque to his daughter, while his partner speaks Castilian following a 'one parent one language' FLP. The above extract highlights how the Castilian-dominated exterior represented through the grandmother intends to control a parent–daughter conversation and the girl drawing on her own agency exerts a discourse of resistance while reclaiming her right to use Basque in accordance with the FLP decided by her parents. She made it clear that the purpose of studying in an *ikastola* is not only to learn or improve Basque but to practice the minority language in all the possible contexts. This active proliferation of Basque in the face of a Castilian-dominated exterior made Haritz feel proud of their daughter and their Basque-centred FLP. The parental commitments and strategies for the revitalisation of Basque or Galician, as represented through above excerpts, can be interpreted as bubbles of linguistic resistance towards the hegemonic control of Castilian.

Conclusion

The case examples discussed above demonstrate that Castilian continues to dominate the Galician sociolinguistic landscape exerting control over the institutional language policies. Simultaneously, due to Galician's greater visibility and its increased proliferation in education and media over the past decades, the levels of literacy and linguistic competence in

Galician also received an impetus that gave way to a generation of parents such as Bea, Elena, Raquel and Virgilio who are influenced by a strong ideological attachment with Galician. Both the Castilian master narrative and its power over the Galician government policies are being challenged by this demographic. A careful analysis of the profiles discussed with regard to Galicia further reveals that symbolic capital, evident in the privileging of Castilian as the primary language of communication in the urban domains, is to some degree offset by this collective from the micro level. Their actions have destabilised the normalisation and legitimisation of the dominant discourse through different counter-hegemonic strategies of (socio)linguistic citizenship. These measures include language management in the family, interaction with like-minded parents using technological interfaces, developing co-operative mobilisations and monitoring the children's language socialisation contexts outside the school space. In the Galician sociolinguistic situation, where the existence of traditional speakers weakens incessantly due to language shift, these parents, by creating alternative bottom-up language policies, can occupy a significant role in language revitalisation processes from the ground.

Unlike Galician, the case of Basque is a good example of the positive impact of introducing a minority language in the education system with the aim of language revitalisation. This grassroot and governmental educational policy resulted in an increase of potential Basque speakers due to the high number of parents choosing Basque-medium schools when enrolling their children. These children are potential speakers as they are able to communicate effectively in Basque, but being proficient in a language does not necessarily lead to its use. Forty years of intensive pro-Basque educational policy could not challenge sufficiently the supremacy of Castilian and most urban contexts including the research site chosen for this chapter remain Castilian-dominated in most spheres whether public or private. The *ikastola* parents of this study are aware of this sociolingual imbalance and have created pro-Basque FLPs to legitimise the presence and use of the language at school (i.e. Fermin's case), at home (i.e. when Haritz's daughter speaks Basque to her grandmother), and with networks of friends and peers (i.e. Janire in their choice of Basque-speaking peers for her daughters). While challenging the hegemonic discourse of Castilian, these parents also question the increasing demand of English in the educational context. They rather argue for a trilingual model that develops with the minority language in its axis. Otherwise, as Garazi, Ekiñe and Fernanda underscore, the top-down goal of trilingualism will remain unachievable. All these parents made a choice in favour of an *ikastola* with the thought of it being the best choice for the learning, use and promotion of Basque. The actions of these parents even go beyond the precincts of home and *ikastolak* as Janire applies her agency to govern her daughters' language practices by selecting peers only from Basque-speaking homes.

This chapter set out to analyse family language dynamics through the lenses of (socio)linguistic citizenship in the BAC and Galicia where a group of pro-minority language parents decided to raise their children in either Basque or Galician. Based on their opinions and claimed linguistic practices, we have argued that each progenitor exercises their own agency to interpret, appropriate and implement institutional policies or on some occasions, develop discourses of resistance. The individual practices of these parents, as this study demonstrates, when galvanised into collective mobilisations (in the form of *Ikastolak* and *Semente*), can influence their immediate society's language conduct (cf. Stroud, 2001: 351). Above all, (socio)linguistic citizenship concentrates on the diversity of practices that people use to get themselves heard (Rampton *et al*., 2018), while it is equally necessary to construct a voice worth hearing (Hymes, 1996: 64). Developing a voice worth listening to is time consuming and often calls for some sort of institutional support. In essence, the dilemmas that these parents must negotiate are between the realities of social pressure, linguistic ideologies in the exterior, and educational policies on the one hand and the desire for cultural loyalty and linguistic intergenerational transmission on the other.

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