

ACADEMIC WRITING

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■ INTRODUCTION

This course is for participants at the doctoral and postdoctoral levels who wish to publish their research results in English-medium indexed journals. It focuses on qualitative research in the humanities and social sciences (although participants from other fields are welcome). The course does not cover topics related to English grammar, usage or spelling. Rather, it focuses on 1) the content and genre conventions of academic articles in English, 2) work processes and time management strategies, and 3) peer review among workshop participants. The course is conducted in English. It is assumed that participants have already performed their research and conducted an initial analysis; ideally they should already have some written material to work from, such as a conference paper, thesis chapter or blog entry.

Objectives

Students doing this course will:

1. demonstrate awareness of norms and processes for publishing an article in an English-medium indexed journal.
2. engage in a peer review process and other group work with course participants.
3. submit a research article to an English-medium indexed journal by the end of the consultation period.

Overview: An approach to getting published

There are two keys to getting your article published in an English-medium indexed article. One is your intellectual ability and readiness to master the structure and content of the English-medium academic article. This includes your knowledge of your discipline, topic and data; your research design; your ability to detect patterns; your ability to reason; and your ability to construct academic English. The other key is the 'making-it-happen' factor. This factor has nothing to do with your intellectual readiness for the task; rather, it's all about discipline, anxiety control and time management. It is important to tackle both facets of academic writing; you can only publish and keep publishing if you master both.

'Making it happen'

Let's take the making-it-happen aspect first, since without it, it's hard to even get started. A major factor that impedes publishing is anxiety. Academics around the world lament the increased precariousness of university life. It is becoming harder and harder to secure a permanent position. More and more professors find themselves in ongoing temporary roles, as the number of permanent positions is reduced and the requisites for attaining them are increased. Publication requirements can spur interesting research that might not otherwise have taken place; but they also put faculty under significant pressure. The added publication pressure is not necessarily accompanied by a reduction in responsibilities related to teaching and university administration. Moreover, the often amorphous and unstructured work of research and writing has to compete with these tasks, both of which have to occur on strict timelines involving class schedules, semester calendars and meetings. The fact that writing is part of an academic's job and yet isn't scheduled in (unlike teaching and meetings) can make it very easy for you to neglect your research, even if it's your favorite part of your job. Here the challenge is to overcome both the sometimes paralyzing anxiety generated by precariousness ("If I don't publish this article, I'll lose my job!") and the tendency to prioritize activities with the shortest due date (the faculty meeting occurring this afternoon) rather than the activities of the greatest importance (the article you need to

publish by the end of the year). Vanderkam's (2010) book cited in the resources is particularly useful for time prioritization and management.

Good strategies for handling the anxiety of writing include breaking article writing down into smaller tasks, establishing routines (like writing at the same time every day) and committing to making small amounts of regular progress (several methods recommend dedicating 15 minutes a day to writing; see complementary resources). It can also help to remind yourself that your draft doesn't have to be perfect; it just has to be done. Once a draft is done, you can count on reviewers and editors to give you needed feedback; the beauty of publishing in a peer-reviewed journal is that you can let your perfectionism go. The reviewers and editors will protect you from public humiliation: if your article is bad, they won't publish it! And in most cases they will tell you how to fix it so that it's publishable.

The flip side of this is that sometimes reviewers' and editors' comments sting and the fear of receiving negative feedback can also be paralyzing. Here it helps to remember that most academics aren't trained in the art of giving encouraging, constructive feedback. Most of them have good intentions but many have difficulty striking the right tone. Also, let's face it: some reviewers use the anonymity of reviews to score ego points in a way that they would never do in a signed document or in person. The fear of this kind of feedback can also paralyze new writers. It helps to remind yourself ahead of time that there is no reason for a reviewer to be cruel (even if your article is terrible). If he or she is cruel, the underlying reason has to do with his or her own inner demons and nothing to do with you or the merit of your article. In the end, you don't really need reviewers to be nice to you. You just need their advice so that you can improve your article and get it published. So, forge ahead, undaunted by the possibility that a reviewer or editor might hate your article.

Another challenge of article writing is that it is usually a solitary endeavor. This occurs for at least two reasons. One is that academia is a very competitive field. Colleagues compete against each other both directly and indirectly. And many of today's academics were yesterday's perfectionist students, driven to succeed but also afraid that even small mistakes would mean failure and ridicule. This can make it hard to seek feedback or even to be encouraging of colleagues' work. Another reason is built into the nature of writing: it is always at least partially a solo endeavor (even when you co-author, in most cases authors spend significant portions of time drafting alone). To overcome the solitary nature of writing, it can be helpful to go to a public place to write and/or to participate in writing groups, which can be groups who meet up to write or groups who exchange and offer feedback on writing (or both). Writing groups should stress that texts do not have to be in any way complete. Rough outlines, brainstorming, abstracts and brief article sections are all welcome. Once you get used to sharing your imperfect writing with others, the process of receiving feedback becomes less scary. Important note: it's a good idea to set up some ground rules for commenting on each others' articles so that the writing group will feel like a safe place (a place where you do not have to be defensive or afraid of others). From this perspective, discretion should be the first sacred principle and should be very strictly honored. See Belcher's (2009) chapter on giving and receiving feedback, in her text listed in the resources section.

Intellectual aspects

Now let's turn to the intellectual aspect of academic writing. Your academic training is beyond the scope of this course, which takes for granted that you have received or are receiving an adequate view of your discipline, including appropriate research design. Once you have this foundation, it is important for you to keep up to date with the main journals in your field, both the top ones and the lower-ranked indexed journals, where you are likely to begin your own publishing career (having tables of contents emailed to you and/or subscribing to journal release notices are efficient way to do this). You may find it useful to set aside an hour each week for keeping up to date on new journal issues; this will allow you to see which topics are 'hot', look for entry points, learn about new methods, and avoid accidentally presenting as novel an approach or argument that has already been used by other researchers. It will also help you become familiar with the style and interests of particular journals, so that you will have a good sense of where you might like to try sending your first article. If you aren't sure which jour-

nals to read, ask senior colleagues which journals they think are most important, or which ones they read first. Attending conferences in your field (or the fields in which you wish to publish) is another great way to keep up to date in a time-effective way. You can easily listen to 20 or more conference papers in a single day, while it would likely take weeks to read that many articles. If you feel that there are any gaps in your academic training, now is a good time to fill them. Again, ask senior colleagues and peers for recommendations on key books on theory or methods in your area. You will need to prioritize, because obviously you can't read everything, and you need plenty of time for the writing itself.

Even for scholars who are very well versed in the content and methods of their field, there is a big leap between consuming and evaluating research, on the one hand, and producing it, on the other. A scholarly article is a tricky genre to master: in 3,500 to 10,000 words (depending on the discipline and the journal) the author has to explain what he or she did and why it matters; that is, to advance an argument by placing the outcome in the context of what has already been done. As Belcher (2009) writes, successful authors learn how to "say something new about something old". Often new writers tend to merely rehearse the research performed by others, from the studies they have read, evaluated and critiqued. This will not get you published. Some new writers make the opposite mistake. They only talk about what they have done, without putting it into a larger intellectual context and answering the million-dollar question: who cares? This strategy will also not get you published.

Luckily, it's not that hard to figure out the right balance of old and new because you have thousands of examples of successfully published articles at your disposal. That's why it is essential to analyze recent articles published in your field, and especially in your target journal. In fact, there is an area of applied linguistics dedicated to studying the structure of research articles and it is wise to draw on this body of knowledge in preparing your own article (see for example Swales and Feak 2012, listed in the resource list). You can also do your own analysis of recently published articles in your field and copy their structure and style (but obviously not their content). The writing books and website recommended in the complementary resources list offer a variety of approaches to using existing literature to guide your own writing.

Even once you have identified the structure of a typical article published in your target journal, you may face an additional challenge if English isn't your native language. Because academic publishing is strongly weighted in favour of English, this means that native English speakers have an advantage. They already possess some – thought not all – of the skills required of an English writer. In most cases it will not take them as long to draft an article as it will a researcher from another language background. It also means that in many cases, English-speaking individuals and research groups do not have to spend precious funding on having their research edited and translated. They also do not have to wonder if their surname or home country might bias editors against them. In this sense, the playing field is not level.

Fortunately, there are tools that can enable non-native writers of English to become more autonomous and less reliant on the assistance of English language professionals. Examining successful models can help you identify not only broader structural issues related to article organization, as mentioned above, but also finer grained matters. For example, you can recycle useful sentences by removing their specific contents but keeping their structure, and plugging your own contents in instead. You can also learn how to use linguistic corpora, collections of texts of a particular kind. When organized in a digital database, a corpus allows you to perform searches to find out how a given linguistic structure is used in real-life texts. Using corpora can greatly reduce your dependence on native English-speaking language professionals.

All things considered, it is best to think of your article as a series of tasks or exercises. Make your article good, but don't worry about making it a masterpiece; there is no such thing as the perfect article. Also, this article doesn't have to be the last thing you say on a given topic or set of data or interpretations; publishing careers are long and you can revisit the material in the future if you choose. You can even go back and demonstrate in a future article that your argument in this one was mistaken; famous scholars do this regularly! Or you can let this material go completely and embark on something else. And this returns us to the getting-it-done aspect of article

writing. Writing a publishable article is a daunting challenge. But breaking it down into concrete tasks, following the innumerable models at your disposal, and letting go of anxiety make publishing an article in an indexed journal just as doable as writing a term paper or a dissertation. Recall that these genres probably also seemed un-masterable when you approached them for the first time.

Method

The course consists of two video-recorded sessions available on the Virtual Campus, and a set of activities through which participants will prepare the first draft of an article, with peer review and instructor feedback.

Materials

1. Video sessions

- > **Video 1, Academic Writing I:** http://materials.cv.uoc.edu/cdocent/PID_00234756/
- > **Video 2, Academic Writing II:** <http://obertapublishing.s3.amazonaws.com/test/escriptura-academica/20160929/index.html>

2. Materials necessary for completing the video exercises, in the order in which they appear in the videos:

1. [Frekko research proposals 2011 & 2012](#)
2. [Frekko 2012 Becoming Catalan proposal](#)
3. [Frekko fieldnotes 2012 \(all names are pseudonyms\)](#)
4. [Frekko Article Draft 1 2006](#)
5. [Frekko journal correspondence: 2006-2009](#)

■ WORK PLAN

The course is designed to take place over a six-month period, during which there are 21 weeks of assigned work, at the level of the individual, a small writing group, and a full group. The module calendar is designed with flexibility so that writing groups can decide for themselves how to organize their work (eg submit work to each other on Wednesday, provide feedback by Friday, etc.). In order to stay on track, writing groups should provide feedback no later than Monday of the following week. Discussion board posts for a given week should be made no later than Friday.

The work will proceed in accordance with the two recorded video sessions. You may proceed through the videos at your own pace, but be sure to stop the recording in order to complete the exercises before proceeding. Exercises not mentioned in the Work Plan are recommended but optional.

The following is an outline of the video sessions:

Video 1

- **Introduction: What is research?**

- > We all know what research is... or do we? As it turns out, it can be quite difficult for new academic writers to define precisely what research is and this lack of clarity can make it harder to get published. In this section, participants write their own definitions of 'research' before moving on to examine definitions by experts in the field and apply them to their own projects.

- **Part I: "I have data; now what?"**

This Work Plan starts with the assumption that you have already analyzed your data (otherwise, it would be very difficult to accomplish the objective of submitting your article within the timeframe of the course). Still, it is worthwhile to review possible approaches to analysis, in order to compare them with the approach you have used and also to get you thinking towards future projects. This section discusses the kinds of qualitative data that researchers use and focuses on approaches to data coding. It also offers a brief introduction to the Dedoose online qualitative and quantitative analysis software.

- **Part II: Choosing a journal**

New researchers tend to perfect their first article for months (or years) and then look for a target journal. It is much more efficient to do it the other way around: pick your journal first. The journal that you choose will have a dramatic impact on the focus, content, organization, format and length of your article. You will save yourself a lot of time if you choose a target journal before you get very far into the process of writing your article. This section offers strategies for finding an indexed journal that will be a good fit for your article.

- **Part III: Drafting your article**

Writing an article can be overwhelming. Where to begin? This section proposes a system for writing the article section by section (but not in the order in which they appear in the article!). Breaking the article writing down into manageable chunks is key for the getting-it-done aspect of writing an article. In this section we also look at some practical strategies for time management. Our Work Plan takes

us through the article in the order proposed in the video. The Complementary Resources offer other possible approaches, so for future projects you can think about what will work best for you.

Video 2

- **Part I: Using models to improve your article**

There are low-tech and high-tech ways to employ models in writing your article. A low-tech and very effective option is to find articles similar to yours that have been published in your target journal and/or other similar journals in your field. Compare different aspects of your models: What kinds of topics are of interest to this journal? How are abstracts written? What is the journal's tone or style? Do articles in this journal have a separate Discussion and Conclusion?, etc. This section also introduces the high-tech option of linguistic corpora, which enable you to conduct sophisticated searches related to grammar, vocabulary, structure and style. As mentioned above, corpora are particularly useful to non-native writers of English.

- **Part II: Revising your article**

In the revision stage, writers often discover a fundamental problem with their article: it doesn't make a new contribution that will be of interest to editors and readers. Of course, this makes it unpublishable in an indexed journal. In this case it's time to think creatively about how to find and support an argument (that is, address an interesting research problem) by engaging with literature in your field. This section also addresses the pitfalls of accidental plagiarism and how to avoid them.

- **Part III: Journal correspondence / Revise & Resubmit**

When is your article done? This section offers a checklist to help you let go of perfectionism... and your article. It also discusses what happens after you submit your article, which is often a 'revise & resubmit' process. We examine in detail a particular real-life R&R process, which will allow you to see strategies, mistakes and an eventual positive outcome. Hang onto the correspondence for future reference; you can recycle useful phrases in your own R&R processes.

■ COMPLEMENTARY RESOURCES

Recommended books

- **On time management:**

Vanderkam, Laura. *168 Hours: You Have More Time Than You Think*. New York: Penguin, 2010.

- **On academic writing:**

Belcher, Wendy Laura. *Writing Your Journal Article in Twelve Weeks: A Guide to Academic Publishing Success*. Sage, 2009

Cargill, Margaret, and Patrick O'Connor. *Writing Scientific Research Articles: Strategy and Steps*. 2nd Edition. John Wiley & Sons, 2013.

Booth, Wayne C., Gregory G. Colomb, and Joseph M. Williams. *The Craft of Research*. University of Chicago press, 2003.

Hofmann, Angelika H. *Scientific Writing and Communication: Papers, Proposals, and Presentations*. 2nd Edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Murray, Rowena. *Writing for Academic Journals*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK), 2013.

Swales, John M., and Christine B. Feak. *Academic Writing for Graduate Students: Essential Tasks and Skills*. 3rd edition. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2012.

Recommended website

<https://nequalsone.wordpress.com/2014/03/09/how-to-write-a-journal-article-in-a-currently-unnumbered-number-of-steps-step-1-analyze-a-model/>

■ ANNEX 1. Frekko research proposals 2011 & 2012

Research proposal: “Becoming a ‘Suitable’ Parent: Linguistic Gatekeeping in Transnational Adoption Screening Interviews in Catalonia”

Susan E. Frekko,
summer 2011

This project examines the screening of potential adoptive parents in Catalonia. Catalonia is a stateless nation that has received large numbers of extra-European immigrants since the 90s. Consequently, its residents consciously engage in questions such as “Who counts as a person?” “Who counts as a Catalan?” and “Who is related to whom?” This on-the-ground interest in issues of belonging and descent makes Catalonia an excellent place to study language and adoption. Would-be adopters pass through a screening process involving the prompting of their speech through interview questions, and its decontextualization and recontextualization in the hopeful parents' file. This procedure culminates in prospective parents being labeled as “suitable” or “not suitable” to adopt. This bureaucratic process implies a simple “communicable cartography” (mental map of the trajectory of speech; Briggs 2007), in which interview responses reflect the inner selves of interviewees and thus their essential suitability or lack thereof. However, prospective parents often develop more sophisticated cartographies. These maps allow them to anticipate how their words will be recontextualized and plan their speech accordingly, so that it is more likely to result in a favorable outcome. My aim is not to imply that the potential parents misrepresent themselves, but rather to demonstrate that both the use of speech to glean information about a person’s “self” and the use of speech to present a desirable “self” bring into play (sometimes conflicting) ideologies of personhood, kinship and language. The project will draw on ethnographic interviews with adoptive parents who adopt transnationally and adoption bureaucrats in and around Barcelona, Catalonia, to be conducted in summer 2011. While adoption is of increasing interest in anthropology, the linguistic details of the adoption process are generally overlooked, despite the fact that adoption is accomplished largely through language. This research holds the potential to address this shortcoming.

This project builds on my earlier work on language and nation in Barcelona (Catalonia). Research performed in summer 2011 will be the basis of my second ethnographic project (which will eventually culminate in a book that examines language, race, nation and adoption in Catalonia). Catalans commonly claim that “anyone who speaks Catalan is Catalan;” in other words, nationality is determined by linguistic practice rather than racial categorization or family of origin. Transnational adoption of children of non-European descent provides a test for this claim. Is speaking Catalan enough for these children to be accepted as wholly Catalan people? Through what process are they made to be Catalan? In what situations is their Catalan-ness questioned? These questions are particularly interesting to ask in the context of extra-European immigration to Catalonia, and the treatment of adoptees versus immigrant children will be an important comparison.

Research Proposal: “Adopting Catalans: Language, Racialization, and Belonging in Barcelona among Transnational Adoptees”

Susan E. Frekko,
summer 2012

This project builds on my earlier work on language and nation in Catalonia, which explores the re-emergence of Catalan as a public language. It has been well documented that Catalonia has one of the highest rates of transnational adoption in the world.

Because bureaucratic hurdles complicate local adoptions, many adopting couples opt for international adoptions. A common refrain in Catalonia has been that “anyone who speaks Catalan is Catalan;” in other words, nationality is determined by linguistic practice rather than “racial” categorization or family of origin. International adoption of children of non-European descent provides a test for this claim. Is speaking Catalan enough for these children to be accepted as wholly Catalan people? Through what process are they made to be Catalan? In what situations is their Catalan-ness questioned? These questions are particularly interesting to ask in the context of extra-European immigration to Catalonia, and the treatment of adoptees versus immigrant children will be an important comparison. My hypothesis is that adoptive parents and their adopted children will argue explicitly that “anyone who speaks Catalan is Catalan” while everyday interactions among adoptees, immigrants and autochthonous Catalans will reveal situations in which speaking Catalan is “not enough” and in which Catalan-speaking youth are excluded on the basis of physical characteristics. The case permits us to examine the social, theoretical, and political implications of rapid social change, such as Catalonia’s sudden shift in the 1990s from being a phenotypically homogeneous society to being a recipient of large numbers of extra-European immigrants and transnationally adopted children.

This research will investigate these issues by following the transnational adoption process and the socialization of adopted children in Barcelona. I will conduct participant observation and interviews at orientation meetings for parents and family support groups, as well as observing interactions between parents, children, neighbors, friends and teachers, for both newly arrived children and those who have been in Barcelona for several years. I will pay particular attention to name-calling, talk about “race,” and descriptions of these children as “Catalan” or “non-Catalan.”

The research will fill a gap in the anthropological literature on adoption, which pays very little attention to language. It also has the potential to illuminate the phenomenon of national identification more broadly. In examining a case in which belonging and national identification cannot be taken for granted, such as adoption, scholars can learn more about the characteristics and production of such phenomena.

■ ANNEX 2. Frekko 2012 Becoming Catalan proposal

Becoming Catalan: Language and “Race” in Immigration and International Adoption

**Susan E.
Frekko**

Catalonia, an autonomous region of Spain, experienced a boom in both immigration and international adoption beginning in the 90s and waning with the financial crisis in 2008. These phenomena have changed the face of what had been a phenotypically homogeneous society. Previously, the main social division was linguistic: people who spoke Catalan at home were “Catalan” and people who spoke Spanish at home were “Castilian.” International adoption and immigration provide a natural experiment: Is speaking Catalan enough for phenotypically different children to be accepted as Catalan? Through what processes do they become Catalan? In which situations is their Catalan-ness questioned and in which might they themselves choose not to be Catalan? These questions are volatile in the current economic climate, in which many view immigration as a financial drain and in which Catalonia contemplates declaring independence from Spain as a reaction to what many view as unfair taxation.

Despite explicit anti-racism, I predict that everyday interactions will reveal situations in which speaking Catalan is “not enough,” and in which Catalan-speaking children are excluded on the basis of phenotype. In examining adoption and immigration—processes in which national identification cannot be taken for granted—scholars can learn about the nature of belonging. Moreover, this research has implications for policy and the fields dedicated to the wellbeing of immigrants and adoptees. My research jibes extremely well with the academic interests of Foundation Name, including families, race, immigration and language.

Background “Race”¹ has never been a main component of definitions of Catalan-ness. Rather, *being Catalan* is equated with *speaking Catalan* (Woolard 1989), a tie that appears to be loosening as Catalan gains (somewhat shaky) ground as a “neutral” public language (see Frekko & Woolard 2012). Research on immigrants in Catalonia has tended to focus on school settings, showing reluctance among many to speak Catalan and adopt a Catalan identity (Trenchs-Parera & Newman 2009; Corona et al. in Frekko & Woolard 2012). Another line of research explores institutional policy favoring or disfavoring the integration of immigrant children (Vila i Moreno 2008; Newman et al. in Frekko & Woolard 2012). My research will build on these studies by observing immigrant children in a number of settings, rather than focusing primarily on school settings. Furthermore, the comparison with adoptees allows me to isolate the effects of being from an immigrant family from the effects of physical difference.

Anthropologists have recently focused on adoption as a window on processes of relatedness and belonging (for example Briggs 2012; Howell 2006; Marre & Briggs 2009; Yngvesson 2010). As Briggs and Marre (2009) point out, international adoption is “a stratified form of assisted reproduction” (15). The authors note that post-colonial inequalities often cause some (formerly colonized) countries to be “senders” of both migrants and adoptees to certain (former colonizing) countries (14). Leinaweaver (forthcoming) ex-

¹ I define “race” as the belief that cultural groups are bounded by shared genetic or phenotypical traits.

amines one such pair in her ethnography of Peruvian immigration and international adoption to Spain. She argues that the presence of Peruvian immigrants in Spain draws attention to

Peruvian adoptees' cultural difference from immigrants and presents them with the question of whether to identify with or reject Peruvian immigrants. My study will build on these works by examining experiences of children from multiple countries of origin and by juxtaposing questions of physical difference with those of language, a topic to which the adoption literature has paid little attention.

While "race" as a biological category has long been discredited, by the early 1990s, scholars were noting the presence in Europe of an exclusionary rhetoric founded on of the belief in insurmountable differences in "culture" and the supposed universal human propensity for ethnocentrism (Balibar 1991; Stolcke 1995). Silverstein (2005:364) makes clear that this process is a form of "racialization,"² because it treats "culture" as an essentialized trait. My project examines language, the cultural feature that alongside religion—has been perhaps most subject to racialization. This process occurs both explicitly through talk *about* "race" and implicitly through talk that *performs* "race" (see Alim and Reyes 2011; Dick and Wirtz 2011; Rampton 1995; Hill 2008; Trechter and Bucholtz 2001; Urciuoli 1996). While linguistic anthropologists have studied racialization in immigration (for example, Pagiliai in Dick & Wirtz 2011; Reynolds and Orellana 2009), they have not focused on adoption. This project combines these foci, taking Catalonia as a case in point for examining the current constellation of meanings surrounding language, "race" and citizenship, which have shifted over time with WWII, decolonization, EU integration and finally the current European financial crisis.

Project Design and Method This project represents Phase 3 of an original ethnographic project in Barcelona, Catalonia's capital. Phase 1 (summer 2011) focused on the parental suitability screening process as experienced by seven adoptive families. I presented my results at the 2011 American Anthropological Association meeting and am now preparing an article to be submitted to *American Ethnologist*. During Phase 2 (summer 2012), I conducted follow-up interviews with six families and engaged in participant observation, exploring issues of "race" and national belonging. Initial results support my prediction that adoptive parents report their child's full integration into Catalan society while implicit clues indicate that they suffer discrimination.

Phase 3 is a 12-month comparative ethnographic study to occur during my pre-tenure leave from College Name (2013-14). I will be hosted by two international research groups based at University Name in Barcelona. Researchers in Research Group A examine multilingualism through the lens of the "mobility" of citizens (rather than the presumption of citizens rooted in homogeneous, bounded nation-states and speaking homogeneous, bounded languages; see Blommaert 2010; Heller 2011). The mobility framework is useful in examining immigration and international adoption, phenomena that draw together speakers and linguistic resources in unique ways. Research Group B is an international interdisciplinary consortium of social scientists, physicians, and social workers that investigate the experiences and problems of international adoptees and their families, with a particular focus on "race" and belonging. Participation in this group will place me at the cutting-edge of international adoption research conducted across the social sciences.

Recruitment for Phase 3 will take place from May to September 2013. As a member of Research Group B, I have access to a long list of schools and adoption associations that have agreed to participate in research projects. From these organizations and from immigrant voluntary organizations, I will recruit participants from three categories: 1) adoptees of European origin,³ 2) adoptees of non-European origin and 3) immigrant children. Each group will include ten children age 8-10 (five boys and five girls). I will recruit adopted children that are being raised in Catalan-speaking families.

² "the processes through which any diacritic of social personhood—including class, ethnicity, generation, kinship/affinity, and positions within fields of power—comes to be essentialized, naturalized and/or biologized" (Silverstein 2004:364).

³ Because of patterns in European adoption, most of these adoptees will be from Russia and may tend to be of lighter complexion than autochthonous Catalans. This may make the fact of their adoption visible. I will pay attention to whether differing degrees of "whiteness" is culturally significant. I predict that it will not be because Catalans consider themselves to belong to the same "race" as Russians.

I will seek participants from a range of countries of origin and phenotypes and will recruit adoptees and immigrants from the same countries of origin, as much as possible. To control for problems of social integration due to adoption-related cognitive or emotional problems, I will recruit children who have not been diagnosed with adoption-related conditions. Likewise, I will limit the sample to children who were under three years at adoption or immigration. In composing the groups, I will take social class into account since adoptive families tend to be of higher social class than immigrant families.

From October 2013 through June 2014, I will carry out participant observation, visiting the children at school and in their homes, conducting interviews and focus groups with the children, their teachers and families, and spending time in their families and neighborhoods. In interviews and focus groups with children, I will ask open-ended questions about relationships at school, at home, and in the neighborhood. In interviews with adults, in addition to asking these questions, I will also ask more direct questions about belonging and physical difference. The three-way comparison will enable me to disentangle experiences related to phenotype from those related to being an adoptee vs. being an immigrant. Finally, participant observation in the schools and neighborhoods of the study children will allow me to compare them and with non-adopted children from Catalan-speaking families, whose Catalan-ness will not be in question. Because *how* people talk is meaningful beyond *what* they say, attention to linguistic form will be important to my analysis. Therefore, I will use audio recording.

Data Analysis and Predictions As I complete recordings, the material will be transcribed with the help of a research assistant. With data collection and transcription complete in June 2014, I will conduct a preliminary analysis of the material in July and August 2014. For initial clues to whether the study children “become Catalan” in different ways and to different degrees, I will analyze explicit commentary by the children and their teachers, peers and family members about the Catalan language and Catalan-ness, from both conversational and interview data. I predict that explicit talk about the Catalan language and Catalan-ness will be inclusive, a finding that would be consistent with the results of Phase 2 and with public discourse, which tends to be explicitly anti-racist.

I anticipate that implicit clues in talk will paint a different picture. Conversational features such as pauses and interruptions may reveal a speaker’s attitudes towards his/her interlocutors’ or his/her own speech. Quoted speech may also reveal speakers’ views in providing a model and an implicit evaluation of the speech of a social other (Voloshinov 1978). I predict that implicit data will reveal that these three sets of children do not have equal opportunities to “become Catalans.” The whiteness of European adoptees will enable them to count as Catalan if they come from Catalan-speaking families. The non-European adoptees are likely to be considered Catalan in their school and family environments yet have their Catalan-ness questioned when they venture out of their daily settings. The immigrant children are likely to be excluded from being “Catalan,” because neither do they have European appearances, nor do they come from Catalan-speaking families. Because school takes place in Catalan, these children will have command of Catalan but will not count as Catalan people. Instances in which speakers choose not to speak Catalan with these children, or in which the children themselves choose not to speak Catalan, would support this finding.

I will complete data collection and preliminary analysis by August 2014. In fall 2014, I will begin writing my book, *Becoming Catalan: Language and “Race” in Immigration and International Adoption*. I will work on it part-time during the school year and full-time in the summer, completing it by fall 2016. *Becoming Catalan* builds on my earlier work on the re-emergence of Catalan as a public language. I am including my article “Signs of Respect: Neighborhood, Public and Language in Barcelona” (2009, *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 19,2:227-245). This article is an ethnographic examination of the efforts of residents of a marginalized neighborhood to claim a public Catalan identity.

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■ ANNEX 3. Frekko fieldnotes 2012 (all names are pseudonyms)

Tuesday July 17, 2012 [...]

Met with Sandra [adoptive mom] for lunch. [...] I talked to her a bit about adoption. Agreed to meet to answer my questions. I said, "These are more sensitive questions, so maybe it would be better if Laura [daughter adopted from China, age 12] wasn't there." She said, "Oh okay and Daniel [son adopted from Barcelona, age 21] shouldn't be there either, but he won't want to be there anyway." I continued, "They're questions about physical difference..." She said, "Oh no, Laura doesn't have any problems with that. One time she had a friend that was South American and someone made fun of him and she said, Don't worry. You're South American, she's Catalan, I'm Chinese. No one's perfect! She was really little then. And I said it had nothing to do with perfection. She asked why no one made fun of her and I said, Don't worry; it will come."

Then I guess later someone made "Chinese eyes" at Laura (Sandra made the gesture of pulling her eyes to narrow the space between her lids). Sandra: "And I said to her, 'So what? They put their eyes like this? Or they put their eyes like that'" (then she pulled her eyelids vertically instead of horizontally). In other words, she was dismissing the insult. "Laura doesn't have any problems with that [racial difference]" So, I think this means that she'll be there for the interview...

So, it's very interesting. Total denial that race is an issue and denial that it could be sensitive for her daughter. Will need to tread carefully b/c just b/c Sandra doesn't think it's an issue for Laura doesn't mean that it isn't. Meeting scheduled for July 29th. Hopefully with Elena [another adoptive mother] as well.

7/29/12 (written 7/30)

Mtg w Sandra [adoptive mom], Elena [adoptive mom] at Sandra's house. 1 pm. [...]

[...] Very early on, Elena teared up when talking about Zia's [daughter adopted from China, age 10] questions about her biological mom. It was clear to me that the sadness was about the fact that Zia will probably never be able to find her (not crying about fear of losing her to bio mom or jealousy or anything like that). I was looking for a moment to ask her what made her sad—just to confirm this—but I couldn't find the right time.

Superbly interesting conversation about physical difference. Both thought that kids of immigrant Chinese walk differently from adopted Chinese. Their explanations waffled b/w genetic and cultural. [...]

7/31/12

[...] I called Carol [grandmother of adopted girl] to see if she was home. Sounded happy to hear from me. Said that Clara [daughter] was on her way w/ Bana [grand-daughter adopted from Mali, age 4] and a little friend, Joana, to swim in the baby pool in their backyard. She invited me to come over.

I got there before Clara, Bana and Joana. Then Clara, Bana and Joana arrived. Bana was wearing a white dress with crinoline. Carol [Bana's grandmother] said, "Look at that princess dress! It must be Joana's [the friend's]." Clara explained later that she and David [husband] have been exchanging child care with Joana's mom and B & J have been playing really well together. [...] The first thing Bana does when she goes to Joana's house is take off her clothes and see what of Joana's she can wear. Clara said, "It's as if they were 15!" [the girls are 4 years old] [...]

8/3/12

A not very good interview w Josep [dad], Anna [mom] and Ina [daughter adopted from China, age 12]. The other kids haven't been interested in participating, so I wasn't prepared for what I found: all 3 of them ready to talk. In the back of my mind was what Chantal said about the danger of kids feeling "talked about." Anna asked if I needed to speak to them separately and I said, "It's not necessary; we can talk all together." Then I regretted it b/c I was totally unprepared for that kind of interview. I basically had to wing it and had trouble getting it to last long enough for it not to seem like a waste of their time. I finally managed 45 min. Very awkward and my Catalan was a wreck! Still some interesting things about culture vs. genetics and a very clear statement that Ina is Catalan, not Spanish or Chinese. At one point Ina said, "since I'm Chinese" then corrected to, "I mean, since I'm from China."

I took the parents' lead in deciding how to address physical difference. At one point, her father said that her being adopted or Chinese wasn't a big deal, "Her nose is like this and mine is like this, and that's it." He was saying that physical differences were superficial. I tried to get confirmation from Ina on this point (which I wouldn't have brought up on my own). But here I got bogged down a bit. And she seemed to feel put on the spot. She couldn't understand the question. Her mom and dad tried to help me rephrase. Finally, her mom said, "Ina, do you feel different?" Ina said no. I hope the questioning doesn't make her start to wonder things that she otherwise hadn't. Or to make her feel different when she hadn't before.

Need to get this worked out better for future child participants. [...]

8/8/12

Spent Aug 6-8 staying in Sabadell at home of Carol.

Aug 6—dinner w/ Carol, Clara (her daughter), David (son-in-law), Laia (other daughter), Bana (Clara and David's daughter adopted from Mali). At one point, Laia and Clara [sisters] were talking about going to the beach. Ivan [Laia's boyfriend] had gotten sunburned. Someone said, "Clara, you've gotten really tan." Then I can't remember exactly how it came about, but people started talking about Bana being black. Maybe Bana herself said, "I'm black." Then Carol [Bana's grandmother] re-told the story about the shopkeeper [story appears in an earlier set of notes]. More details this time. The shopkeeper said to Bana, "Wow; you're so tan! I'm not tan at all." (implying that B was lucky b/c she was so tan). Then Carol reported that Bana said,

"I'm not tan. I'm black because I was born in Mali." Then Carol turned to Bana and said, "Isn't that right, Bana"

On the 7th. Carol and I went out for lunch. Then in afternoon she watched Bana while Clara and David cleaned their apartment. Bana was using rollerskates. Then face paints. She was using the white paint and Carol said, "She likes the white one because it stands out a lot." Referring to her skin color. Clara and David have been trying to get Bana to stop sucking her thumb. On the 6th Clara said that it's difficult b/c "it's her intimate thing." On the 7th, Carol and I were talking

about it and she said, "Black women spend all day with the baby hanging on their necks nursing and when she [Bana] lost her [biological] mother [in Mali], she consoled herself by sucking on her thumb. She was there in the orphanage and they slept on the floor."

On the 6th Laia [Bana's aunt] said to me that Bana had said, "Without my thumb, I'm alone." After cleaning on the 7th, Clara said, "I just worked as hard as a black woman/slave [com una negra]."

I went to dinner at Clara and David's house. Had to delay b/c having a very hard time getting Bana to sleep w/out sucking her thumb. They were having doubts—dentist said her mouth is deformed from thumb-sucking and she has to stop now. They know other parents that decide not to worry about it. [...]

■ ANNEX 4. Frekko Article Draft 1 2006

Article Title by

Susan Frekko

University

Abstract:

This article explores what it means for Catalan to be a public language by focusing on a protest banner campaign by a neighborhood association in an economically marginal, Castilian-speaking neighborhood of Barcelona. Through the banners, the neighbors participated in Catalan-language public discourse, justifying their claims on the city administration by 1) asserting the residents' status as citizens and members in the public sphere through the use of intertextuality and explicit claims and 2) taking advantage of indexicality and iconicity to represent the neighborhood as ethnically-integrated and Catalan-speaking, although it actually met neither of these criteria.

**“We who live in the Raval are citizens, too. We too are persons.
And like everyone we need quality of life¹.”**

The above slogan, written in Catalan, adorned a banner that hung in the Raval neighborhood of Barcelona where I carried out ethnographic research from 2002 to 2003. It was one of 81 banners that residents painted and hung on their balconies in protest of neighborhood problems. The fact that the sign painters would bother to make the assertions in the slogan (rather than take them for granted) implies that they felt that there was inequality in the distribution of government resources and that the residents of the Raval were not treated like citizens and persons. The banner campaign was an effort to rectify this situation.

This article seeks to contribute to work on language and the public sphere. I follow the authors of the volume *Languages and publics: the making of authority* (Gal and Woolard 2001a) in taking “public” as a folk category, an aspect of language ideology, rather than an objective reality (Gal and Woolard 2001b: 7). In Catalonia, Catalan has only recently and partially been re-defined as a public language. This means that we must ask *whether* segments of the population view Catalan as a public language and if so, *if* and *how* they participate in a Catalan-medium public sphere. It is particularly important to ask this question about non-native speakers, and that is what I do here.

In this article, I look at the language practices of a neighborhood association in an economically marginal neighborhood in the center of Barcelona as it tried to claim a right to participation in the public sphere. Members, including non-native speakers of Catalan and non-speakers of Catalan, understood the language as a public language and used it to further their political goals. In particular, I analyze a protest campaign that took place on neighborhood streets and balconies, showing that participants used intertextual, code and register choices (including efforts toward normative Catalan) to strengthen their claims on City Hall. The banners acted as indexes and icons of neighborhood qualities that did not actually exist—Catalan-speaking and writing, racially integrated, welcoming of immigrants. These signifiers made the neighborhood appear to be an exemplary constituent of a Catalan public and therefore just as “deserving²” of city services as wealthier neighborhoods.

This article is about everyday writing practices not regimented directly by normative institutions like schools, the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (the equivalent of an academy of the language), the media or the government. Linguists have long recognized the necessity of acknowledging the formal differences between speech and writing in linguistic analyses (Abercrombie 1965; Brown and Yule 1983; Chafe 1982; Chafe and Danielewicz 1987). In recent years, linguistic anthropologists have replaced older views of literacy as an all-or-nothing competence with a view of literacy as a set of practices and abilities that can only be understood in their sociocultural, economic and political contexts (Besnier 1993; Besnier 1995; Collins 1995; Heath 1983; Street 1993). Broadening the definition of literacy has allowed exploration of everyday uses of reading and writing cross-culturally and demonstrated the necessity and effectiveness of looking beyond literacy in the

school to the range of literate activities in daily life. I focus my attention on the writing activities of a small neighborhood association that formed while I was living in Barcelona. While the writing activities of its members were not regulated by formal institutions, we must not make the mistake of assuming that everyday writing is unregimented. As I will show below, this everyday writing was a highly regimented social activity and participants conceptualized it as participating in public discourse.

Despite the fact that the neighborhood was primarily Castilian-speaking, through the banner campaign, the neighbors participated in Catalan-language public discourse and used Catalan's public nature to justify the association's claims on the Barcelona city administration. They did this in two ways: 1) asserting the residents' status as citizens and members in the public sphere through the use of intertextuality and through explicit claims and 2) taking advantage of indexicality and iconicity to represent the neighborhood as ethnically-integrated and Catalan-speaking, although it actually met neither of these criteria.

Catalan as a public language

Catalan is a Romance variety native to Northeastern Spain and Southwestern France and is spoken by approximately 5 million people in Spain, 100,000 in France, 31,000 in Andorra and 20,000 in the Sardinian city of Alghero (Ethnologue 2006). After long periods of repression by the Spanish state, the most recent one occurring during the Franco dictatorship from 1939 to 1975, Catalan became co-official with Castilian in Catalonia in the 1978 Spanish constitution. The 1979 Catalan Statute of Autonomy and subsequent legislation have implemented language policy to protect and promote the Catalan language and re-introduce it as a public language.

In the second half of the 20th century, Barcelona's industries (owned by a largely Catalan-speaking bourgeoisie) attracted millions of native Castilian-speaking migrants from other areas of Spain. In 1979, it was estimated that 40% of Catalonia's residents were not born in Catalonia and less than half of Catalonia's residents spoke Catalan natively (Woolard 1991: 52). The history of linguistic persecution from the central state and the presence of monolingual Castilian-speakers in huge numbers have meant that nearly all of Catalonia's native Catalan speakers are bilingual in Castilian. Decreasing proportions of Catalan speakers within Catalonia during the 20th century were not due to attrition among Catalans but rather to demographic changes caused by the influx of Castilian-speaking workers with higher birth rates than Catalans³ (Woolard 1985: 96). These shifts have also meant that social class and native language correlate roughly with each other. Catalonia's middle class tends to be autochthonous and native-Catalan speaking, while its working class tends to be more recently arrived and native-Castilian speaking. These indexical links have given Catalan a ring of distinction despite its many years of exclusion from institutional life.

Kathryn Woolard has shown that a strong association between ethnonational identification and language prevailed in Catalonia in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In other words, using Catalan was a claim to be an "authentic" Catalan person and could conflict with or even betray other identifications. This language ideology acted as a disincentive for non-speakers against learning Catalan, despite the high prestige value of the language (Woolard 1989; Woolard 2005). By the late 1980s, the ties between identity and language appeared to be loosening, opening the door to increased non-native acquisition of Catalan (Woolard 1991; Woolard 1995; Woolard and Gahng 1990).

In the 1986 census, it was estimated that 64% of the population of Catalonia spoke Catalan with the percentage reaching 73% in the 15-29 age group (Puiggené, et al. 1991:33). By 2001, 74.5% of Catalonia's residents reported being able to speak Catalan (71% in the Barcelona metropolitan area). In the 10-24 age group, this figure is 90.64%. It is also worth noting that in this age group, the reported ability to read and write is extremely high: 90.88% and 84.27%, respectively, (Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya 2001). This shift reflects the implementation of language policy in the last twenty-five years, which has made Catalan the main medium of

instruction in most schools and required the Catalan language for civil servant employment. It also reflects the loosening of ties between ethnonational orientation and language use.

[Insert Table 1]

In a 2003 computerized telephone survey of 7,257 respondents age 15 and older throughout Catalonia, 40.4% of respondents indicated that their first language was Catalan, while 53.5% indicated that their first language was Castilian and 2.8% claimed both languages (see Table 1). This trend is reversed in the responses for “**llengua pròpia**”⁴ (48.8% Catalan, 44.3% Castilian, 5.2% both in Catalonia) and “habitual language” (50.1% Catalan, 44.1% Castilian, 4.7% both; Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya 2003: 27-29, 31, 33). The study defines “**llengua pròpia**” as “The language that the person interviewed considers his/hers. The language with which the person identifies.” “Habitual language” is defined as “The language that the interviewed person uses most often” (15-16). The study reveals that significant numbers of respondents claimed Catalan as the language they identified with and/or the language they used habitually even when it was not that first language. This finding gibes well with reports of the attenuation of the link between native language and ethnonational identity in Catalonia (see above). It appears that it is now possible for a person to claim the Catalan language without being ethnically Catalan, a development that is consonant with the idea that Catalan is increasingly a public language. It is important to point out, however, the relatively low percentages for Catalan as a habitual language. If the language had reached full status as a public language, one would expect much higher numbers for habitual language, regardless of first language or **llengua pròpia**. This article examines the way a group of neighbors, many of them non-native Catalan speakers, understood the language to be a public language and used it as such to claim status as citizens and constituents.

The neighborhood and the Comissió

I moved into an apartment in the Raval neighborhood of Barcelona in October 2002. The neighborhood was built on a rough grid pattern in the second half of the 19th century. The streets were all one-way passages, some of them so narrow that there were no sidewalks. Few cars went by, and when they did, they shared the street with pedestrians. Most of the buildings were five-story walk-ups. Most of the bottom floors were dedicated to small businesses. The remaining floors were apartments. Traditionally, they were rented, and many of the older residents were still on open-ended leases. The new residents were divided into two main groups. Young native Catalan-speaking professionals had come to the neighborhood because of its relatively affordable purchase prices. Immigrants from the Philippines, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Cuba and China came because of the low rents, and probably because landlords in the tonier parts of town would not rent to them. Interestingly, many of the older residents had also come as “immigrants”—from Spain.

The building I lived in contained eight apartments and one ground-level store front. Most of the residents were of Iberian origin: a few elderly native Catalan-speaking people and some native Castilian-speaking households, including my next-door neighbors—a young couple with a baby. There was one extra-Iberian immigrant family from Cuba, who lived directly above me.

A native-Catalan speaking art teacher in her 40s named Raquel had recently purchased and renovated the store front. It served as her art studio and part-time residence. Businesses on my block included a Catalan⁵ bakery, a Cuban convenience shop, a Bangladeshi convenience shop, two hair shops (one of which was run by a Philippino family), a Philippino bar, a Catalan antique store, an old-fashioned Catalan restaurant and a traditional *polleria*, which sold chicken, eggs and dairy products. During the time that I lived there, all of these business remained operational except for the Philippino bar. While this block remained relatively stable, the larger neighborhood was undergoing gentrification. For example, while I was there, the following businesses opened

further down the street or around the corner: an architect's studio, several art galleries, a high-priced hand-bag store, and two fashionable restaurants.

Shortly after moving in, I noticed red fliers that had been taped around the neighborhood. They contained a memo in Catalan from an entity called *Associació Horitzó*⁶ and invited residents of four short Raval streets, including mine, to a meeting to discuss the following themes: street cleaning, the extermination of rats and cockroaches, the regulation of late-night bars and businesses, the establishment of dialogue with the neighborhood disco “*La Gaviota*,”⁷ the planting of trees and plants in the neighborhood, the regulation of abandoned storefronts and the creation of commissions to oversee these tasks. The meeting would take place later that week.

As I later found out, *Horitzó* was a neighborhood association founded in 1997 as an alternative to the long-time *Associació de Veïns del Raval* for one part of the neighborhood.

This association had strong ties with the center-right Catalanist ruling party *Convergència i Unió*. *Horitzó* was formed with initial funding from the leftist *Partit Socialista de Catalunya*, although it operated independently from the party. The organization was run by four women, three of whom were native Catalan-speaking and three of whom owned businesses in the neighborhood—a hardware store, a bar, and the antique store mentioned above. The organization was currently undergoing a transition because my neighbor Raquel had recently joined and was taking a leadership role. Most other members were local small business owners (many of whom did not live in the neighborhood), although residents were also welcome to join. *Horitzó*'s territory was limited to one section of the Raval. The objectives of the organization, according to a promotional flyer, were to achieve a neighborhood “with personality;” favor social responsibility and a sense of civic duty; encourage citizen participation in institutional decisions; energize commercial and cultural activity in the neighborhood; work for an improvement in urban conditions, safety, cleanliness and the environment; and “demand profound and brave social acts that have as their primordial goal the well-being of people.”

The November meeting encompassing just four streets of *Horitzó*'s jurisdiction was an effort to encourage “local” action—even more local than *Horitzó*'s. The meeting took place in the back of the antique store on my block. My neighbor Raquel ran the meeting, which roughly 40 people attended. All of the people, except for one Philippino woman, were of Iberian origin. The meeting seemed divided between retired people and people in their twenties and thirties. Most of the oldest spoke Catalan during the meeting as did most of the youngest. The few attendees in their forties and fifties tended to speak in Castilian when they took the floor.

A large proportion of discussion at the meeting was dedicated to the problems caused by the concert hall and disco, *La Gaviota*, which was located on one of the streets whose residents had been convened. The business, formerly an old-time dance hall, was currently enjoying great success in its new guise and was celebrating its centennial year. *La Gaviota* sat on the edge of the micro-neighborhood. It shared walls with residential/commercial buildings and was directly across a narrow street from another strip of buildings. Several nights a week the *Gaviota* held concerts, and the crowds were fairly well-behaved. On the other nights, the *Gaviota* was a disco. The majority of its clientele arrived after midnight, where they lined up outside chatting. The disco often remained open until 6 or 7 am. The problems included noise by patrons and early-morning clean-up crews, excess lighting of the club's façade, and trash and urine left by inebriated patrons.

There were other general complaints about the neighborhood—for example, the tendency of insiders and outsiders to dump large trash items like sofas and refrigerators on one street corner and the tendency of residents to use small wastebaskets for depositing their garbage bags rather than using the dumpsters. Another problem was noise made by people congregating in the streets and by loud music, especially when these behaviors were by recent immigrants.

Raquel offered to head a **Comissió** [commission] that would represent the residents of the four streets. She asked for volunteers to participate, and the *Comissió* met for the first time a few weeks later, on November 26th. The *Comissió* had broad goals—cooperation among residents to improve life and negotiation with the *Gaviota* and City Hall to solve the problems caused by the *Gaviota*. The membership of the *Comissió* was fluid, but it included all of the following people at one time or another:

Raquel, a native Catalan-speaking art teacher in her forties

Mona, a German architect in her late twenties

Juana, a Colombian/French creative writing student in her mid-twenties

Susanna, a native Catalan-speaking woman in her late twenties; she was in the process of opening up a macrobiotic restaurant down the street.

Sara, a native Catalan-speaking special education teacher in her late twenties

Diana, a native Catalan-speaking scientist in her late twenties

Carmen, a native Castilian-speaking woman in her sixties who worked at a nearby hotel

Pepe, a native Castilian-speaking man in his fifties Ramón, a native Castilian-speaking man in his forties

Felip, a native Catalan-speaker in his eighties

Roser, a native Catalan-speaker in her sixties

Although I did not become a formal member of the Comissió, living directly above Raquel made it easy for me to integrate myself into the goings-on of the group. Notice that while the Catalan-speaking contingent had a range of ages, there were no local Castilian-speaking members in their twenties or thirties. All of them were middle-aged or older. The foreign members included only young, well-educated middle class people (Mona and Juana); there was no representation of the large South Asian, Philippino, Chinese and Latin American working class populations on the Comissió. The group included more women than men, and all of the individuals in charge, Raquel among them, were women.

Two ideas emerged from this meeting: to carry out a petition drive and to launch a protest banner campaign. It was agreed that on December 7th and 14th, Comissió members and others would man tables on Lleó Street in order to collect signatures for three different letters to City Hall, all written in Catalan. One letter addressed the problems caused by the Gaviota. A second letter addressed the regulation of bars and other businesses, especially questions of noise, closing times and trash. A third letter addressed the problem of rats and trash in the street. While the petition drive was taking place, other Comissió members would paint protest banners for distribution to residents to hang on their balconies over the street. After these two days, Raquel organized four additional sign-painting sessions. As luck would have it, all of the sign-painting took place in the street directly below my balcony, and directly in front of Raquel's street-level door. This made it easy for me to be involved in the painting and to take photographs from above. Neighbors donated sheets and money to buy waterproof fabric paint. Raquel kept the supplies in her studio below my apartment. Because she was an art teacher, she had a large supply of paintbrushes. Our street was very narrow with no sidewalk. Cars only passed by occasionally, so we stretched out the sheets in the middle of the street. When a car came by, we picked up the sheets to let it pass.

As with membership of the Comissió, participation in the painting sessions shifted. Involved at least at some time were Raquel (the group's leader), Diana and Sara (Catalan-speaking women in their twenties and Comissió members), Mona and Juana (well-educated young foreigners, and also Comissió members), Roser (a Catalan-speaking woman in her sixties who painted banners in her home), Nuri (a Castilian-speaking woman in her forties), Castilian-speaking neighborhood children and teens, and later two Bangladeshi teens, a Bangladeshi shop owner and a Pakistani man in his late twenties. No men or boys of Iberian origin participated.

Before the first painting session, Raquel and some of the other Comissió members met to generate slogans. Raquel came to the first session with a list of slogans. After the initial painting sessions, the Comissió began to break down. Raquel's confrontational style engendered a rift between her and the leaders of Horitzó,

who wanted to use personal networks to negotiate with the Gaviota and the City Hall. There was trouble inside the Comissió as well. Sara resigned, protesting that Raquel put words into her mouth and tried to silence dissent. Furthermore, the amount of time that Raquel demanded from Comissió participants overwhelmed members who had jobs, which was the majority. Some members continued to paint and hang signs. However, the painting no longer took place conjointly and publicly. Rather, people painted at home in their spare time. Here I concentrate on the period of centralized sign-painting.

Linguistic display and visualizations of groupness

This article shares with Gade (2003) a focus on one aspect of “scriptorial landscape.” Gade examines signage in Olot, Catalonia, and Victoriaville, Quebec, and reveals a 20th century shift from Castilian to Catalan in Olot and from bilingual French and English to French alone in Victoriaville. He draws on Anderson (1991) to argue that scriptorial landscape is one aspect of the way people imagine themselves to belong to nations (Gade 2003: 446). In other words, scholars of the nation should think broadly about the circulation of the written word. This is a powerful insight. At the same time, caution is necessary because there is a tendency in bilingual situations to center one’s analysis on code alone, as Gade does. I show that there are other things at play in addition to code choice and I address issues of code choice only after exploring these other issues.

The banners I describe here were not unique to this neighborhood. Rather, they belonged to a protest genre typical in Barcelona and other Catalan cities I visited. The messages were usually painted on white sheets and hung from balcony banisters or clothes lines, often with clothes pins. Another thing hung in this way is the Catalan flag, the *senyera*, which people display on Catalan national holidays, especially September 11th⁸. The flag is not generally hung from flagpoles projecting from the ground or from the facades of buildings, as is common in the US. In this sense, the banners fit right into a physical and symbolic space left for them by the flags and into a particular habitus of display.

This method of protest is congruent with Catalan settlement patterns and modes of transport. Catalan cities are vertical, with nearly all residents living in apartment buildings and nearly all buildings having balconies. Dense settlement promotes public transportation and walking. This means that there are a lot of people on the streets—even on small, slightly disreputable ones like the one where I lived—and that their pace is slow, enabling them to absorb banner messages. In a more diffuse and/or car-dependent settlement pattern, this kind of campaign would have little impact because of a lack of recipients for the messages.

There were several other banner campaigns underway during my stay in Barcelona. One was in the hip neighborhood El Born, whose active nightlife presented noise problems for the residents. Another was along the train tracks on the outskirts of Barcelona where apartment buildings overlooked the tracks. These neighbors campaigned for the tracks to be made subterranean. Throughout the city in winter 2003, banners protested the US’s impending invasion of Iraq and then the invasion itself. On a day trip to the city of Vic, I photographed protest banners hung on the façades of buildings in the main square. The only banners that appeared in the area of the Comissió’s jurisdiction were Comissió banners. However, anti-war banners hung on adjacent streets.

Linguistic and paralinguistic features mark the banners as belonging to a genre. Messages tended to be short phrases rather than complete sentences. Many were catchy slogans from the oral messages of protest demonstrations. They tended to be written in capital letters with minimal punctuation. Many used symbols like =, + (read *més* or *más* [more]), the peace sign and the crossed-out circle⁹. Also common were conventionalized drawings like a missile or a dove. Banners often employed more than one color of paint and more than one language. In the case of the anti-war banners, English was particularly common, which I read as a means of target selection. Although banner painters could not necessarily expect English speakers to receive the

message directly, their choice of code made it clear that they held the English-speaking world accountable for the war in Iraq.

[Insert Figure 1]

These features indicate design for maximal visual impact. However, many banners from the Comissió's campaign were not visible either because they were placed too high on a building's façade for legibility or because they were crumpled. This points to an important fact—banners could send a message even if their linguistic messages were not decodable.

Merely having a rumpled sheet with some illegible writing on it marked a resident as sharing the point of view of the Comissió (see Figure 1).

Claiming membership in the Catalan public

In this section, I will show that the sign painters claimed status as Catalan citizens and members of the Catalan public in two ways: building intertextual links to speech associated with City Hall and making explicit claims. Mannheim and Tedlock follow Bakhtin in asserting, “any and all present discourse is already replete with echoes, allusions, paraphrases, and outright quotations of prior discourse” (Mannheim and Tedlock 1995: 7). Bakhtin writes about this phenomenon under the rubric of *dialogism* (Bakhtin 1973: 184). Another way of writing about the same phenomenon has been under the rubric of *intertextuality*. *Dialogism* and *intertextuality* differ in that *dialogism* emphasizes that every utterance has indexical links, whereas *intertextuality* points to these sorts of linkages as a special cases and often concentrates on written text. However, the idea that the two terms share is what interests me here—the notion that a given word rings with its prior utterances.

One way in which the banners claimed a spot in the sphere was through dialogic links to speech emanating from City Hall. At the time of my fieldwork, a public relations campaign by the city of Barcelona was underway under the slogan “viure B.” The city is commonly referred to in writing with the city's airport code: BCN. The campaign capitalized on this code, using the letter B as a sign of the city. In the campaign, the B was blue and underlined with a curved line meant to represent a smile. Homophony between the pronunciation in Catalan of the letter B and the word “bé,” [well] allowed the following pun: viure B [arcelona] = viure bé [to live Barcelona = to live well]. The campaign took place in television and radio spots and posters, postcards and other promotional written material. Intertextuality with the B campaign occurs in seven banner slogans. The appearance of B shows that these residents received the B—a Catalan-medium discourse—as a public discourse to which they could respond in public fashion.

The B first appeared on the second day of sign-painting, December 15, 2002. It may have originally been introduced at the text-generating meeting, which I could not attend. At this point, painting was still very centralized around Raquel with her collecting sheets and slogans, distributing them to painters and then distributing them to residents for hanging. The first B banner was, “CLOS VINE A/ VIURE AL BARRI/ SABRÀS EL QUE ES/ B[Ó]” [CLOS COME/ TO LIVE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD/ YOU'LL FIND OUT WHAT IS/ B/GOOD]; see Figure 2.

[Insert Figure 2]

This slogan not only borrows the smile and turns it into a frown, but also plays on the text of the slogan. In the first reading, what the mayor will find out is what B is, that is, what Barcelona is. In the second reading, he

will find out what is “**bó**”¹⁰, “good.” The frown symbol tells us that the use of the ☹ is ironic. Later banners are intertextual both with the campaign and with this first banner, which started a trend (see Obeng 2000).

Another banner reads, “**AJUNTAMENT/ NO ETS SOLUCIÓ/ ALS NOSTRES/ PROBLEMES/ ET ☹ ??/ NECESSITEM**” [CITY HALL/ YOU’RE NOT THE SOLUTION/ TO OUR/ PROBLEMS/ YOU [direct object]. ☹??/ WE NEED” (we need you; see Figure 3).

[Insert Figure 3]

“**Ajuntament**” and ☹ are in black while the first sentence is in red and the second in green. The ☹ is set far to the right of the “**et**,” implying that it is not to be read as part of the phrase. The phrase reads “**Ajuntament no ets solució als nostres problemes et necessitem.**” The “☹??” is a direct response to the City Hall’s campaign. The shared colors for “**Ajuntament**” and “☹??” link the two together, a second message reading, “**Ajuntament ☹??**” The text is odd because it first claims that the City Hall cannot provide the solution to the neighborhood’s problems. Then it goes on to say that the neighbors need City Hall.

The next banner I discuss is similarly ironic: “☹ **ENVINGUTS AL ☹ ARRI/ DE LA BRUTICIA,/ SO-ROLL I ESPECULACIÓ**” [WELCOME TO THE NEIGHBORHOOD/ OF FILTH/ NOISE AND SPECULATION]; see Figure 4.

[Insert Figure 4]

Here, the first line appears to have a positive slant. The word “**benvinguts**” (“welcome”) and the smiling ☺’s give this impression. However, the second and third lines describing the kind of neighborhood to which passersby are being welcomed make clear that the first line is ironic. It is the neighborhood of filth, noise and speculation.

In interviews that I did with language professionals, my Catalan classmates and other volunteers, I showed interviewees a series of texts and asked for their interpretations. One of the texts that I showed was a photograph of this banner. A corrector from one of the newspapers picked up on the presence of the ☹’s when she described the text to me:

There’s the the that smile from from Barcelona that they invented at City Hall (laughing) which really they should be careful because (laughing). Yeah, because there are neighborhoods that are really abandoned and they [City Hall] stick the smile all over the place and the people aren’t happy¹¹.

This quotation shows that the intertextual links that the sign painters used were decodable to outsiders. Additionally, this respondent had easily detected the irony of the banner.

The ☺ appears in one instance in a Castilian word. This is a later banner that appeared after the production structure became dispersed. Although the smile occurs in a Castilian- medium banner under a Castilian word “*barrio*,” the word is the Castilian cognate of the word under which the smile appeared in two earlier banners in Catalan—**barri**. “*REGIDORES COBRAIS PARA MEJORAR/ EL ☺ ARRI, NO PARA DEJARLO/ DE “LA MANO DE DIOS.*” [COUNCILLORS YOU EARN A SALARY IN ORDER TO IMPROVE/ THE NEIGHBORHOOD, NOT TO LEAVE IT (FORSAKEN)/ FROM “THE HAND OF GOD”]; see Figure 5.

[Insert Figure 5]

This banner suggests that the city councilors pocket their paychecks without doing any work for the betterment of the neighborhood. Clearly, a neighborhood abandoned by God is not one that can straightfor-

wardly be described as \mathcal{B} ; the adoption of this sign is ironic. The rarity of the \mathcal{B} in Castilian utterances can be explained by the fact that these texts are responses to City Hall’s campaign, which is a Catalan-medium discourse emanating from a Catalan-speaking institution. The use of Catalan for the \mathcal{B} slogans can be read as addressee selection.

So far, I have described ironic uses of the \mathcal{B} , but there were also some that expressed alignment with City Hall. On January 11, 2003, the painters worked on a long vertical banner painted to look like a strip of postcards from the neighborhood to different public figures. Two of the postcards use the \mathcal{B} . One is addressed to Cathy Carreras, the City Hall’s representative for the district to which the neighborhood belong. It reads, “**AL RAVAL/ VOLEM VIURE/ \mathcal{B}** ” [IN THE RAVAL/ WE WANT TO LIVE/ \mathcal{B} (WELL)]; see Figure 6.

[Insert Figure 6]

This banner takes full advantage of the homophony between the letter B and the adverb *bé* [well]. The use of the \mathcal{B} triggers a link to the City Hall, and the banner and the City Hall use the \mathcal{B} in the same way. However, some other meanings were detectable among people with access to behind-the-scenes workings of the Comissió. Raquel had a passionate hatred for Cathy Carreras, which she voiced loudly. She accused Carreras of corruption and ineptitude. Knowledge of Raquel’s point of view was basically unavoidable by the Comissió members.

This message therefore takes on an ironic tinge, although one that would not be detectable to a receiver of the message who did not know Raquel. The fact that the postcard is addressed to Cathy Carreras makes one wonder why a postcard stating that “we want to live well” would be addressed to her. It implies that she in some way prevents the neighborhood from doing what it would like to do (and what City Hall would like it to do).

Another postcard on the same banner is addressed to district manager for Ciutat Vella¹²,

Josep Maria Luccheti. This is one of the few instances of intrasentential codeswitching in the banners. It reads, “**FEM HO \mathcal{B} ?/ QUEREMOS/ VIVIR MEJOR/ SENSE/ SOROLL!**”

[**SHOULD WE DO IT \mathcal{B} (WELL)?/ WE WANT/ TO LIVE BETTER/ WITHOUT/ NOISE**]; see Figure 6. The B is underlined with a straight line rather than a smiley face. This suggests that the painter was not familiar with the campaign and had been simply told what to write. Multiple people worked on this banner at once. The question, “**Fem ho \mathcal{B} ?**” suggests that we (multiple I’s plus the you of Luccheti) are not currently doing it \mathcal{B} . The text shows alignment in that \mathcal{B} is a goal, but irony in the sense that the City Hall would probably argue that things are already \mathcal{B} .

Another banner employing the \mathcal{B} was designed to hang over the street between two buildings, folded over a cable. One side of the banner read, “**PER UN \mathcal{B} ARRI DIGNE/ NORMATIVA CONTAMINACIÓ/ ACUSTICA**” [FOR A DIGNIFIED NEIGHBORHOOD/ LAW CONTAMINATION/ ACOUSTIC (ACOUSTIC CONTAMINATION LAW)]; see Figure 7.

[Insert Figure 7]

The smile under the \mathcal{B} marks it as part of an intertextual web linking it back to the earlier banners and eventually to the City Hall’s campaign. Again, the voices are in alignment; the neighbors and the City Hall both want the city to be \mathcal{B} , and the neighbors even place faith in legislative means of achieving this end. However, as in the above slogan, the wording implies that the neighborhood is not currently dignified, a proposition that City Hall might reject.

The Comissió appropriated City Hall’s \mathcal{B} , using it to its own ends, which sometimes coincided with the City Hall’s and sometimes did not. This is a case of dialogism in which the second voice is directly traceable to a particular source (the City Hall). As Mannheim and Tedlock point out, all speech is dialogic. Therefore, my

point here is not to claim that these banners depart from the patterns of language use in general. However, the particular intertextual links that these banners draw are worth thinking about as part of the way that the participants justified their claim on City Hall. All speech may be dialogic, but the particular form such dialogue takes in a given discourse is worthy of investigation. Why *these* indexical links and not others? What patterns do they form?

I argue that the particular intertextual links that the banners draw are part of a larger pattern. The banners draw on these indexical links and others that I will describe below in order to justify the neighbors' claims on City Hall. The use of the *B* marks the neighborhood as belonging to the mayor's constituency, as having the right to make claims. Jane Hill writes of a similar appropriation of the desired indexical associations of linguistic signs in her work on Mock Spanish. Speakers exploit the indexical linkages of the code to project a laidback, cosmopolitan persona (Hill 2005). These sign painters similarly exploit the indexical associations of linguistic and non-linguistic signs to depict themselves as full citizens who participate in the circulation of shared signs, are recipients of language emanating from City Hall and, by virtue of these facts, belong to a Catalan public.

There were two banners that addressed explicitly the membership of the residents in a Catalan public. One of the first banners in the campaign featured the following Castilian statement, "*Nosotros también pagamos impuestos. Nosotros también somos ciudadanos de primera. No hay ciudadanos de segunda*" [We too pay taxes. We too are first-class citizens. There are no second-class citizens]. A later banner, quoted at the opening of this chapter, echoed this one in Catalan: "**Els que vivim al Raval també som ciutadans. També som persones. I com tothom necessitem qualitat de vida**" [We who live in the Raval are citizens, too. We too are persons. And like everyone we need quality of life]. The second slogan identifies the referent for "we": the residents of Barcelona's working-class, immigrant, Castilian-speaking neighborhood, the Raval. The claims are similar to a slogan that Urla encountered in her work on Basque free radio: "We, too, are the People." This slogan voiced the sense among free radio participants that they had been excluded from the public sphere and performatively claimed participation in it (Urla 2001). As Urla puts it, the slogan "is a particularly clear indication of the ongoing contestation in the Basque Country over who will get to speak as a public citizen, and whose concerns or interests come to be regarded as matters of the commonweal" (150). A similar dynamic is in play in the neighborhood banners that I analyze. In contrast to Urla's consultants, mine were not involved in counter-establishment politics; they were not trying to create an alternative public sphere. Rather, they were taking the middle-class Catalan public sphere on its own terms and claiming that they deserved to belong to it as full citizens.

Other banners that I have already mentioned play on this theme as well. For example, the banner mentioned above that reads, "*REGIDORES COBRAIS PARA MEJORAR EL BARRIO, NO PARA DEJARLO 'DE LA MANO DE DIOS'*" [COUNCILORS YOU EARN A SALARY IN ORDER TO IMPROVE THE NEIGHBORHOOD, NOT TO LEAVE IT (FORSAKEN)/ FROM "THE HAND OF GOD."] It similarly implies the unfair distribution of administrative resources and stakes a claim on an equal share—"you earn a salary in order to improve the neighborhood." Another banner made even more explicit reference to unequal distribution of resources—"CLOS/ BASTA DE BASURA/ BASTA DE TODO/ BARRIOS RICOS Y/ POBRES TODOS/ POR IGUAL" [CLOS/ ENOUGH OF GARBAGE/ ENOUGH OF EVERYTHING/ RICH AND POOR NEIGHBORHOODS ALL EQUAL]. These slogans do explicitly what the appropriation of bits of language that were in common circulation does implicitly: claim membership in a citizenry with equal rights to quality of life.

Impression management: depicting the neighborhood as ethnically-integrated and Catalan-speaking and writing

Two forms of linguistic regimentation in the banner painting process strengthened painters' claim on the city: regimentation of code choice and linguistic form. A kind of pragmatic prescription impinged on the selec-

tion of linguistic codes for use in banners. Codified language standards dictate how a certain code is to be written once selected. Adherence to normative guidelines is another way in which, through the banners, the painters staked claims on City Hall. Thirty-four of the banners I photographed were exclusively in Castilian. Thirty-two were exclusively in Catalan^{13,14}. This would seem to be an icon of near perfect bilingualism. However, I only rarely heard Catalan on the streets of the neighborhood, although it was common in the leadership of the Comissió. Raquel made a conscious effort to have Catalan represented. At one point, one of the girls who participated in the early sessions asked if she could do a banner in Castilian. Raquel responded that she could not because we needed banners in Catalan. Although she did not articulate this position fully, claiming Catalan as a language of the neighborhood was a way of rejecting a position on the margins of power, wealth and status. Also, while Barcelona was a city, as the largest Catalan-speaking city in the world and the capital of Catalonia, it was very much an actor on the level of Catalan nation-ness. Almost all of the political power and much of the wealth of the city rested in the hands of Catalan-speakers. To claim the Catalan language in the banners was a way for Raquel to help the residents position themselves as the right kind of citizen, the kind that “deserved” help from City Hall.

There were other languages represented in the banners as well—Tagalog, English, German, and Bengali. Foreigners of European descent were welcomed enthusiastically into the Comissió and into the painting sessions. A few foreigners of non-European descent were welcomed more reluctantly, and only to the painting sessions. Raquel was very enthusiastic about the inclusion of Tagalog and Bengali on banners. She may have seen this practice as a way of targeting the perpetrators, as she saw them. However, there was also a “feel-good” atmosphere and a self-congratulatory attitude about the participation of people of non-European origin. At least as important as the ability of signs in Tagalog or Bengali to pick out Tagalog- or Bengali-speaking targets is their ability to further legitimate the neighborhood. Barcelona was dealing with larger numbers of immigrants and City Hall was promoting their integration with a campaign that ran the slogan, “**Ajuda’m, parla’m en català**” [Help me: speak to me in Catalan]; (see Frekko 2006) Any signs of integration were likely to be seen by Raquel as helping the Comissió’s case. Multilingual banners acted as indexes and icons of neighborhood integration, as did painting sessions in which South Asian immigrants helped out. However, these were manipulated signs. Raquel and others manipulated the forces of indexicality and iconicity in order to suggest that there was harmonious integration in the neighborhood. The multilingual banners appeared to serve as both index and icon of integration; yet the reality was different. There were rampant stereotypes about different groups—“The Philipinos won’t hang banners.” “The Pakistanis are naïve.” “The Cubans are loud.” “The Philipinos are noisy but clean.”

Some of the worst displays of racism that I witnessed in the neighborhood were perpetrated by sign-painting participants. Class is at issue here in terms of the extent to which racism was displayed. The people running the Comissió were middle-class Catalan-speakers. The longer-term residents were working-class Castilian speakers. There were attempts at political correctness by the directors, if only weak ones. The Castilian speakers, who had once been classified as an immigrant wave and now counted as original residents, were more vociferous. During one banner-painting event, Nuri, a monolingual Castilian speaker in her forties became enraged when an empty shampoo bottle fell from a third floor balcony near the painters. The balcony was the same one from which loud Caribbean music had emanated the day before. Raquel had rung the doorbell below and asked the resident to turn down the music. Raquel’s immediate conclusion was that the bottle had been aimed at her in retaliation. The woman, who was Cuban, shouted down from above the explanation that her child had thrown the bottle off the balcony. Nuri flew into a rage, screaming “*Hay que educar a los hijos. Yo eduqué a los míos.*” [You have to teach your kids some manners; I taught mine.] When the woman continued to talk back, also in Castilian, Nuri became even more angered and began to scream insults like, “*¡Si no te gusta, vuelve a tu país, zorra!*” [If you don’t like it, go back to your country, slut!] She then went inside her apartment and returned with a small sling-shot and proceeded to shoot pebbles at the woman’s balcony windows, hitting her target each time.

The irony of the situation seemed to be lost on Nuri, but not on Raquel. Raquel said, “Nuri, what we can’t do is make a lot of noise in the street when we’re trying to get them to be quiet.” It was an us-vs.-them mentality. There was little integration here, except for between Catalan speakers and Castilian speakers originally from Spain¹⁵. As explained above, participation in the activities of the Comissió by people of non-Iberian origin was very limited, and they had no involvement in leading the organization.

The issue of linguistic normativity also falls under impression management. I argue that it was another way of asserting that these residents were the kind of residents that “deserved” city services. The actual literate practices of the neighbors contradicted this image, but several people made an effort to make banner texts conform to normative orthography. The absence of Catalan from public schools during the Franco dictatorship meant that older participants, even native Catalan speakers, had poor command of Catalan orthographic rules. The younger participants who had grown up in the neighborhood came from Castilian-speaking and working-class families. They were not academically oriented and had incomplete knowledge of normative linguistic rules, especially those of Catalan. The early sessions attracted teenagers and children who wanted to paint. Two eighteen-year-old girls asked to help. Sara, the special education teacher, asked them what they wanted to write. One of them answered, “*Para un barrio más limpio*” [For a cleaner neighborhood]. Sara sent them to Raquel for supplies. Raquel asked them if they knew how to write in Catalan. When they said no, she told them that she would write their slogan on an index card so that they could transfer it onto their sheet. The slogan that she assigned to them was, “**Prou soroll, prou merda al carrer**” [No more noise, no more shit on the street]. Raquel made a mistake on the index card, leaving the ‘u’ off the first word, **prou**. This turned the word into **pro**, ironically, which has the same meaning in Catalan as it does in English (“in favor of”). The girls, not speakers or writers of Catalan, did not catch the mistake, and they transferred it onto the sheet, which had to be thrown out when Raquel noticed the mistake. She told the girls not to worry, that it was her fault. The next day, the painting continued, and the girls began to work on a long sheet that the mother of one of them had donated. However, here too they made orthographic mistakes. Raquel continued to regiment them closely, insisting that the mistakes be corrected. By the time they were done with it, the sheet was so messy that it was practically illegible. To make matters worse, it began raining while the sheet was drying on some saw horses out on the street. The paint ran and the girls’ work was ruined. There was talk of going over it with white paint to correct the mistakes and smudges, but eventually this idea was abandoned and the sheet was thrown out. After this day, the girls no longer wanted to help paint. Several months later I was talking about this episode to Sara, the native Catalan-speaking special education teacher who resigned from the Comissió.

She expressed exasperation at Raquel’s heavy hand, at her manipulation of signs, “**Els nens del barri escriuen així!**” [That’s how the children of the neighborhood write]. Sara’s statement was a reference to the low class status and educational level of many neighborhood residents and their children.

Raquel was not the only person interested in normativity. When working on the folded banner that on one side read, “**SISTEMA PNEUMÀTIC/ D’ESCOMBRERIES**” [pneumatic system/ of garbage] and on the other side read, “**EXISTEIXEN/ SOLUCIONS/ CONTRA LA BRUTICIA?**” [Are there/ solutions/ for filth?], Juana asked Roser whether **pneumàtic** carries an accent. Roser told her no. A few minutes later, Raquel appeared and informed them that the word **pneumàtic** was missing its accent. Roser, embarrassed, replied, “**Hi ha una falta? Clar, jo justament li havia dit que no hi havia accent...**” [There’s a mistake? Jeez, I had just told her that there wasn’t an accent...]. Juana’s question to Roser indicates her interest in normative orthography. Roser’s embarrassment at having answered Juana’s question incorrectly indicates hers. The pair immediately added an accent mark to the word.

Another episode took place at Raquel’s studio with Raquel and Andrea, who was Horitzó’s paid part-time secretary. Theoretically, they had gathered to draft a letter to City Hall, but instead they talked about the predicament of a young woman of Pakistani origin who was about to be evicted from her apartment. When I was leaving, Raquel started to give me a banner to hang between my balcony and her window. It read, “**La solució**

als problemes i el diàleg els reclamen. Fins ara ens ha estat negat.” [They demand a solution to the problems and dialogue. Until now we have been denied it]. Andrea, seeing the banner, said she didn’t understand it. At this point, Raquel realized that it should have read “**reclamem**” (“we demand”) rather than “**reclamen**” (“they demand”). Andrea went on to ask, “Doesn’t ‘**solució**’ have a geminated ‘l’¹⁶?” Then checking herself, perhaps deciding that this popular protest did not have to be orthographically perfect, she said, “Nevermind.” Raquel kept the banner instead of giving it to me so that she could fix the ‘m’ in **reclamem** and check the spelling of **solució**. The spelling was in fact correct, and the banner, with a corrected ‘m,’ eventually went up on a façade around the corner from our building. Andrea’s pointing out the problem with the word **reclamen** indicates a concern for the semantic clarity of the sign, not its normativity. However, her second comment, which she seemed to utter in spite of herself, reveals a focus on orthographic normativity.

The interest in normativity that I witnessed here was surely part of the generalized linguistically normative outlook that I discuss elsewhere (Frekko 2006). However, efforts at normativity in the banner campaign were also projects in impression management. Raquel seemed to be cultivating the impression that the neighborhood was fully bi-literate and bilingual in Catalan and Castilian but also multilingual and racially integrated. Efforts at linguistic normativity were also efforts to justify the group’s claims on City Hall. The banners were not direct indexes and icons of neighborhood demographics and social structure. Rather, they experienced mediation through Raquel and others so that the object that they stood for (in the Peircian trichotomy) did not really exist. The assertions made indirectly in the banners were ways of positioning the group as belonging to the Catalan public, which helped them to stake a claim on services from the city.

Conclusions

The sign painters, under the strict guidance of Raquel, used the indexical and iconic properties of language to make claims on their local government. By recycling the language of City Hall and through making explicit statements about their citizenship rights, they claimed status as the mayor’s constituents. Through the careful selection of codes and efforts at orthographic normativity, the painters manipulated indexical and iconic signs in order to project an image that would be attractive to City Hall.

Raquel’s efforts to claim for the neighborhood a spot in the public sphere were very successful. The media picked up the story. There were meetings between the Comissió and representatives of City Hall and between the Gaviota’s owner and City Hall. By the time I left the neighborhood in August of 2003, the Gaviota had employed a mime to shush disco-goers. By the time I returned for a follow-up visit in January 2004, the Gaviota was under construction for sound-proofing. It is impossible to know whether the campaign would have met with the same results without the use of intertextuality and the impression management. However, what is certain is that careful attention to language use was part of Raquel’s strategy for improving the quality of life in the neighborhood. The story of this banner-writing campaign shows that ordinary residents, even ones who did not speak Catalan, saw Catalan as a public language whose strategic use could benefit them as citizens. It also shows that they tried to appeal to City Hall, by representing themselves in a light that they thought would make them attractive to this institution. These efforts included projecting an image of multilingual harmony and linguistic normativity.

This research answers an ethnographic question about language ideology and the public sphere. These participants viewed Catalan as a public language, despite the fact that many of them were non-native speakers or non-native speakers. My research clearly shows that Catalan is understood as at least a partially public language, but my work does not examine all segments of the population. In particular, future research must take into account the language ideologies of new residents of non-Iberian origin.

This research also contributes to theoretical understandings of languages and publics. Elsewhere, I have suggested that linguistic display is inherent in the idea of the public sphere (Frekko 2006). The circulation of

language to a reading or viewing public makes language a display object. Technologies of linguistic display are instrumental to the imagination of groupness. However, displayed linguistic form itself takes on signification beyond its ability to circulate what seems like neutral information (on the principle of negativity, see Warner 1990:42). Work on the imagination of groupness implies that the display of language in the public sphere paves the way for indexical and iconic value to be attached to representations of language. It is not only the *fact* of linguistic circulation but also the *form* that takes on semiotic import.

In short, the sign value of languages in the public sphere makes representations of language important for their indexical and iconic value. Because the public sphere turns language into a display object with its own semiotic value, the door is opened for linguistic regimentation in order to achieve the desired indexical and iconic meanings. The sign painters submitted to linguistic regimentation as part of a successful strategy to improve their living conditions.

A question for further research is to what extent linguistic regimentation is a general feature of the public sphere. Gal's work on language standardization in the creation of a Hungarian national public reveals the importance of linguistic regimentation in that context (Gal 2001). Linguistic regimentation is also central in the very different case that Hill outlines. She shows that American language ideology draws a distinction between public speech, which is subject to regulation and censure and private speech, which is not (Hill 2001: 87-89). This is merely the beginning of a cross-cultural comparison of the regimentation of public language.

Further research may help linguistic anthropologists to define the role of linguistic regimentation in the creation and maintenance of publics.

Notes

1 "Els que vivim al Raval també som ciutadans. També som persones. I com tothom necessitem qualitat de vida."

2 Of course, all citizens deserve services from City Hall. What I am describing here is an ideological stance that holds certain kinds of people to be more valuable than others.

3 These facts make the case of Catalan quite different from cases like that of Breton or East Sutherland Gaelic, where a language disappears with the complicity of its speakers, despite the protests of non-native speakers (see Constantinidou 1994; Dorian 1981; McDonald 1989).

4 Throughout this article, bold indicates a Catalan original, while italics indicate a Castilian original.

5 Here, the qualifier "Catalan," means "run by native Catalan-speakers." Of course, in another sense of the word "Catalan" ("of Catalonia") all of these businesses were Catalan.

6 [Horizon,] a pseudonym

7 [The Seagull,] a pseudonym

8 This holiday marks the 1716 fall of the kingdom of Aragon and Catalonia to the Spanish crown.

9 For example, a line drawing of a missile, encircled and crossed out, or the word "guerra" (war), encircled and crossed out, meaning "no missiles" and "no war," respectively.

10 In fact, the word *bo* does not carry an accent mark.

11 Surt la el somriure aquest del del Barcelona que s'han inventat a l'Ajuntament (laughing) que la veritat es que haurien d'anar amb compte perquè (laughing). Sí perquè hi ha barris que estan molt deixats i els van posant el somriure per tot arreu i la gent no estan contents."

12 The Raval is part of the district of Ciutat Vella.

13 A few other banners were bivalent or had combinations of the two languages, or of one or both of them and a third languages, or were exclusively in a third language. However, the vast majority of banners were either in Catalan or Castilian.

14 A closer analysis of code choice might pay attention to how named addressee affects code choice. For example, banners addressed explicitly to the Gaviota might be more likely to be in Castilian because "Gaviota" is a Castilian word. Banners addressed explicitly to mayor

Clos might be more likely to be in Catalan because Clos is a native Catalan-speaking person, in a Catalan-speaking job, representing a (theoretically) Catalan-speaking public.

15 Notice the fractal recursivity occurring here in which an opposition between “Castilians” and “Catalans” is erased in a higher level opposition between “Spaniards” and “immigrants” (Irvine and Gal 2000).

16 *sol.lució

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Tables and Figures

Table 1

Respondents age 15 and older	Catalan	Castilian	Both
First Language			
Barcelona metro	31.9%	61.5%	3.1%
Catalonia	40.4%	53.5%	2.8%
Llengua pròpia			
Barcelona metro	41.2%	52.1%	5.9%
Catalonia	48.8%	44.3%	5.2%
Habitual language			
Barcelona metro	41.5%	52.1%	5.3%
Catalonia	50.1%	44.1%	4.7%

Note: Photo size has been reduced to facilitate file transmission.



Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5

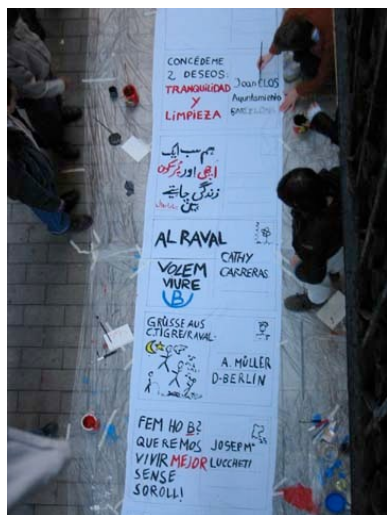


Figure 6

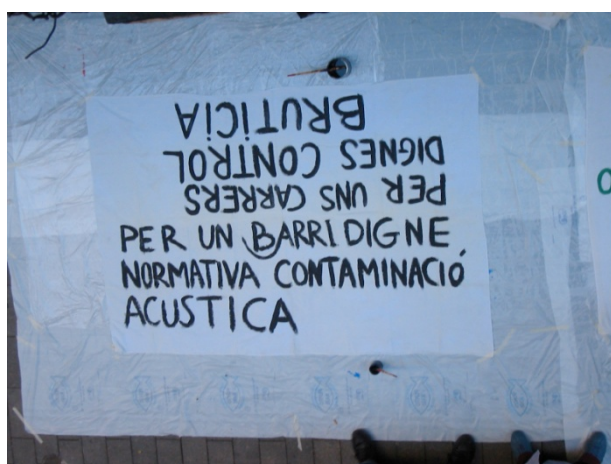


Figure 7

Captions

Table 1: First language, llengua pròpia and habitual language (Adapted from Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya 2003).

Figure 1: Illegible banner

Figure 2: Banner text: Clos vine a viure al barri

Figure 3: Banner text: Ajuntament: no ets solució als nostres problemes Figure 4: Banner text: Benvinguts al barri de la brutícia, soroll i especulació Figure 5: Banner text: Regidores cobrais para mejorar el barrio

Figure 6: Banner text: Concédeme 2 deseos

Figure 7: Banner text: Per un barri digne

■ ANNEX 5. Frekko journal correspondence: 2006-2009

Item 1: Cover letter for Draft 1

June 30, 2006

X, Editor Journal Name Address

Dear Dr. X.,

Enclosed please find three copies of my manuscript, "Title." I have also submitted the manuscript via e-mail. I look forward to hearing from you about the possibility of it being published in the Journal Name. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Susan Frekko

Ph.D. Candidate
University
Address

Item 2: Response letter 1 from journal

October 28, 2006

Susan Frekko University Address

Dear Professor Frekko,

I have now received two reviews (attached) of your recent submission to the Journal Name, titled "Title." On the basis of these reviews and my own reading of your paper, I cannot accept the paper for publication in the Journal Name.

However, the reviewers feel, as do I, that the paper presents several points of interest, and could potentially be revised into a stronger contribution. I therefore urge you to revise the paper in the light of reviewers' comments and to consider re-submitting it to the Journal Name at a future date.

Here are some of the main difficulties with the current version:

- The introduction is thin (R #1). You need to articulate your overall goals more clearly at the outset (beyond saying simply that you wish to contribute to work on language and the public sphere)
- The paper has the feel of something extracted from a dissertation; it needs more rhetorical cohesion as an argument (R#1)
- You need to be more explicit about what the banner campaign says about citizenship (R#1)
- Both reviewers note that the relevance of the banner campaign's being in Catalan needs to be spelled out more fully

- R#2 disagrees with your characterization of the Raval neighborhood as Castilian-speaking; this issue needs to be addressed
- The issue of how Catalan usage connects to membership in the Catalan public sphere needs development (R#2); the question of what the public/private contrast means in this context needs clarification too (R#1)
- Both reviewers cite some related literature (Collins, Slembrouck, Blommaert, Silverstein) which they feel you should consider in developing your argument

I realize that this news is disappointing. However, I feel that the reviewers have read your paper carefully and appear to agree on a number of points in their evaluations. Their comments are also quite extensive and will be of some use to you, I hope, as you continue to work on this extremely interesting material. And if you choose to re-submit this paper to the Journal Name, I would be happy to send it out for another review.

Sincerely, Editor

Item 3: External reviews (1)

MANUSCRIPT EVALUATION FORM

COMMENTS:

Reviewer #1

The manuscript presents a detailed ethnographic study of a successful banner campaign by a neighborhood organization in a low-rent section of Barcelona aimed at pressuring the city government to control noise from a nearby nightclub and to improve street cleaning and other services. Most of the banners posted during this campaign were in Catalan, even though this language was not the first language of many of the members of the organization. The author argues that this code choice was a strategy by the neighbors to use the Catalan language's status as an increasingly ethnically unmarked language of public discourse in Barcelona to claim citizenship. The residents also used other strategies, including the ironic, dialogic appropriation of a symbol from a boosterist advertising campaign to highlight what they saw as the city government's failure to provide adequate services. By using this symbol, they presented themselves as participants in a Catalan-language public sphere in which that symbol was ripe for parody.

Adequacy: The author offers a fine-grained account of the organizing surrounding the banner displays, the place of the banner display in public discourse in Catalonia. The example is of particular interest in that it highlights the interaction of various discursive media and the circulation of a given sign from mass media contests to face-to-face neighborhood organizing aimed at attracting media attention, and back again. I was particularly interested in the author's observation that in order to claim space in the public sphere and entitlement to citizenship rights, the neighbors presented their neighborhood as something it was not: Catalan-speaking and tolerant of non-European immigrants. This observation is important and makes me think of similar observations that have been made about various relatively new "mediated" forms of communication (e.g. internet chat rooms). We often hear that new electronic means of communication promote the creation of false identities on the part of interactants. What all the millenarian nonsense about these forms of interaction ignores is that this sort of discursive veiling of individual and collective selves has been with us for some time. Here we see an intriguing "low tech" example.

Strength of Author's Major Claims: The author supports most of the major claims s/he makes about the data presented.

Strength of Presentation, Organization: This paper reads like a selection from a doctoral dissertation that has been removed from a rhetorical context that doesn't fully come through. The ethnographic data is presented in a readable and unpretentious style, and the author has obviously taken pains to use theoretical language sparingly and in the right places. The introduction and conclusion, are both thin, however, and more could be done to present the ethnographic data in such a way that those data more clearly answer a question and speak more clearly to the various debates that this article engages. There are occasional lapses into colloquial language and awkward phrases that could be smoothed out, but they are not major problems. One small question: why does the author spell "Filipinos" the way s/he does?

Contribution of the Paper: The author's major conclusion seems to be that Catalan has become less ethnically marked in recent years than it was in, say, 1970, and that it is now a "public" language in Barcelona, at least. This is fine as far as it goes, but the literature review suggests that we pretty much already knew this without the present study. So why should we care about this banner campaign? The author needs to be more explicit about what this ethnographic example tells us about citizenship, the idea of the public sphere, and the importance of language for these. Perhaps the closest the author gets to doing this is the engagement with the work of Gade on p.12. The suggestion here is that code choice interacts with other semiotic strategies in the banner campaign. This is surely true but it's also unsurprising, and I would like to see more. I admit to not having read Gade, but the fact that Gade draws on the work of Benedict Anderson suggests to me that the author should engage some recent critiques of Anderson that have emerged in linguistic anthropology (e.g. Silverstein).

There is, of course, a whole literature out there on the public sphere and public culture that the author addresses only in passing, just enough to make the interesting observation that this campaign seeks not to create an 'alternative' public sphere but to engage the one that is already believed to exist in Catalonia. Although mention is made here of Gal and Woolard's argument that "publics" are not empirical entities but artifacts of language ideology, the article goes on to treat the category of "public" (either as adjective or noun) as unproblematic and self-explanatory. Are there "private" languages in Catalonia? What do "public" and "private" mean in the Catalan context? The author cites Michael Warner's work but doesn't really do much with the reference.

"Citizenship" is another interdisciplinary cottage industry whose concerns intersect with those of the "public sphere" literature and the literature on nationalisms, but which is also oddly separate from these. For this category, the author doesn't even give us the meager engagement with existing literature that we got with "public." Is citizenship pretty much the same thing here that it is in other places? I notice that the banner campaign seems to make claims to social rights (e.g. public services, protection from unruly fellow citizens who patronize neighborhood bars and from non-European immigrants) based on the neighbors fulfillment of the duties of citizenship (paying taxes). Here we have a moral calculus of the "contribution" of citizens to the polity that resonates with some of the writings of Aihwa Ong.

The author uses an unacknowledged spatial metaphor ("claiming a spot") to describe a banner campaign that centers on concerns about the use of urban space. But we don't see much in the article about space or place and how language contributes to either one. This might be an area for expansion.

I also wonder if Bourdieu's work would be useful here. I'm thinking of two things: (1) the concept of the linguistic market and (2) the 'strategies of condescension' Bourdieu described in France involving the political use of the Béarnais language. Could the use of Catalan observed here in the banner campaign be the reverse of a "strategy of condescension?"

Reviewer #2

COMMENTS:

1. The paper shows familiarity with current issues in linguistic anthropology (i.e., indexicality and iconicity of banners as a form of representing a neighborhood) as well as with most of the relevant literature about language and Catalonia. I would, however, suggest for the author to check the research carried out in Belgium on multilingualism and immigration by Jim Collins, Stef Slembrouck and Jan Blommaert. The use of "scales" and "different spaces" for multilingual practices are relevant for the author's discussion.
2. The article claims to be about public space but this notion and the way it connects to the Barcelona and the Raval context is hardly discussed. The author does not mention the fact that all public administration in Catalonia is carried out in Catalan. It is not so surprising that the banners meant for a Catalan addressee are in Catalan. There is certainly an addressee effect in the choice of languages for the banners in addition to their indexical and the iconic representations. There does seem to be an objective component to public space in addition to a constructed folk notion. There seem to be other addressees of the banners that the author should at least make some allusion.
3. I think more information about the Raval neighborhood is needed. I disagree with its classification since the year 2000 to the present as a Castilian-speaking neighborhood. The author does talk about the immigration from developing countries who have settled there and that should somehow be brought into our understanding of this very particular neighborhood of Barcelona with the highest rate of immigration. The reason for the Raval being an immigrant neighborhood should also be discussed a bit more. It is the cheap housing but it is also housing in very poor conditions. It is unclear whether the attempts to gentrify the neighborhood are really working. It started with buying off of whole blocks in order to build the new opera house, and with refurbishing of squares, museums and marketplaces by leading national and international architects. The section in the article about Catalan as a public language (especially the statistics) can be cut down and more about the neighborhood developed.
4. Bring out a bit more the connection of language and social class in Catalonia and how this relates to the dialogue the association is trying to have with city hall.
5. The term "non-iberian" is confusing with respect to European immigration and immigration from Latin America and Africa.
6. Why is it such an issue to write standard normalized Catalan? How does the ideology behind this belief fit into the analysis the author gives?
7. Speaking Catalan is not enough to belong to Catalan public space. It worked while the economy and the public administration under *Convergència i Unió* could still offer jobs to second generation Spanish immigrants who have learned Catalan but this is no longer the case. And they could only participate in Catalan public space in very specific ways. This is made quite clear in the current election campaign in Catalonia where the socialist party candidate who is from Southern Spain is singled out by nationalist political parties for not speaking or being Catalan enough.
8. Highlight the findings better in the abstract.
9. Strengthen the connections between the different sections of the article and the arguments made.

Item 4: Cover Letter for Draft 2

July 18, 2007

Name, Editor
Journal Name
Address

Dear Dr. Name,

I am enclosing three copies of my revised manuscript, "New Title" (Manuscript number: XYZ; original title: "ABC"). I am also submitting the manuscript via e-mail.

I have taken into consideration the extremely helpful comments that I received from you and the Journal Name's anonymous reviewers on my initial submission. Below I respond in turn to the main areas that you suggested needed improvement.

- The introduction is thin (R #1). You need to articulate your overall goals more clearly at the outset (beyond saying simply that you wish to contribute to work on language and the public sphere)

I have expanded the introduction to include sections on publics, citizenship and scriptorial landscape. My overall theoretical goals are to suggest that scholars of publics look beyond their role in the maintenance of the status quo and to demonstrate the centrality of language to the notion of the "deserving" citizen (abstract, p. 1).

- The paper has the feel of something extracted from a dissertation; it needs more rhetorical cohesion as an argument (R#1)

The expanded introduction (pp 1-6.) and background sections (pp. 6-16) allow the piece to stand on its own. Furthermore, I have clarified the argument: Through the banners, the neighbors strengthened their claims on the city administration by a) demonstrating that they were participants in the Barcelonan public and b) asserting that they were deserving citizens. Linguistic behavior was key to both of these projects, which resulted in improvements in neighborhood quality of life. I suggest that these residents on the margin of political power use the notion of "the public" to their advantage. This approach moves beyond treatments of publics that stress their role in the maintenance of the status quo. (abstract, pp. 1, 27).

- You need to be more explicit about what the banner campaign says about citizenship (R#1)

Participants use the banners to present themselves as deserving citizens through linguistic behaviors deemed attractive to City Hall (pp. 20-26).

- Both reviewers note that the relevance of the banner campaign's being in Catalan needs to be spelled out more fully

New sections on the relationship between language and class and between language and political power highlight the importance of the campaign's being in Catalan (pp. 7, 22). Because Catalan is the language of public life, politics and upward mobility in Barcelona, using Catalan in the campaign allows the participants to present themselves as members of the Barcelonan public and as desirable citizens.

- R#2 disagrees with your characterization of the Raval neighborhood as Castilian-speaking; this issue needs to be addressed

Statistics on habitual language or first language by neighborhood are not available. A new section describing the Raval highlights the large proportion of immigrant residents in the neighborhood. I have now characterized Castilian as the lingua franca of the neighborhood (p. 21). Whether or not the Raval can be described as a Castilian-speaking neighborhood, it is indisputable that Castilian is the lingua franca used by the different ethnolinguistic groups residing there.

- The issue of how Catalan usage connects to membership in the Catalan public sphere needs development (R#2);

In comment 7, Reviewer 2 claims that speaking Catalan is not enough to belong to Catalan public space. S/he points out that the socialist party candidate (originally from southern Spain) is criticized by Catalan nationalist political parties for not being Catalan enough. I disagree with the reviewer's analysis, which seems to confuse the notion of a "public" with the notion of a "nation." In Warner's definition, which I follow, a public is defined by mere attention rather than by positive identifications such as nationality. As I write in the revised paper, "Thinking in terms of publics is a useful alternative to thinking in terms of nations, because whereas nations are products of positive identification, publics are the result of participation alone (Warner 2002:75). In other words, one may imagine oneself to participate in a Catalan public without imagining oneself to belong to a Catalan nation or to be ethnationally Catalan" (pp. 8-9). By the same token, participation in the Catalan public does not automatically grant one status as being ethnationally Catalan (the problem the candidate in question faced). His dilemma is the result of the loosening of ties between language and ethnonational identity in Catalonia, a development that allows Catalan's classification as a public language.

the question of what the public/private contrast means in this context needs clarification too (R#1)

A contrast between public and private does not seem most relevant to this case. As Fraser (1997) and Warner (2002) have demonstrated, the terms "public" and "private" are polysemic and contradictory. I have described oppositions between different meanings of "public" that are relevant to the material (pp. 2, 8; endnote 3).

- Both reviewers cite some related literature (Collins, Slembrouck, Blommaert, Silverstein) which they feel you should consider in developing your argument

The revised version makes extensive use of Collins Slembrouck, Blommaert and Ong and describes Silverstein's critique of Anderson in an endnote. Work by Collins, Slembrouck and Blommaert is relevant because it describes literate practices in a Belgian neighborhood very similar to the Raval (pp. 5-6, 9-10). It also introduces the notion of scale, which is useful to my discussion (endnote 5). I juxtapose the concept of "the public" with that of "the citizenry" (pp. 3-4) and build on Ong's notion of "deserving citizenship," showing that linguistic practice is key to being deserving (pp. 4, 20-26). Furthermore, I have expanded my use of Habermas, Warner and Gal and Woolard on publics; I show that marginalized residents capitalize on the notion of "the public," which, according to these authors should disadvantage them (pp. 3, 27).

In addition to addressing these general comments, I have also taken into account most of the suggestions offered by the reviewers in their individual statements. I hope that my revised

manuscript will satisfy your requirements for publication in the Journal of Linguistic Anthropology. Thank you for your consideration, and I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Susan Frekko, Ph.D.
Department
University

Item 5: Journal response to Draft 2

December 10th 2007

Susan E. Frekko
Department
University

Dear Dr. Frekko:

I have now received 3 reviews (attached) of your manuscript, : "Title". As you can see, the reviewers are quite divided on their evaluations of the manuscript, but I am inclined to agree with the latter two reviewers that in essence there is a very good paper here that we will be able to publish, but before that happens we need to see you take into account the minor and major caveats of the second two reviewers. This will not require an outside review, but will be evaluated by an in-house review.

Here are some of the main difficulties articulated by reviewers:

- On 'publics', the literature review given is really quite good, but as reviewer one notes it would benefit from a slight re-articulation in the terms the second reviewer gives (a focus on 'poetic world-making' would appear to be important, specifically when looking at the languages used in the signs and the appropriation of the 'branding' of the city). The second reviewer, on the other hand, does not see the problem as one of 'publics' but of the 'dumpy sister' of the public, the neighborhood. I agree that the neighborhood does indeed deserve attention alongside the more general 'public'. I believe, however, that both are in play, and it is up to you to re-articulate them (clearly, the signage has multiple addressees, indexed in part by language choice and other forms of signage [pamphlets distributed]). Hence, the question becomes how to reframe the argument in such a way that 'public' and 'neighborhood' can both be seen to be in play, how to bring them within a commensurable set of terms. One suggestion would be to go to Appadurai's discussion of the 'production of locality' in *Modernity at Large*.
- My own suggestion here would be to go back to Habermas' original opposition between embodied representative publicity (of the court) and modern 'disembodied' bourgeois publicness (implicit in the comments of both the latter reviewers). A more careful reading of Habermas shows representative publicity as being a situation where 'public' is not only a status attribute of a person, but indeed, a status attribute that that person incarnates (following a generally Western Christian doctrine of incarnationalism where metaphysical categories are embodied as status attributes of persons, following the master trope of Christ's own incarnation, see for example Bedos-Rezak's discussion of the category of incarnationalism "Medieval Identity: A

Sign and a Concept," *American Historical Review* 105/5 (2000): 1489-1533) or embodied. What Habermas posits as a sudden transition from embodied to disembodied publicness is in fact in the nineteenth century a much more complex transition, one that will bring in Ong's ideas of 'deserving citizenship' into more fruitful relationship to Habermasian publics, even if it shows that Ong's category is not exactly 'novel'.

In 19th century Britain, for example, entry into public discourse revolved heavily on an embodied status attribute of persons, in effect, a set of performances addressed to classes that already embodied publicness, namely, respectability. Respectability already implies a relationship between those who aspire to embody 'deserving citizenship' (being respected) and those who already embody it, so the audience for middle class respectables is other middle class people and upper classes, for the working classes the audience is the middle class, for women, men, and so on. Working class self-improvement movements and middle class cultural reform projects always seem to be a preface to laying claims to public voices and later political ones (Chatterjee 1992 as I recall makes similar points). That is, to become a disembodied public voice one must first embody respectability in one's embodied public behaviors. Here is a way that neighborhoods and publics can be articulated, inasmuch as the neighborhood is an embodied public for performances of respectability, one's neighbors, after all, as well as visitors to the neighborhood, are always the arbiters of the embodied performance of respectability, and producing such a figure of respectability lends a certain kind of ethos to disembodied public discourses. This is why, perhaps, cultural self-reform in Victorian and pre-victorian Britain precedes entry into publicness. Respectability in effect allows a more mediate transition from aristocratic embodied publicness and disembodied liberal publicness, and helps show how the neighborhood (a relatively embodied, 'topical', face to face public of consociates) can be articulated to a metatopical public. For citations on the comparative case of Victorian 'respectability' (which is very similar to Ong's 'deserving citizenship'), there is of course a vast literature which we do not expect you to cite or digest, but one might look at Huggins, Mike J. "More Sinful Pleasures? Leisure, Respectability And The Male Middle Classes In Victorian England" in the *Journal of Social History* (and some of the references there), which certainly discusses, if briefly, the role of neighborhoods in relationship to norms of respectability, and Paul Manning's work on respectability in relationship to the entry of Welsh workers into the Welsh Public sphere, specifically the sections on 'respectability' in my articles in *Language in Society* ('Streets of Bethesda', 2004) and *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (2002). I offer these only because, as a student of social history, I am aware that social historians have by and large failed to make their findings on any given topic accessible to external audiences. I believe, however, that Ong's category of 'deserving citizenship' is something that is articulated by activities and performances specific to neighborhoods, but I believe that this is a necessary first step in framing public authority similar to respectability, naming, re-framing the body of the speaking subject as 'embodying respectability' in such a way that the disembodied public voice of that subject will be viewed as emanating from a 'respectable speaker'.

The main point here is to find a way to address the third reviewer's comments, reframing the argument to include both the 'sexy' and the 'dumpy sisters' (publics and neighborhoods). I believe your material on signs, properly analyzed to show how different aspects of the signs and attendant activities are oriented both to the 'locality' and the non-local public, can be reframed in this manner and become more interesting in the process (thus dealing with the implicit dismissal of the first reviewer).

If you find this line of argument persuasive (or if you can find a better way to integrate the 'two sisters', publics and neighbors) and you would be willing to undertake such a revision attempting to deal with the minor and major caveats of the last two reviewers (and I don't believe what we need here is a complete reframing of the argument, though certain sections may require a certain amount of work), we would be more than happy to look over the

manuscript for publication. If you wish the paper to appear in our next issue, we would need it sometime in January.

With all best wishes,
[Name]

Item 6: External reviews (2)

All reviews Frekko R

Reviewer 1

Having reviewed the article submitted to Journal Name, I do find that the author has indeed made substantial changes to address some of the comments I, and presumably another reviewer, made. In my earlier comments I said this:

—————
So why should we care about this banner campaign? The author needs to be more explicit about what this ethnographic example tells us about citizenship, the idea of the public sphere, and the importance of language for these.

—————
After reading the revised version, I still feel that way. The author gestures toward some of the theoretical discussions I suggested might illuminate and be illuminated by this example, but in the end I still can't figure out how this ethnographic case advances any of those discussions. The new theoretical portions of the article feel "tacked on," and I don't feel that the theoretical arguments, such as they are, "grow" from the examples in a clear way. This author has obviously made an effort to beef up introductory and concluding sections of the article as suggested, but I still find myself wondering what the point of this case study is. The conclusion remains weak.

So the question is what to do about the article. I am a little bit conflicted about what to recommend.

Reviewer 2

MS NO.: XYZ

MS TITLE: Title

Points to be addressed or taken into account in the evaluation:

1. — adequacy of the relationship of the paper to literature and current issues in linguistic anthropology
2. — strength of the author's major claims/arguments and the validity of the conclusions
3. — strength of overall organization of the paper and acceptability of the style of presentation

4. — contribution of the paper to theoretical and methodological issues in linguistic anthropology

RECOMMENDATION:

Accept this manuscript with no changes or only minor revisions

Accept this manuscript but only with extensive revisions in presentation/organization

Reject but revise substantially and re-submit or another review

Reject

COMMENTS (Please use separate sheet/s of paper):

General Comments:

In this paper the author describes the multiple languages and intertextual signs available to participants of a banner painting effort by members of Barcelona neighborhood. The author convinces us that the banner campaign, ostensibly about civic issues in the neighborhood such as trash, filth, noise, etc., was also about these neighbors participating in an evolving public sphere and making claims of 'deserving citizenship.' They used the concept of the public sphere, an imaginary the author claims stresses 'maintenance of the status quo' (p.1, 3, 27): through the indexical and iconic properties of their use of Catalan (and some minority languages such as Urdu), they made claims regarding their rights as deserving citizens of Barcelona (p. 26). Following an introductory segment outlining the concept of the public sphere by Habermas, modified by Michael Warner, and operationalized in linguistic anthropology by Susan Gal and Judith Irvine, the author offers a brief history of Catalan, provides an overview of the Ravel neighborhood of Barcelona, and describes the participants and activities of the banner campaign and its successful appeal to the public sphere and claims to citizenship.

Overall, this paper is remarkably well written, expertly structured, and cogently argued. The author does a good job of outlining the paper's argument using a well-crafted theoretical apparatus applied to a clearly described ethnographic and historical context. It is also clean as can be in terms of typos or other formatting errors. Indeed, overall I am quite impressed and the editors of Journal Name should move quickly to accept this fine piece of scholarship.

I have only one minor quibble that can be fixed very easily and with minimum fuss on the author's part, and that has to do with a gap in the public sphere theory. S/he argues that the approach deployed here 'moves beyond treatments of publics that stress their role in the maintenance of the status quo' (p. 1). S/he appeals to Habermas's theory which, s/he argues, makes this argument in his original habilitationsschrift in 1962 (translated into English in 1989). Since then, however, public sphere theory has moved well beyond this idea as articulated by Michael Warner, 2002, which the author cites, but also by the authors in Craig Calhoun's 1992 volume, Habermas and the Public Sphere (MIT Press, 1992), which s/he does not. In a response in that volume, Prof. Habermas himself stands corrected from his youthful claims of an ideal bourgeois public sphere characterized by rational critical discourse which has somehow fallen away from that perfect realm of 18th and 19th century (male, upper-class) citizen-actor-critics. This idea of a bourgeois public sphere has long-ago been abandoned – indeed, it never existed as such – as we now regard the public sphere not as an articulation of state power – not maintaining anything – but as a imaginative process of poetic world building constituted by talk (as Warner, Fraser, Benhabib, Eley and others in that volume would put it.). I believe the author would benefit from a quick read of those specific articles (c.f. Fraser in particular) and rethink the notion of 'maintenance' as a function of the public sphere. The author might also read a recent piece by Susan Gal (2002) 'Semiotics of the Public/Private Distinction.' differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies 13(1):77-95.

Finally, s/he might also enjoy and benefit from a reading of Chapter 6, 'The Public Sphere,' in Charles Taylor's *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Duke, 2004, pp. 83-100), another major advance in public sphere theory.

Regardless, this is a fairly minor quibble, and I believe it is well with the ambit of the author's interests. The author should also recognize that the argument is made by a reader who very much admires the work in this essay. Please convey to the author my congratulations on a fine piece of scholarship along with my best regards.

Reviewer 3

MS TITLE: Title

Points to be addressed or taken into account in the evaluation:

5. — adequacy of the relationship of the paper to literature and current issues in linguistic anthropology
6. — strength of the author's major claims/arguments and the validity of the conclusions
7. — strength of overall organization of the paper and acceptability of the style of presentation
8. — contribution of the paper to theoretical and methodological issues in linguistic anthropology

RECOMMENDATION:

Accept this manuscript with no changes or only minor revisions

Accept this manuscript but only with extensive revisions in presentation/organization

Reject but revise substantially and re-submit or another review

Reject

COMMENTS (Please use separate sheet/s of paper):

Banners in Barcelona

I enjoyed reading this article a great deal. At its heart is the story of a neighbourhood banner campaign in Barcelona, a story drawn from ethnographic work by the author. This field story is hung on the theoretical balconies of Habermas and Ong's concepts of the nature of the public in relation to the state, the classes, immigrants in Ong's case and neighbourhoods in this article.

Connecting the public or 'a' public to the neighbourhood is a novel one. At its inception the public was an entity that evolved with the city through the geography of salons, coffee houses and suchlike that Habermas alludes to. The public was not to do with where one resided so much as where one conversed with politically informed and well-read others. In short then the public was about a disconnection from older notions of anyone's connection to place, neighbourhood or town. Even today when 'public opinion' or 'the public good' or 'public interest' and so on are used

it a collection of interests that are not tied to a particular local but by their relationship to state or notion or perhaps city. The ambitions of this article and of the political agents it describes are to try and think the public might be connected once again to a neighbourhood.

Alongside the relationship between neighborhood and public the article brings out the bilingual history of Barcelona. With the back and forth between Castilian and Catalan 'the result is a sandwich of language and class: a largely Catalan speaking bourgeoisie sandwiched between a largely Castilian-speaking upper class and a largely Castilian speaking working class.'

In the Raval neighbourhood when an old time dance hall opened up late into the morning several nights a week the surrounding blocks formed a Commission to represent the neighbourhood. The Commission organised a banner campaign, painting slogans onto large sheets that were hung over balconies. In a first deliberate political move, despite most members of the group being literate in Castilian the banners were written equally in Catalan and Castilian, along with a few in Tagalog and English. In a second move, the banners also tied themselves to Barcelona's urban branding campaign by using an underlined 'B' similar to London's red 'on'.

A third and more obvious move in their banner campaign was the writing of political protest slogans: "we who live in the Raval are citizens, too ..." "...rich and poor neighbourhoods all equal' This is where the article really comes alive as the author was there for much of the slogan writing. They are thus able to provide eyewitness accounts to the discussions around the painting of the slogans and spelling errors in Catalan. The latter turns out to be of greater significance since it reveals an 'interest in normativity'. Moreover it is part and parcel of Raquel's wily political strategies in that she is trying to make the neighbourhood a perfect example of the municipalities professed ambitions to have a bilingual and multi-cultural city.

While there is much to enjoy this article I also think it needs a great deal of development. At the outset the desire is to shift the idea of 'the' public and 'a' public into a neighborhood and in the introduction there is a marvellous summary of Warner and Habermas. It is the move that does not work since it is not one that the empirical material really supports, though the empirical material itself is also of great interest but in other ways.

If we think back to ideas around the rise of the public sphere then at its heart is the collective inquiry by 'the public' into the state and its affairs. An inquiry that provides for a new form of accountability by the state toward this new entity that is not based either in the court nor in the home. What we see in the ethnographically documented response of the Raval neighborhood is the rising up around a specific issue – the noisy, garbage producing club. This sort of temporary coalition of residents is not the kind of public sphere Habermas, and writers following him, have in mind. Rather the public would be the 'everyone' (as the author nicely puts it borrowing from Warner) that passes its judgements and opinions on what was happening between this group of residents and the municipality. It requires some serious shoe-horning of the residents' banners to fit them into the public or a public. On the other hand the author hits the mark with their other remarks on cleverly adopting the branding of the Barcelona place-marketing campaign, the representation of the neighbourhood as an ideal for municipality and the force of the slogans themselves.

The author will not want to hear this but I think they would do well to save their well made review of Warner and Habermas's ideas of the public for another paper.

Instead I would suggest that the wealth of fieldwork material that could be used to different ends, those already mentioned by the author within the central section of the paper and noted above. There other possibilities too which would build out the theoretical development of the paper. Key amongst these would be the less glamorous but equally important notions of urban neighborhood, city resident and neighbours. It is under these auspices that the members of the Commission come together and engage with the municipal government:

'welcome to the neighborhood'
'councillors you earn a salary in order to improve the neighborhood'
'we who live in the Raval'
'rich and poor neighbourhoods all equal'

Certainly neighborhood is the dumpy sister of ‘the public’ or ‘the people’, yet is a place that we see a community showing their commitment to.

It is the entity that Raquel uses her political experience to represent in a particular fashion as an ideal neighborhood.

Neighborhood is also the space that the banners both demarcate through their presence for visitors eyes and its other non-political residents are talked to through the banners.

And then what are the particular rights of a resident and the interplay between those and a municipal government rather than the state. The residents are turning to the appropriate authority in this case, since the nation-state does not bother itself with regulating individual night clubs.

In a different vein alongside ‘linguistic behaviour’, ‘intertextuality’ and ‘literacy’ the author might draw on work specifically on political discourse, speech and slogans. The latter seems a very promising line of inquiry since banners and chants that both involve short slogans are key to political marches. From my knowledge no one has done any serious study on what slogans are and how they work – perhaps Hans Enzensberger in 70s.

Item 7: Cover letter for Draft 3

August 6, 2009

[Dr. Name]
Editor
Journal Name

Dear Name,

I am writing in order to resubmit my article manuscript, now retitled “New Title 2.” I have addressed the concerns expressed by you and the reviewers, as outlined below:

Publics as poetic worlds (Reviewer 2)

Reviewer 2 recommended a more thorough discussion of public sphere theory, including a discussion of publics as “poetic worlds.” The revised version notes this strand on p. 6, citing Fraser 1992 to make reference to “the creation and projection of shared social identities.” My main focus remains on the notion of “the public” as a check on government, which is clearly the approach that the sign painters took and the result that they, in fact, achieved.

Neighborhoods (Reviewer 3)

Reviewer 3 suggested theorizing “the neighborhood” and setting aside “the public,” whose use in this article required, according to him/her “some serious shoe-horning.” I think this assessment followed from a misunderstanding of my claims; I was not claiming that the neighborhood commission or the neighborhood itself was a public. Rather, I was claiming that the commission was trying to participate in the circulation of discourse to “the Barcelonan public” in order to make demands on City Hall. I stand by this claim, so rather than fol-

lowing the advice of this reviewer, I instead have followed your suggestion of showing the articulation between neighborhoods and publics. I have done this by refining my discussion of Habermas to note the posited shift from embodied to disembodied publicness (p. 5) and by using an ethnography of writing to illuminate two sets of addressees of the banner campaign: 1) local, embodied, neighborhood-level addressees (pp. 14-17) and 2) non-local, disembodied, public-level addressees (pp. 17-1).

Respectability (Editor)

Your recommendation that I think about respectability was very useful. When I returned to my data and to the published literature on the neighborhood, I discovered that respectability was a key issue both for these neighbors in particular and for the neighborhood more broadly (pp. 9-13). Following a theoretical discussion of respectability and public participation (pp. 6-7), I use my analysis to argue that the neighborhood is a key site for the regimentation and projection of respectability, a performance which qualifies the neighbors for participation in public discourse, including making demands on government.

Contribution (Reviewer 1)

Reviewer 1 was unconvinced that my analysis of this ethnographic material makes an interesting theoretical contribution. The revised article makes three theoretical points. First, while the literature on publics stresses a historical shift between embodied publicness and disembodied publicness, this article shows that embodied publicness and disembodied publicness are inextricably interrelated. Second, it demonstrates that neighborhoods are key sites for the articulation of these two forms of publicness, through the regimentation and projection of personal respectability. Third, it reveals the importance of a careful ethnography of writing, which allows the disambiguation of differently scaled sets of addressees.

I thank you very much for the opportunity to resubmit this piece and I hope that the Journal Name will be able to publish it. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

Susan Frekko