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Card-Carrying Catalans and "las diez normas que hay que seguir para ser un buen catalan"

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CARD-CARRYING CATALANS AND "LAS DIEZ NORMAS QUE HAY QUE SEGUIR PARA SER UN BUEN CATALÁN"

ROBERT E. VANN

INTRODUCTION

Research has shown that constructions of Catalanism depend on many resources, including language choice (Woolard 77), language attitudes (Doyle 42), and even language exposure (Vann, "Language Exposure" 191). The present investigation examines another potential resource for the construction of Catalanism: the marketing and consumption of explicit Catalan nationalist ideologies. In a world where individuals display their social position by wielding various forms of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 234), there is no shortage of propaganda for consumers of ideology. The *Decàleg del nacionalista català* 'Decalog of the Catalan nationalist,' which appears on the back of some Catalan *cartes d'identitat* 'identification cards,' represents an example of propaganda that has promoted Catalan nationalism. This paper discusses the *Decàleg*, the Catalan identification cards themselves, and the nationalist ideologies that they have promoted for individual consumption as resources for the construction of Catalanism.

The construction of nationalism in Catalonia has been the subject of much research over the last several decades. It has been said that "for centuries, Catalans have been locked in a grim, often bloody struggle *to be themselves* and not a subcategory of someone else's national character" (Rosenthal 95, italics added). To best understand this quotation, one can think of nationalist consciousness as the sharing of an "imagined community," recreated regularly in local press and local forms of speech, that may or may not affect an individual's outlook on life, depending on the individual in question and on the specific social situation. Following this conception of nationalism, one could assert that Barcelona is the capital of a certain imagined community of Catalans, united by a distinctive collective consciousness, a sense of belonging. When individuals attempt to politicize this collective consciousness, they create a Catalanist nationalist discourse. Nationalist discourse can be seen as a matter of symbolic power:

[...] to make people see and believe, to get them to know and recognize, to impose the legitimate definition of the divisions of the social world and, thereby, to *make and unmake groups*. What is at stake here is the power of im-

sing a vision of the social world through principles of di-vision which, when they are imposed on a whole group, establish meaning and a consensus about meaning, and in particular about the identity and unity of the group, which creates the reality of the unity and the identity of the group. (Bourdieu 221)

Seen in this light, nationalist discourse itself brings into existence what it asserts by the very act of assertion. Of course, the success of the construction of reality in this way is directly proportional to the authority of the persons or bodies doing the asserting. Political and linguistic authority accompanied constructions of Catalan nationalism all throughout the 20th century. Authoritative bodies involved in 20th century Catalan nationalism included the First International Congress on the Catalan Language in 1906, the Institut d'Estudis Catalans 'Academy of Catalan Studies' in 1907, the Mancomunitat in 1914, the Assembly of Catalonia in 1971, and the post-Franco autonomous government in Catalonia.

Efforts to foment nationalism among the Catalan people in late 20th century Catalonia came in different forms at different times. One particular effort at one particular time (1981-93) involved the circulation and use of Catalan identification cards. The present investigation concentrates on this one particular effort to foment nationalism among the Catalan people during this period of time. The first part of the investigation analyzes the value of Catalan identification cards in terms of their authorized and practical uses. Officially, such cards never had much status. Unofficially, they literally gave us card-carrying Catalans. The second part of the study presents the ten entries of the *Decàleg del nacionalista català* 'Decalog of the Catalan nationalist' (found on the back of some cards) and analyzes some of the different ways in which these entries packaged and marketed Catalan nationalism. Appeals to pride, liberty, equality, patriotism, and humility coupled with references to sacred land and fundamental rights idealized Catalan nationalism, making it an easy sell. Both parts of the investigation are supported by qualitative data in the form of excerpts from conversations with individuals in Barcelona.

THE CATALAN IDENTIFICATION CARDS: AUTHORIZED AND PRACTICAL USES

Until recently, identification cards required by federal law in Spain (DNIs) were available in Catalonia in only the Spanish language. This obligatory use of Spanish, perceived by some as linguistic hegemony in Catalonia, has led to the creation and circulation of several incarnations of *carnets d'identitat catalana* written entirely in Catalan.

Some of the earliest Catalan cards to rival the Spanish *DNI*s came out of a Catalan civic and political movement known as *La Crida* 'the call.' *La Crida* was a product of the linguistic and political normalization of Catalan during Spain's transition to democracy in the 1980s. It existed as a formal organization until disbanding voluntarily in 1993.¹ More specifically, this movement was a part of Catalonia's nationalistic response to political circumstances of the time and had its roots in a linguistic manifesto of 1981 entitled *Crida a la solidaritat en defensa de la llengua, la cultura, i la nació catalana* 'Call to solidarity in defense of the Catalan language, culture and nation,' a document with over 250,000 signatories (DiGiacomo 111). Since then there have been other incarnations of the *carnets*, but two things that set the *Crida* era cards apart from other Catalan *carnets* are their unique identification numbers and the *Decàleg* included on the back. Despite their official look, which includes a photo and lamination, these *carnets d'identitat catalana* have absolutely no legal authority, and one might think, little practical use. Yet, many Catalans carry (or have carried) such Catalan identification cards. The cards are a symbolic protest as well as a resource for constructions of Catalanism. Consider the comments in Excerpt 1 regarding a *Crida* era Catalan identification card, drawn from a conversation between two young adults in Barcelona (underline mine, for emphasis).

Excerpt 1²

[S2-8, p. 7, lines 13-15]

- A: O como el carnet este que, el carnet de identidad catalana. *Que parece que te lo tengas que hacer para demostrar tu identidad. Como si tuvieses que ir a demostrar a alguien que, que tú eres catalana* <>

[p. 24, lines 53-54, p. 25, lines 1-7]

- A: No, pero ... O sea, ya te digo que lo, que sé que es radical. Pero, bueno, *también es radical hacerse ese carnet que no te sirve para nada.*
- B: Sí.
- A: Y te lo haces, ¿por qué te lo haces? Porque, cuantas más cosas

¹ While these may have been among the earliest Catalan-language rivals of the *DNI*, the National Archive of Catalonia conserves *carnets d'identitat catalana* that go back to the 1930s when the Catalan Parliament first approved them.

² I would like to acknowledge the aid of the Program for Cultural Cooperation between Spain's Ministry of Culture and the United States, Universities, subvention #1490, without which the collection of these data would not have been possible. Additionally, this work was supported by funds from the Faculty Research and Creative Activities Support Fund, Western Michigan University.

puedan demostrar — no a ti porque yo, yo lo tengo muy claro
—<>

B: Sí, claro es que no, o sea <>

A: A ver, a mí me hacen, me hacen entrar a los, a los sitios con un carnet de identidad española. Si yo no me siento española ... ¿por qué tengo que ir a los sitios con un carnet de identidad española? Vale, te lo explican: "Tú elige: o vas, o no vas."

[S2-8, p. 7, lines 13-15]³

A: Or like this card that, the Catalan identification card. *It seems that you have to get one made to demonstrate your identity. As if you had to go demonstrate to someone that, that you are Catalan* <>

[p. 24, lines 53-54, p. 25, lines 1-7]

A: No, but ... I mean, I'm telling you that it, that I know it's radical. But, well, *it's also radical to get a card made that's no good to you at all.*

B: Yea.

A: And you get it made, *why do you get it made? Because the more things you can have to demonstrate*— not to you because me, I have things quite clear —<>

B: Yea, of course it's not, I mean <>

A: Look, they make me, they make me show my Spanish identification card to get in places. If I don't feel Spanish ... why do I have to show my Spanish id to go anywhere? Okay, they explain it to you: "You choose: go or don't go."

This excerpt and the others that appear below were recorded in Barcelona in the summer of 1995 during fieldwork with a social network whose members considered themselves *Català heavy*, implying Catalanist identities and / or ideologies. Fieldworker S was a 21-year-old woman who lived in an upper-middle class Catalan neighborhood of Barcelona. At the time of the fieldwork, S was an undergraduate at the University of Barcelona, UB Central. Most members of Group S were friends from the neighborhood where S lived or friends from a religious and cultural youth group to which S belonged, a Christian organization focusing on the problems and aspirations of young Catalans. The conversations recorded during fieldwork and excerpted here were carried out as part of a larger sociocultural and

³ The translations of the conversational excerpts in this investigation represent my colloquial interpretations of the original text. I have tried to remain faithful to the original grammatical structure and vocabulary as much as possible.

linguistic investigation of the Spanish spoken in the area (Vann, "Pragmatic and Cultural Aspects"). For this reason, conversations were held in Spanish. Many informants in Group S (average age: 24.4 years, between 62% and 70% female) described themselves as Catalanists⁴ who do not like to speak Spanish and who feel that they do not speak Spanish well. Nevertheless, all of the informants were very helpful and generous with their time, welcoming the investigator into their homes and lives over a three month period during which the speech data were recorded. Spontaneous conversations were generally recorded around the dinner table.

Though the *Crida* organization had officially disbanded by the time of the fieldwork in 1995, at the time, some individuals still carried the *Crida* type *carnets*. Some still do, though others now see Catalan *carnets d'identitat* as a thing of the past.⁵ Though not necessarily representative of Catalonia or even Barcelona, the linguistic perceptions and attitudes of such individuals are of the utmost importance if we are to better understand the marketing and consumption of the *Crida era carnets* as a matter of Catalan nationalism toward the end of the 20th century. Afterall, nationalist ideologies of language are produced and reproduced by what individuals think, or take for granted, about the roles of language in social experience (Woolard & Schieffelin 56-57).

Of course, the Catalan government itself has contributed greatly to shaping nationalist ideologies of language in Catalonia over the last 25 years through its various campaigns of linguistic normalization.⁶ These campaigns have produced a cartoon character personifying and encouraging the normalization called *La Norma* as well as slogans such as *El català: cosa de tots* 'Catalan, everybody's thing,' *Depèn de tu* 'It depends on you,' and *Som 6 milions*, 'We're 6 million strong,' among others. There can be no doubt that the campaigns of linguistic normalization have played a very large role in the building of nationalism in Catalonia, much larger perhaps than the role played by *Crida era carnets* in their historical moment. Nevertheless, the historical role played by the *Crida era carnets* is important also because though they were designed to look like official identification cards, they were not the product of a government campaign but rather a grass roots civic movement. Furthermore, unlike slogans and carto-

4 An anonymous reviewer points out that *Crida era carnets* were in fact most popular within this very demographic, reinforcing the important qualification below that these data are not representative of Catalan society as a whole.

5 It is unknown exactly how many such *carnets* were issued. Marta Torres, who was associated closely with *La Crida*, informs me in a personal communication that there are over 40,000 Catalan *carnets d'identitat* still in circulation today.

6 I would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out this comparison.

ons, the *carnets* are one more tangible thing that people can possess and display for visual demonstration of identity,⁷ as implied in the quotation in Excerpt 1.

The individual quoted in Excerpt 1 admits that the Catalan identification card is a bit radical. Nevertheless, she recognizes its practical value in the accumulation of resources of Catalanism. One resource the card provides for this woman is a way to demonstrate her identity, thus instantiating her reality, radical or not. The demonstration of identity is, or can be, ideological in nature, and linguistic and political ideologies have historically played major roles in constructions of nationalism in Catalonia (Vallverdú 69, Woolard 22). Card-carrying individuals can be consumers of explicit Catalanist ideologies that are actually enumerated in a list on the back of *Crida* era cards, available at least until the mid 1990s. The *Decàleg del nacionalista català* was marketed to these consumers as a promotion of Catalan nationalism during what has been described as a period of intense political and ideological debate both in Spain and within Catalonia itself (DiGiacomo 109-13). The marketing of nationalism through the *Decàleg* is the topic of the next section.

The ten entries of the *Decàleg*: Packaging and marketing Catalan nationalism

The *Decàleg* included on *Crida* era cards contains the following entries:

1. *Catalunya és la teva terra. Aquesta és la teva nació.*
'Catalonia is your land. This is your nation.'
2. *La terra és sagrada. Traïdor qui gosi profanarla.*
'The land is sacred. Whoever dares to profane it is a traitor.'
3. *Llengua, història, comarques, ecologia, folklore, institucions i festes nacionals són el teu patrimoni: guarda'l gelosament i enriqueix-lo.*
'Language, history, regions, ecology, folklore, institutions, and national holidays are your patrimony: preserve and enrich them zealously.'

⁷ Among such tangible things in Catalonia there are other official looking (but also legally useless) Catalan documents of identification. The Catalan passport, for example, may be displayed as a visual demonstration of identity just like the *carnets d'identitat catalana*. Such materials also exist in other areas of Spain where nationalism is constructed locally; for example, there is a Basque passport as well. It would not be surprising if, like the *carnets d'identitat catalana*, such materials were also used in building or demonstrating nationalism.

4. *No et venguis Catalunya: ni per partidisme, ni per diners, ni per cap mena de poder,... ni per res.*
'Don't betray Catalonia: not for partisanship, not for money, not for any type of power,... not for anything.'
5. *No matis ni atropellis en nom de cap consigna. No et deixis matar ni atropellar perquè sí.*
'Don't kill or trample under orders. Don't let yourself be killed or trampled for no reason.'
6. *No regategis el dret de ser català a cap ciutadà. Tots els qui estimen la terra tenen dret a reclamar-la com a seva.*
'Don't deny any citizen the right to being Catalan. All those who love the land have the right to claim it as their own.'
7. *No imposis a ningú la teva nacionalitat. Catalunya és terra de llibertat.*
'Don't impose your nationality upon anyone. Catalonia is a land of freedom.'
8. *No t'enlluernin aventures forasteres. Catalunya és el teu camp de treball. Això no et priva d'ésser solidari amb tots els homes.*
'Don't let outside ventures blind you. Catalonia is your field of work. This does not deprive you of solidarity with all men.'
9. *No serveixis els enemics del teu poble. Són enemics de tots els pobles del món.*
'Don't serve the enemies of your people. They are the enemies of all the peoples of the world.'
10. *Sigues crític: Catalunya no és la terra millor; és simplement la teva.*
'Be critical: Catalonia is not the best land; it is simply your land.'

At first glance, the *Decàleg* seems nothing more than simple propaganda. Closer scrutiny, however, reveals that the entries package and market Catalan nationalism in different ways. First, the presentation of these entries in decalog fashion clearly aims to draw on the legitimate authority of the Bible, closely paralleling its exposition of the Ten Commandments. In this way, in the *Decàleg* the ideals of Catalan nationalism are separated from the mundane as sacred things. Both decalogs begin with several affirmations, or articles of faith, to be followed by a number of commandments. The *Decàleg's* articles of faith make references to very biblical notions like nation (entry #1), sacred land (entry #2), and patrimony (entry #3). Furthermore, the

Decàleg's commandments include six prohibitions, just like the ten commandments of the Old Testament (Plaut 534). Some are even the same commandments ('Thou shalt not kill,' entry #5). All of these similarities invest the *Decàleg* with authority through the use of legitimated language (Bourdieu 129). This language is meant to be recognized.

The connection between nationalism and religion can be fruitful because it unites individuals by providing a common ground that they can agree upon. Some scholars even consider nationalism to be a type of civil religion in and of itself, with its own rituals, holidays, and mythologies whose attributes function to keep groups together (Marvin and Ingle 780). In the case of Catalonia, the productive connection between Catalan nationalism and religion has developed over many years. It has been claimed that for centuries, many Catalans found a Catalan national identity in terms of the Catholic conservatism of the Catalan countryside (Woolard 24). More recently, during the Franco years, under the auspices of the Church, cultural excursions to the Holy mountain of Montserrat provided ways for Catalan nationalists to congregate in secret societies (Noyes 50).

The *Decàleg's* parallels to the Old Testament passages and to the Ten Commandments given to the people of Israel build on the historical connection between Catalan nationalism and religion by providing recognizable and legitimate print-language authorization for the collective imagination (Anderson 134) of the people of Catalonia. Consumers of Catalan ideologies can use this authorized vision as a resource in their constructions of Catalanism. Excerpt 2, from my conversation with a woman in Barcelona, illustrates the authority invested in the *carnet* and the *Decàleg* by one consumer of Catalan ideologies (underline mine, for emphasis).

Excerpt 2

[S1-14, p. 4, lines 30-44]

R: ¿El carnet de qué, de conducir o?

X: No no, el carnet de identidad catalana.

R: ¿Que es diferente? O sea una DNI catalana y no <>

X: Sí, no lo traigo. Sí, lo que pasa que no te sirve para nada. Te sirve <>

R: Pero ¿es el mismo número?

X: No, ts ts.

R: ¿Es otro número?

X: Sí. Es un, es un símbolo, que te pone el decálogo del catalán y *las diez normas que hay que seguir para ser un buen catalán.*

R: ¿Ah sí?

X: Sí.

R: ¿Cuáles son las diez normas?

- X: Respetar mhm respetar las otras culturas, respetar tu país, la cultura, eh la naturaleza, después la última que es la mejor es: piensa que Cataluña no es la mejor tierra, es simplemente tu tierra. O sea esta es la mejor.
 R: *O sea como los diez mandamientos.*
 X: *Exacto, sí sí, es el decálogo del catalán.*

[S1-14, p. 4, lines 30-44]

- R: Which card? The driver's license?
 X: No no, the Catalan identification card.
 R: You mean it's different? You mean there is a national document of identification in Catalan and not <>
 X: Yea, but I don't have it with me. Yep, the only thing is that it's no good to you for anything. It's valid <>
 R: But is it the same number?
 X: No, ts ts.
 R: Is it another number?
 X: Yea. It's a, it's a symbol, which gives you the decalog of the Catalan and *the ten rules you have to follow to be a good Catalan.*
 R: Oh yea?
 X: Yea.
 R: What are the ten rules?
 X: Respect, uhh, respect other cultures, respect your country, its culture, uh, nature, then the last one which is the best is: think that Catalonia is not the best land, it's simply your land. That's the best one.
 R: *In other words like the Ten Commandments.*
 X: *Exactly, yea yea, it's the decalog of the Catalan.*

The parallel relationship between the *Decàleg* given to the Catalan nation on the back of the *carnet d'identitat catalana* and the Ten Commandments given to the nation of Israel in the Old Testament is clear for the individual in this quotation. She respects the *carnet d'identitat catalana* and believes that it tells her the ten steps to follow in order to be a good Catalan. Her use of the term 'decalog,' because of its religious overtones, ascribes authenticity and prestige to the ten steps (Irvine 257-8). In other words, the authority of the Bible is appropriated to invest the *Decàleg* with legitimacy.

In addition to packaging ways to be a good Catalan in an authorized and legitimate fashion, the *Decàleg* promotes and markets Catalan nationalism in other ways. Once Catalonia has been imagined as a people, the Catalan people can be endowed with positive virtues. The *Decàleg* appeals to the fundamental rights of liberty (entry #7), equality (entry #6), and fraternity (entry #8) while espousing truth (entry #4), justice (entry #9) and the Catalan way (entry

#10).⁸ The inclusion of such notions in the *Decàleg* associates unequivocally positive and universally respected ideals with feelings of Catalan nationalism. In portraying such a virtuous Catalan nation, the *carnet d'identitat catalana* fosters a sense of pride that is an easy sell to consumers of Catalan ideologies. Furthermore, many of the virtues extolled in the *Decàleg* are consonant with those actually espoused by individual Barcelonans, as we can see in Excerpt 3 from a conversation between two people from Barcelona.

Excerpt 3

[S2-6, p. 4, lines 1-29]

- A: O sea, a ver ... que tú te sientas catalán o seas catalán no depende de mí ... <>
- B: No, exacto <>
- A: De él, ni de, ni de ningún político que lo <>
- B: Sólo depende ... o de ningún carnet que tenga: "Eres catalán." No. Es una cosa que te sientes. Aquello de que te gusta el país donde vives. Te gusta... la gente que vive ahí. Te gusta la manera de ser, la cultura, todo, la lengua y, y quieres ese, ese país. Entonces, podrías ser perfectamente catalán. Como si yo voy a Estados Unidos y me flipo por Estados Unidos y, ya claro, inglés tendría que hablar porque en catalán no me entenderían (risas). Pero, que me gustara la cultura y todo, y me sintiese de Estados Unidos, pues, vaya, yo creo que podría ser un estadounidense como otro que no, que hubiera nacido allí y fuese tan patriota como como yo, o más.
- A: Es que es más. Yo estoy segura que, por ejemplo, tú estás aquí y tal, ¿no? Y le dices a un catalán: "No, es que yo soy de Estados Unidos, pero de hecho soy catalán." Y tú a ese catalán lo estás haciendo muy feliz <>
- B: Vale.
- A: O sea tú, yo soy catalana, ¿vale? Y a mí me viene una persona extranjera y me dice: "No, yo, he vivido mucho años en, donde sea, pero ahora llevo mucho tiempo aquí, y yo pues me siento catalán. Y creo que soy catalán." Pues, yo ... <>
- B: Vaya ... <>
- A: O sea, flipo, ¿no? Piensas, ostras, pues qué, qué persona más maja, ¿no (risas)? A mí me encantaría, ¿no? Es verdad.
- B: No, y además te das cuenta de que, ostras, si le ha gustado a esa persona es que, lo que tú sientes por Cataluña, que no es una cosa que dices... Como, como que es tuyo pues, es boni-

⁸ Passing similarities to the rallying call of the French revolution and the motto of cartoon hero *Superman* are not surprising here; both provide a trio of easily recognized (and easily referenced) virtues.

to, y es ... No voy a decir lo mejor, porque tampoco no es verdad. Pues, supongo que hay cosas mejor, cosas mejores pero que es lo mejor para ti. Y que otra persona pues también piensa lo mismo que ti, y que, y que no es de aquí. O sea, que lo ve desde otro punto de vista, y también cree lo mismo que tú que has vivido siempre aquí y tal. Pues, creo que es eso que ... <>

[S2-6, p. 4, lines 1-29]

A: Okay, hold on a minute, ... whether or not you feel Catalan or are Catalan doesn't depend on me ... <>

B: No, exactly <>

A: On him, or on, or on any politician that <>

B: It only depends ... or on any card that says "You are Catalan." No. It's something you feel. It's about you liking the country where you live. You like ... the people that live there. You like the way of life, the culture, everything, the language and, and you love that, that country. Then, you could easily be Catalan. Like if I go to the United States and I flip out over the United States and, well of course, I'd have to speak English because in Catalan they wouldn't understand me (laughter). But if I liked the culture and all, and I felt like I was from the United States, well sure, I think that I could be an American like anybody else who hadn't, who was born there and was as patriotic as me, or more.

A: It's more than that. I'm sure that, for example, you are here and everything, right? And you say to a Catalan, "No, I'm from the United States, but actually I'm Catalan." And with this you make that Catalan very happy<>

B: Okay.

A: In other words you, I'm Catalan, okay? If a foreigner comes up to me and says, "No, I, I've lived many years in, wherever, but now I've been here for a long time, and I, well I feel Catalan. And I think that I am Catalan." Well I'd ... <>

B: Come on ... <>

A: I mean, I'd flip out, you know? You think, jeez, well what a neat person, right (laughter)? I would love it, you know? It's true.

B: Yeah, and besides that you realize, jeez, if that person likes it then, what you feel for Catalonia, which is not something that you can explain... Like, since it's yours then, it's beautiful and it's ... I'm not gonna say the best, because that's not true either. Well, I suppose there are better things, but the thing is that it's the best for you. And for someone else to also think the same thing as you, and not even be from here. I mean, for a foreigner who sees things from a different point of view to

still think the same as you, who have lived here all your life and everything, well that's a big deal ... <>.

In Excerpt 3 we see references to patriotism (entry #1) tempered by humility (entry #10). We also see a brotherhood of man (entry #8) with the freedom of self-determination of nationality (entry #7) and the acceptance as Catalans of those who love the land (entry #6). In short, in this casual conversation between two Catalans, we see several core ideals that resonate with the feelings of Catalan nationalism promoted in the *Decàleg*.

CONCLUSION

Of course, not all Catalans espouse the ideologies of the *Crida era carnets d'identitat catalana*. Indeed, many individuals in Barcelona may not even remember the *carnets* or the *Decàleg* they contain. Nevertheless, in the late 20th century, there were individuals ready and willing to consume the ideologies of Catalan identification cards. Some still may. For such individuals, the cards have been one more building block, something tangible in their constructions and practices of Catalanism. A *carnet d'identitat catalana* is just a piece of paper, but this particular piece of paper symbolized an idealized notion of community and self that mattered enough for some Catalans to pay an extra 1000 pesetas. The card provided symbolic capital for such individuals, revealing their social positions. It was a statement of principle.

Recently (March 2001), just weeks after rejecting a more comprehensive law proposed by the Catalan Parliament and under increasing pressure from a civic movement known as *L'organització pel Multilingüisme* 'The Organization for Multilingualism,' the Spanish Congress approved bilingual *DNI*s in the autonomies that have co-official languages. In Catalonia, this means that a portion of the new cards will appear in Catalan ("los textos referentes a datos personales" 'the text relating to personal data') and the use of Catalan will be in addition to (and not instead of) the use of Spanish. It is unclear as of yet what effect, if any, these new *DNI*s will have on future incarnations of the *carnets d'identitat catalana*. For now, we are reminded that constructions of Catalanism can build on varying resources. Let's add the marketing and consumption of explicit nationalist ideologies to the list.

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