

Galician Youths and Screens: A Sociolinguistic Approach

HÅKAN CASARES BERG

*Observatorio da Cultura Galega
Consello da Cultura Galega*

HENRIQUE MONTEAGUDO ROMERO

*Instituto da Lingua Galega
Universidade de Santiago de Compostela*
henrique.monteagudo@usc.gal
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0682-4524>

Paper received on 1st May 2021 and accepted on 27 September 2021

Abstract

In the audiovisual field, what impact do communicative uses have on languages and identities? This article offers an approach to the linguistic uses and attitudes of Galician youth in relation to the audiovisual sphere and ICTs. The text addresses the problems that arise in communities with minority languages and points out the possibility of creating decentralised communication spaces and horizontal networks that strengthen the use of their own languages.

Keywords

Youth, screens, sociolinguistics, Galician, audiovisual, language.

Resum

En l'àmbit audiovisual, quin impacte tenen els hàbits comunicatius sobre les llengües i les identitats? Aquest article ofereix una aproximació sobre els usos i les actituds lingüístiques de la joventut gallega en relació amb l'audiovisual i les TIC. El text aborda la problemàtica que se suscita en les comunitats de llengües minoritzades i apunta la possibilitat de crear espais de comunicació descentralitzats i de xarxes horitzontals que potenciïn l'ús de les llengües pròpies.

Paraules clau

Joventut, pantalles, sociolingüística, gallec, audiovisual, llengua.

The new information and communication technologies are revolutionising the media and the ways we interact, communication management and consumption habits, especially with regard to audiovisual products, and are having a decisive impact on languages and identities. Languages play a key role in all of them. Viewed from the standpoint of communities with a minoritised language, the new technologies have a contradictory effect. On the one hand, they are hegemonized by the dominant cultures and languages and contribute powerfully to reinforcing this hegemonic position. On the other hand, they offer the opportunity to create horizontal networks and decentralised spaces of communication and thus can provide new opportunities for communities with a minority language. Their future possibilities largely depend on their ability to make the most of them. This challenge primarily occurs in the younger generations, who are at the centre of the board where this game is being played out.

This article provides a quantitative sociolinguistic approach to Galician youths' language uses and attitudes in audiovisuals and the new technologies. The two main sources of data analysed for this purpose are the 'Structural Household Survey', specifically the module on the knowledge and use of the Galician language, developed by the Galician Statistical Institute (2018)¹ and the study on Language Practices and Attitudes of Youths in Galicia,

conducted by the Galician Culture Council, 2017.² We shall situate these data in a diachronic perspective and analyse them within the framework of the language policies developed by the Galician autonomous government in the past decade.

The case of Galician can be considered paradigmatic of linguistic minoritisation, yet also serve as a reminder of the need to promote diversity policies that preferably focus on youths and audiovisuals. The data we present show that without a steadfast, well-guided language support policy that allows the opportunities afforded by the new technologies to be harnessed, they will only help to reinforce the minoritisation of subordinate languages like Galician.

1. The sociolinguistic situation in Galicia and its recent evolution

The sociolinguistic context in which youths in Galicia exist can be defined by three features: a) the considerable rootedness of Galician as the language spoken by half the population and known by almost all of it (Monteagudo, Loredó, Vázquez 2016: 37-76); b) unequal bilingualism, rooted in and characterised by diglossia, with Spanish as the dominant language and Galician as the subordinate language (Monteagudo 2017: 15-19 & 23-

28); and c) contradictory evolutionary trends, with Galician gaining spaces in different social spheres, especially in public life and institutional activities, while Spanish remains dominant in decisive spheres (Ramallo 2018: 479-481; Monteagudo 2020: 33-44).

The process of language shift, which experienced extraordinary acceleration during the Franco dictatorship, did not halt during the democratic/autonomous community period, even though it did experience brief phases in which it rallied or slowed down. However, language policies issued by the different social and political stakeholders fostered the expansion of the spheres of use of Galician in the local and regional administrations, the educational system and some institutions, and contributed to improving its cultural prestige. In this sense, the founding of the Radio Television Company of Galicia was extremely important; since 1985 a TV and a radio station have operated under its aegis and, as we shall see, have a considerable audience (Monteagudo 2019: 43-44).

The language shift from Galician to Spanish is fuelled by two types of language change: a) the kind that occurs within families, with the abandonment of the transmission of Galician from parents to children (Monteagudo, Loredó, Vázquez 2016: 77-93; Loredó, Monteagudo 2017), and b) the kind that happens when individuals add Spanish to their language practices (Monteagudo, Loredó, Vázquez 2016: 103-116). That is, they occur from the rupture in intergenerational language transmission and individual language change. In the former, the individuals directly affected are members of the younger generations, as Galician is no longer their initial language learned from their parents but is instead replaced by the dominant language. In the latter, the addition of Spanish into the individual Galician-speaker's language practices entails the use of the dominant language in the spheres where it is imposed by the sociolinguistic context itself and/or by implicit norms—which are diglossic—on the use of each of the languages (Monteagudo, Loredó, Vázquez 2016: 95-102 & 117-131).

The above is a brief sketch of the sociolinguistic context in which Galician youths live, a context in which all kinds of social

pressures towards Castilianisation, both formal and informal, are particularly strong and are felt particularly keenly in younger age groups. Thus, according to the figures collected by the Galician Statistical Institute in 2018, that year 31% of the population living in Galicia always spoke Galician, 22% spoke it more frequently than Spanish, 23% spoke more Spanish than Galician and 24% were monolingual Spanish speakers.³ These percentages are quite balanced in terms of the figures, but in reality, they are heavily imbalanced in their social distribution and strongly polarised, especially in the axes of the place of residence (urban – non-urban), educational level (low – medium or high), social status (wealthy – modest) and age (younger cohorts – older cohorts). In each of these axes, Spanish is predominant in the first element of the pair and Galician in the second one (Monteagudo, Loredó, Vázquez 2016: 117-131).

If we compare the data above for the entire population with those found in the younger age groups (Tables 1 and 2), according to this survey, in 2018 only 26% of the individuals between the ages of 5 and 14 only spoke Galician and 37% of the individuals between the ages of 15 and 29 did. In themselves, the data reveal the advance in the language shift process and the increasing difficulties of maintaining the language among young, adolescent or young adult speakers. These same tables provide data that give an idea of the downturn in the use of Galician in recent decades. As seen, the period with the greatest regression is the years 2008-2013. Not coincidentally, this dovetails with the most heated phase in the language debate in public opinion due to the dissemination of discourses on the 'imposition of Galician', not only from the dominant media but also from political entities within Galicia's regional government and from the Partido Popular political party, which wins majorities in Galicia and has been at the helm of the Xunta de Galicia regional government since 2009 (Monteagudo, Loredó, Vázquez 2016: 189-195; Monteagudo 2021).

The 2018 data seem to indicate that there has been a defensive reaction in the Galician linguistic community, and for the first time the IGE's macro-survey does not report a regression in the

Table 1. Language habitually spoken by the population aged 5 to 14, in percentages

Year	More or always in Galician	More or always in Spanish
2003	40	60
2008	36	64
2013	25	75
2018	26	74

Source: Authors. Galician Statistical Institute.⁴

Table 1. Language habitually spoken by the population aged 15 to 29, in percentages

Any	More or always in Galician	More or always in Spanish
1992	49	51
2008	43	57
2013	37	63
2018	37	63

Source: Authors via Sociolinguistic Seminar 1994, 1995⁵ and Galician Statistical Institute (2003, 2008, 2013, 2018).⁶

use of Galician but a stalemate in the language shift process. Thus, in the historical series of sociolinguistic surveys, for the first time there is an increase in the number of habitual speakers of Galician, from 51.49% (2013) to 52.29% (2018), if we add the percentages on 'always Galician' and 'more Galician than Spanish'. This is a very tenuous increase, a scant +0.80%, but it is interesting to note that this increase is primarily in the age group 5 to 14 (+0.98%) and 15 to 29 (+0.70%), and in the 30 to 49 age group to a lesser extent (+0.33%), while in the over-50 age group Galician has regressed slightly.

Might this be the first symptom of the much-awaited recovery? Time will tell, but in any case, one of the decisive battlegrounds for the future of the language, a battle being waged in the younger age groups, is precisely the new communication technologies. That is, this game is being played on screens, so we shall now turn our attention to them.

3. Background (1): Swan song of television (2003-2008)

To consider the background, we shall draw from two reports, the first on the population in general published under the title of *Language, Society and Media (Lingua, sociedade e medios de comunicación*, Lorenzo Suárez, Ramallo, Casares Berg 2008) and the second focused specifically on youth, entitled *Youths, Language and Social Media (Mocidade, lingua e redes sociais*, Ramallo 2012). The latter is centred on Galician youths' uses, opinions and attitudes regarding their own language in social media. The 2008 report published by the Galician Culture Council on language and the media enables us to revisit the situation prior to the social media boom.⁷ As the authors of the study point out, in 2003 the new technologies were not yet widespread among the population, with very low penetration levels; the daily Internet consumption rate was 10% and seven out of every ten people had never browsed online. However, within four years, specifically between 2003 and 2007, the percentage of Galician households with an Internet connection had risen from 21.1% to 32.3%, yet by 2007 it had still not reached one-third of households and the percentage of broadband Internet access was barely 25% of households (Idem: 190-191).

The profile of the regular Internet user was a man under the age of 40 with higher education living in a city with more than 50,000 inhabitants. The gender gap was considerable: the percentage of male users (71%) was more than twice that of female users (29%). In terms of age, almost half the people browsing the web on a daily basis were between the ages of 26 and 40 (47%), while the other half was divided equally among the 18-25 and 41-65 age groups. But to understand this figure, we have to bear in mind the different sizes of the intervals: just eight years in the youngest group (18-25), fifteen years in the second group (26-40) and twenty-five years in the last group (41-65). Bearing this in mind, what stands out is that the most intensive group of users were the younger ones.

In terms of language, browsing the Internet in Galician was at very low percentages: just 1.4% browsed daily in Galician, another 1.3% several times a week and an additional 1.7% once a week, leading to 4.4%. The profile of the Internet user in Galician was similar to Internet users in general (idem: 208-212). These low figures can be explained by the primarily urban profile, the age and the sociocultural level of the majority of users (which fits better with the standard Spanish-speaker than with the Galician-speaker), as well as by the dearth of Internet contents in Galician.

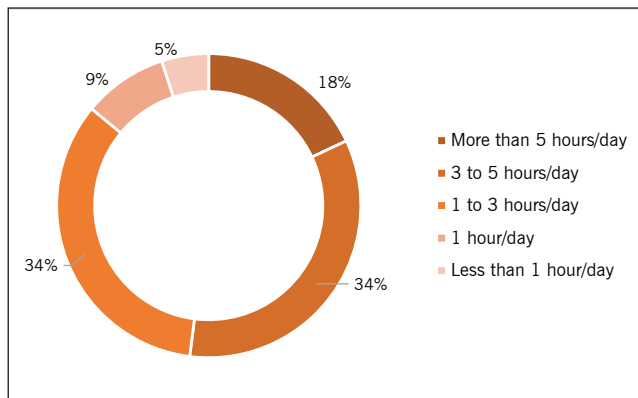
The assessments of the content available in Galician by the survey respondents was a faithful reflection of the situation, as almost three out of four believed that the presence of Galician on the Internet was scarce (73%), compared to 70% who believed its presence on TV was satisfactory.⁸ This perception was particularly widespread among people aged 18-25 (83%), whose habitual language was Galician and who wrote it with no difficulties (79%). However, this perception had a broad majority among Spanish-speakers (69%) and bilingual speakers (73%) as well. These results reveal that there was a greater demand for Galician online than there was supply at the time, when TV was still the most important audiovisual medium, at least in Galicia.

4. Background (2): Youths online on laptops (2012)

Next, we shall turn to a report focused specifically on the topic at hand: *Youths, Language and Social Media (Mocidade, lingua e redes sociais*, Ramallo 2012).⁹ The target population of this study is Galician youths over the age of 16 who are students. The percentages on the habitual language—the one that individuals speak on a day-to-day basis—were: 26% Galician, 54% Spanish and 20% both languages.

By 2012, virtually all the youths used the Internet on a daily basis; 86% of them spent more than one hour a day connected, and 52% spent more than three hours (see Graph 1). Seven out of ten respondents always or almost always used their laptop computers as the device they used to connect to the Internet. The second most common device was mobile phones, which 47% of the youths used. The use of desktop computers totalled 37%.

The use of Galician on social media was quite low (Ramallo 2012: 26). The report offers several arguments to explain this. The main one is a lack of knowledge of available resources, but we should also bear in mind the youths' perception of what the social media are used for. If they are only associated with global modes of communication, the difficulties of developing a network in a minority language are enormous. Thus, for the Galician speakers, the web is a domain in which they change their habitual language practices. When observing their behaviour on the three prime social media at the time (Twitter, Facebook and Tuenti) it was found that more than 50% of Galician-speakers exclusively used Galician only on the latter,

Graph 1. Use of internet by hours per day

Source: Ramallo 2012: 7.

with a considerable drop in the use of this language on the other two (Figures 1 and 2).

The most widespread opinion was that the presence of Galician on social media was insufficient (70.8%) (Ramallo 2012: 44), thus verifying a clear relationship between habitual language and the perception of the presence of Galician online: 83% of those who regularly spoke Galician believed that the presence of Galician on social media was insufficient, among the bilingual respondents this percentage was 74.3% and among those who habitually speak Spanish it was 63.8% (idem, p. 45). Consequently, 84% of the interviewees asked for a greater presence of the language on the Internet, and this demand was particularly widespread, as expected, among the Galician speakers and especially intense among university students (54% called for much or considerably more).

5. Youths and mobile screens, without reference to language (2020)

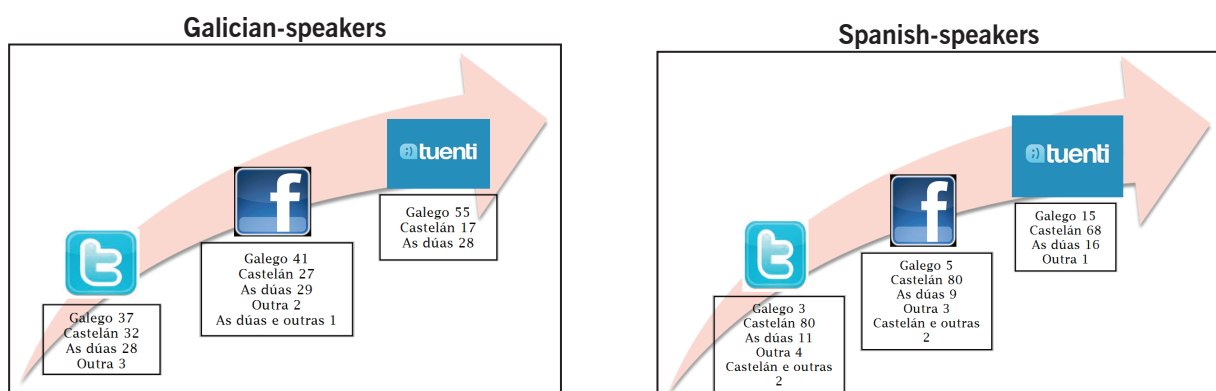
In 2020, the report on 'Youth and ICT' (La juventud y las TIC) was released by the Observatory of the Information Society and Modernisation of Galicia (OSIMGA 2020), dependent on the

Xunta de Galicia regional government. This report provides a set of data that illustrate the topic at hand, yet it surprisingly—and symptomatically—makes no mention of language.¹⁰ According to this report, 99% of individuals between the ages of 16 and 34 use electronic devices, a figure that is 15 percentage points higher than the mean of the population between the ages of 35 and 74. Therefore, the level of Internet use among Galician youths between the ages of 16 and 34 is almost 100%, and 98% of them use it through mobile devices, while 97% of them participate in social media, 94% go online daily and 56% buy clothing and accessories online.

This study does not mention the youths' language practices or preferences, which, as mentioned above, is symptomatic, as this fieldwork was promoted by the Galician regional government. That is, the invisibilisation of the language question is coherent with the weakness of the policies to promote Galician, as a consequence of the turn in language policy in recent years, inspired by the neoliberal dogma of freedom of language (Monteagudo 2021).

6. Youths, screens and the Galician language: More demand than supply (2013/2018)

The 'Structural Household survey. Knowledge and use of Galician' (Encuesta estructural a hogares. Conocimiento y uso del gallego) conducted by the Galician Statistical Institute in 2018, offers invaluable information that enables us to relate the variables on the use of the new technologies with the variables on age and language, in addition to offering data that help analyse how they have evolved.¹¹ Beginning with the consumption of television in Galician, it reveals that it is much more popular among older people, especially people over the age of 65 (Table 3). Young people aged 16 to 29 proportionally consume much less television in Galician than the mean. Thus, while 17.65% of Galicians as a whole primarily consume television content in Galicia, among youths this percentage drops to 6.23%. In terms of the evolution between 2013 and 2018, the general trend among the population is to consume less television in

Figures 1 and 2. Galician-speakers' and Spanish-speakers' behaviour on social media

Source: Ramallo 2012: 29. Answers: Galician, Spanish, Both, Other languages, Both and others.

Table 3. People according to the language they use to watch television by age, in percentages. Galicia

Year	2013	2018
Always in Galician		
16 to 29 years old	1.25	1.49
30 to 39 years old	1.21	1.17
40 to 49 years old	2.02	1.40
50 to 64 years old	2.98	2.74
65 years old or more	5.22	5.67
Total	2.78	2.92
More Galician than Spanish		
16 to 29 years old	4.21	4.74
30 to 39 years old	6.81	6.31
40 to 49 years old	11.26	8.96
50 to 64 years old	20.48	16.09
65 years old or more	33.50	26.51
Total	17.09	14.73
More Spanish than Galician		
16 to 29 years old	57.65	51.59
30 to 39 years old	60.36	58.38
40 to 49 years old	58.39	57.92
50 to 64 years old	57.44	57.80
65 years old or more	49.75	53.11
Total	56.24	55.75
Always in Spanish		
16 to 29 years old	36.90	42.17
30 to 39 years old	31.62	34.15
40 to 49 years old	28.32	31.72
50 to 64 years old	19.09	23.37
65 years old or more	11.52	14.71
Total	23.90	26.60

Source: IGE, *Enquisa estrutural a fogares* [Structural Household Survey] (2018).

Galician, yet among young people it has remained steady or even increased slightly.

Similarly, the percentage of people who watch no TV contents in Galician increases as their age goes down. While this behaviour is limited to 26.6% of the general population, it rises to 42.17% of the population between the ages of 16 and 29. In terms of its evolution over time, the tendency is for there to be more consumers of television solely in Spanish, and the increase among youths and the population as a whole is proportionally similar.

In terms of Internet consumption, as shown in Table 4, only 5.42% of the youths primarily consume contents in Galician, a proportion similar to that of the population as a whole (5.07%). The percentage is low in all age groups, so no major variation

Table 4. People according to the language they use to browse the Internet by age, in percentages. Galicia

Year	2013	2018
Always in Galician		
16 to 29 years old	0.83	1.92
30 to 39 years old	0.66	1.51
40 to 49 years old	0.62	1.10
50 years old or more	0.59	0.97
Total	0.68	1.29
More Galician than Spanish		
16 to 29 years old	2.02	3.50
30 to 39 years old	1.64	4.08
40 to 49 years old	1.87	3.63
50 years old or more	1.40	3.86
Total	1.74	3.78
More Spanish than Galician		
16 to 29 years old	26.96	28.02
30 to 39 years old	25.65	25.98
40 to 49 years old	22.44	25.59
50 years old or more	18.26	23.65
Total	23.63	25.46
Always in Spanish		
16 to 29 years old	70.19	66.56
30 to 39 years old	72.05	68.43
40 to 49 years old	75.07	69.69
50 years old or more	79.75	71.52
Total	73.95	69.47

Source: IGE, *Enquisa estrutural a fogares* [Structural Household Survey] (2018).

is found. The evolution over time shows an upswing in Galician, although the change is minor given the low figures. On the other hand, people who consume no content on the Internet in Galician accounted for 69.47% of the population, a percentage which is slightly lower among youths (66.56%).

As shown in Table 5, when there is the possibility of choosing one's favourite language, the proportions who choose Galician rise considerable, which is an indicator that there is a much higher demand than supply. The monolingual preference for Spanish drops to 59.24% in the population as a whole and 55.73% among youths. The difference by age is considerable, as youths are more likely to consume content in Galician when they have the choice to. If we measure the difference between those who do not consume contents in Galician on the Internet

Table 5. People according to the language they choose to browse the Internet when it is possible to choose by age, in percentages. Galicia

	16 to 29 years old	30 to 39 years old	40 to 49 years old	50 years old or more	Total
Always in Galician	8.37	11.16	8.51	5.79	8.13
More Galician than Spanish	9.52	8.47	8.74	8.39	8.72
More Spanish than Galician	26.38	22.36	23.17	23.99	23.91
Always in Spanish	55.73	58.01	59.58	61.82	59.24
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: IGE, *Enquisa estrutural a fogares* [Structural Household Survey] (2018).

Table 6. People according to the language they choose to participate in social media by age, in percentages. Galicia

	16 to 29 years old	30 to 39 years old	40 to 49 years old	50 years old or more	Total
Always in Galician	8.84	11.04	7.83	6.43	8.25
More Galician	16.91	16.57	18.69	19.13	18.03
More Spanish	23.06	20.71	21.50	21.53	21.65
Always in Spanish	51.20	51.69	51.97	52.91	52.07
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: IGE, *Enquisa estrutural a fogares* [Structural Household Survey] (2018).

in general and those who do not when they have the ability to choose, almost 15% of youth access contents in Galician when they have to chance to choose.

Table 6 shows that in social media, Galician is primarily used by 24.28% of the population, with a similar percentage among young people. In fact, the variation among the different age groups is minimal, but it is worth noting that at younger ages the percentages of users in Galician and Galician speakers, in general, are more similar (compare them with the figures shown in section 1, Tables 1 and 2). People who never use Galician in social media account for a little over half, 52.07%, also with little variation among age groups.

On the other hand, we see that 60.7% of the population wants more contents in Galician on television and 54.6% on the Internet (Table 7). Plus, we can detect a positive evolution in favour of Galician but little variation by age. In any event, this positive result can be understood as an indicator of a higher demand for products in the Galician language.

Table 7. People who would like more contents in the media in Galician by age. Galicia

Year	2013	2018
Television		
16 to 29 years old	56.53	58.15
30 to 39 years old	54.22	60.93
40 to 49 years old	55.81	61.63
50 to 64 years old	54.16	60.90
Total	54.93	60.72
Internet		
16 to 29 years old	53.35	54.48
30 to 39 years old	50.52	56.55
40 to 49 years old	48.33	53.71
50 to 64 years old	41.75	46.45
Total	50.53	54.58

Source: IGE, *Enquisa estrutural a fogares* [Structural Household Survey] (2018).

7. Use of Galician via ICTs among Galician youths

This section is based on a specific analysis of the data matrix from a study by the Galician Culture Observatory (OBSERVATORIO DA CULTURA GALEGA 2017).¹² This questionnaire has three sections which include response categories that enable the use of certain media and the consumption of audiovisual products to be determined.

7.1 Exposure to Galician: The Galician language on television, radio, music and the Internet-related media

To evaluate the exposure to Galician among the young survey respondents, three common contexts for them were chosen: radio and television consumption, music consumption and the use of social media, blogs and other Internet-related media. As shown by the figures in Table 8, when the respondents were asked how they would score their exposure to Galician in these fields since childhood, the highest percentage of responses over 5 were recorded in radio and television consumption: 43.9% reported a high or fairly high presence of Galician in the TV programmes they watched as children, compared to 38.6% who said that Galician was scarce or non-existent. In the two other contexts, exposure to Galician was lower, as in both cases scores under 5 predominate: 67.3% in music and 61.5% in social media, blogs and other Internet-related media. In both of them, the most common response was 'No or almost no presence of Galician'—a score from 0 to 2—which was chosen by 46.1% and 41.5%, respectively.

These figures enable us to conclude that in none of the three fields do Galician youths find a high exposure to Galician, and it is especially low in music consumption and communication via the Internet.

The analysis of these variables as quantitative indicators through statistics like the mean enable us to obtain summary values that make comparisons easier (Table 9). Thus, the level of exposure to Galician has a mean of 4.97 points over 10 in radio and television programmes, which is clearly higher than what was found in both the use of Internet-related media (3.53) and music consumption (3.12).

The mean on the youths' exposure to Galician in their radio and television consumption reached 5.30 in the 20-24 age cohort, compared to 4.58 in the younger cohort. It was also over 5 in those whose mother tongue is Galician or who were raised speaking both Galician and Spanish (5.34 and 5.56), while it drops to 4.33 among those whose mother tongue is Spanish. According to the language they use the most common, the presence of Galician in the radio and television they consumed is only under 5 among those who only speak Spanish (4.03).

In the case of the music to which they were exposed, the level of exposure to Galician in the different segments analysed was always under 4 on this 10-point scale, that is, in the low-exposure zone. The exposure to Galician in the music they listened to since they were children was higher among the respondents whose mother tongue is Galician (3.72, compared to 2.47 for those who were raised in Spanish) and shows its

Table 8. Rate the presence of the Galician language in a normal week in the following contexts, using a scale from 0 to 10 in which 0 means 'no presence' and 10 means 'strong presence'

	0 – 2 (No or almost no presence of Galician)	3 – 4 (Little/ some presence of Galician)	5 (Neither a lot nor a little)	6 – 7 (Fair presence of Galician)	8 a 10 (Strong presence of Galician)
The radio and TV programmes I was exposed to since I was a child	19.1	19.6	17.4	27.6	16.3
The music I was exposed to since I was a child	46.1	21.2	14.8	10.9	7.0
Social media, blogs and other Internet-related media	41.5	20.0	14.5	13.5	10.6

Source: Authors, based on the Galician Culture Council, *Prácticas e actitudes lingüísticas da mocidade en Galicia*. [Linguistic Attitudes and Practices of Youths in Galicia].

Table 9. Rate the presence of the Galician language in a normal week in the following contexts, using a scale from 0 to 10 in which 0 means 'no presence' and 10 means 'strong presence'

	Mean	Standard deviation
The radio and TV programmes I was exposed to since I was a child	4.97	2.61
The music I was exposed to since I was a child	3.12	2.64
Social media, blogs and other Internet-related media	3.53	2.75

Source: Authors, based on the Galician Culture Council, *Prácticas e actitudes lingüísticas da mocidade en Galicia*. [Linguistic Attitudes and Practices of Youths in Galicia].

highest values according to habitual language among those who only or predominantly speak Galician (3.65 and 3.72, respectively, which contrasts with 2.07 for those who only speak Spanish). The mean exposure to Galician in Internet communication does not reach 5 in any segment in the table, and only in five of the 27 segments is it over 4; therefore, in all the response segments, the mean is also located in the low-exposure zone.

In any event, several segments show significant differences, such that exposure to Galician online is lower as the population density rises (from 4.19 to 2.87), socioeconomic status rises (from 3.9 to 2.68) and Spanish predominates in education (from 4.38 to 3). On this point, mother tongue and habitual language also bear an influence, as exposure to Galician on the Internet is much more common among the youths whose mother tongue is Galician (4.50, compared to 2.74 for those who were raised in Spanish), as well as among those who habitually speak only Galician (4.72) or more Galician than Spanish (4.26), compared to 2.43 among those who only tend to speak Spanish.

7.2 Rules on using Galician in bilingual situations: Language used to respond to an electronic message, text message or WhatsApp written in Galician

A full 81.8% of the Galician adolescents surveyed tend to respond in Galician to communications written in Galician that they receive electronically or by text message or WhatsApp (Table 10). Thus, apart from the 3.8% who said that they respond either way, 14.4% of the Galician youths said that they respond in Spanish to communications that were originally written in Galician.

According to the segmented analysis, the main differences occur according to the place of residence, mother tongue and habitual language. The percentage of those who respond in Spanish is higher the larger the place of residence (from 8.75% to 21%) and the more Spanish they speak in their daily lives (from 2% of the segments where the use of Galician predominates to 37.5% in those who tend to speak Spanish). It is also much higher among those whose mother tongue is Spanish (26.9%, compared to 2.8% of those who were raised in Galician). Furthermore, significant differences are also found according to sex, age and socioeconomic status, as the

percentage of female youths who tend to respond to this type of communication in Spanish is 5.1 points higher than their male counterparts, and it is almost 7 points higher among youths under the age of 20 than among those aged 20 to 24. By status levels, we found that this percentage is 22% among those with an upper middle/upper class status, compared to values for the other socioeconomic statuses, which range between 10.8% and 14.7%.

7.3. Willingness to use Galician in Internet-related communications

As seen in Table 11, we can see a clear positive willingness among the Galician youths surveyed to use Galician in their communication on Internet-related media, as more than 66% rate their willingness between 8 and 10 on a 10-point scale. Thus, 66.5% rate their willingness to use Galician in the email at 8 to 10, another 66.5% rate their willingness to use it in a social media like Facebook the same, while 68.9% say the same for WhatsApp. On the negative side, we should note that around 12% of the youths surveyed expressed no or almost no willingness to use Galician in these three areas (scored at 0 to 2). These percentages stand at around 19% and 20% if we also bear in mind those who assign ratings of less than 5 on a 10-point scale.

Analysing these variables not nominally but quantitatively, we find the mean that summarises this willingness (Table 12). The values obtained show a willingness to use Galician on WhatsApp of 7.16 over 10, to use it on a social media like Facebook of 7.05 and to use it in an email with a friend of 7.01. That is, the mean response is 'quite willing' to use Galician.

If we use this quantitative analysis in the segmented analysis, we find that this willingness to use Galician in communications on the Internet varies significantly according to age, place of residence, educational level, socioeconomic status, mother tongue, habitual language and presence of Galician throughout their education. The respondents ages 20 to 24 show more willingness (values around 7.6) than those aged 15 to 19 (values between 6.3 and 6.5). We also found a greater willingness the less populous the place of residence is, reaching values over 8 in sparsely-populated areas compared to values that never exceed 6.25 in densely-population areas, and the higher

Table 10. Responses to the question: Generally speaking, what language do/did you use to respond to an electric message, text message or WhatsApp written in Galician?

	Frecuency	Percentage
Galician	651	81,8
Spanish	115	14,4
Either (<i>not stated</i>)	30	3,8
Total	796	100,0

Source: Authors, based on the Galician Culture Council, *Prácticas e actitudes lingüísticas da mocidade en Galicia*. [Linguistic Attitudes and Practices of Youths in Galicia].

Table 11. Please tell us how willing you would be to use Galician in the following situations, using a scale from 0 to 10 in which 0 means 'not at all willing' and 10 means 'very willing'

	0 – 2 (not or seldom willing)	3 – 4 (a little/ somewhat willing)	5 (neither a lot nor a little)	6 – 7 (quite willing)	8 – 10 (totally willing)	Total
In an email with a friend	12.7	7.1	13.6	11.6	54.9	100.0
In a WhatsApp	12.1	7.1	11.9	11.4	57.5	100.0
In a social media like Facebook or similar	11.5	8.4	13.6	10.7	55.8	100.0

Source: Authors, based on the Galician Culture Council, *Prácticas e actitudes lingüísticas da mocidade en Galicia*. [Linguistic Attitudes and Practices of Youths in Galicia].

Table 12. Please tell us how willing you would be to use Galician in the following situations, using a scale from 0 to 10 in which 0 means 'not at all willing' and 10 means 'very willing'

	Mean	Standard deviation
In an email with a friend	7.01	3.37
In a WhatsApp	7.16	3.30
In a social media like Facebook or similar	7.05	3.27

Source: Authors, based on the Galician Culture Council, *Prácticas e actitudes lingüísticas da mocidade en Galicia*. [Linguistic Attitudes and Practices of Youths in Galicia].

the educational level, with values at around 5.5 at the lower levels and scores around 7.8 among the respondents who had a university education. The differences are also notable with regard to socioeconomic status, with higher mean values the lower the socioeconomic status, going from mean scores of around 6 to means near or even higher than 8.

In any event, as expected, the variables related to mother tongue or habitual language are those that show the greatest differences among the different segments. Thus, the willingness to use Galician is notably higher among those whose mother tongue is Galician (scores between 8.83 and 9.01) compared to those raised in Spanish (5.44-5.58). But the greatest contrast is unquestionably related to habitual language, as those who only speak Galician show a willingness of +/-9.5, while the same values are between 4.49 and 4.66 among those who only speak Spanish. Finally, we also found that the willingness to use Galician in communications on the Internet is above 8 in those who had a stronger presence of the Galician language in their education, while the lowest means were found among the youths who were exposed the least to Galician in the classroom (+/-6.4).

8. Conclusions

Youths, a key sector for the future of the Galician language, are intensely Castilianised and totally integrated into the world of the new technologies; that is, their culture is fundamentally audiovisual. Spanish predominates on the screens of Galician youths even more strikingly than in their oral language practices in everyday life. However, the supply of products in Galician is far below the real and potential demand, while public policies in this field are virtually non-existent. It is crucial to implement a strategy to promote Galician among youths that pay priority attention to audiovisuals, social media and the new technologies.

Notes

1. http://www.ige.eu/web/mostrar_actividade_estadistica.jsp?idioma=gl&codigo=0206004. As explained on the website of the Galician Statistical Institute (IGE), the 'Encuesta estructural a hogares' (Structural Household Survey, EEF), previously called the 'Encuesta de condiciones de vida de las familias' (Survey on Families' Living Conditions), is an annual statistical activity that the IGE has undertaken since 1999. It is a survey targeted at Galician households to get information on their socioeconomic characteristics. It contains two modules: the first general one that is repeated every year, designed to collect information on basic variables, and a second specific module voted to thematic sections. For the characteristics and methodology of this statistical too, see http://www.ige.eu/estatico/pdfs/s3/metodoloxias/met_EEF_gl.pdf.
2. 'Practicas e actitudes lingüísticas da mocidade en Galicia'. http://consellodacultura.gal/mediateca/extras/CCG_2017_Practicas-e-actitudes-linguisticas-da-mocidade-en-Galicia.pdf.
3. http://www.ige.eu/web/mostrar_actividade_estadistica.jsp?idioma=gl&codigo=0206004.
4. http://www.ige.eu/web/mostrar_actividade_estadistica.jsp?idioma=gl&codigo=0206004.
5. <http://publicacions.academia.gal/index.php/rag/catalog/view/224/225/743-1>.
6. http://www.ige.eu/web/mostrar_actividade_estadistica.jsp?idioma=gl&codigo=0206004.
7. This study is written based on a survey conducted in 2003 to a sample of 1203 individuals representing the entire Galician population aged 18 or over (Lorenzo Suárez, Ramallo, Casares Berg 2008: 185-189).
8. About the latter, it should be borne in mind that the general channels on TVG, whose programming was entirely in Galician, were the preferred media by more than half the Galician population (51%), and, in fact, 61% of the population used it daily. However, generally speaking, TV was 'the medium with the oldest population, with a very low penetration level among the younger population' (Lorenzo Suárez, Ramallo, Casares Berg 2008: 193). Thus, the profile of the TVG audience was older viewers living in smaller population nuclei and with low educational levels, although almost half the individuals between the ages of 18 and 25 also watched it on a daily basis (Idem: 204-211).
9. For the fieldwork, a non-probabilistic sample by quotas was used, consisting of 1209 units. To create the quotas, two variables were used: educational level (baccalaureate, vocational education and university) and place where the school was located (urban, non-urban). For the description and methodology of this study, see Ramallo 2012: 6.
10. http://www.osimga.gal/sites/w_osimga/files/documentos/monografico_mozos_2019_v1.pdf.
11. http://www.ige.eu/web/mostrar_actividade_estadistica.jsp?idioma=gl&codigo=0206004.
12. This survey was conducted on a representative sample of Galician youths (population between the ages of 15 and 24) determined proportionally by age, sex and place of residence. The age strata were two five-year groups: 15 to 19 and 20 to 24. The place of residence strata were defined by the 'Indicator of the degree of urbanization of the municipalities of Galician' applied by the Galician Statistical Institute (IGE), which classifies towns into three categories. The sample size was n=800, achieved through simple random sampling for a confidence level of 95.5% (2σ), in the hypothesis of maximum variability $p=q=5\%$ of a variable of proportions, which provides global data with a maximum associated statistical error of $\pm 3.5\%$. The questionnaire was prepared by the Observatory of Galician Culture of the Galician Culture Council and the Sociolinguistic Seminar of the Royal Galician Academy. Many of the variables were designed to allow comparisons with preceding studies inside and outside Galicia. See: http://consellodacultura.gal/mediateca/extras/CCG_2017_Practicas-e-actitudes-linguisticas-da-mocidade-en-Galicia.pdf

References

- INSTITUTO GALEGO DE ESTATÍSTICA.
- LOREDO GUTIÉRREZ, X.; MONTEAGUDO, H. "La transmisión intergeneracional del gallego. Comparación con el catalán". *Treballs de Sociolingüística Catalana*. 2017, 27, 99-116. <https://publicacions.iec.cat/repository/pdf/00000251/00000088.pdf>
- LORENZO SUÁREZ, A.; RAMALLO, F.; CASARES BERG, H. *Lingua, sociedade e medios de comunicación*. Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, 2008. <http://consellodacultura.gal/publicacion.php?id=49>
- MONTEAGUDO, H.; LOREDO, X.; VÁZQUEZ, M. *Lingua e sociedade en Galicia. A evolución sociolingüística 1992-2013*. A Coruña: Real Academia Galega, 2016. <http://publicacions.academia.gal/index.php/rag/catalog/book/305>
- MONTEAGUDO, H. "Lingua e sociedade en Galicia". *LaborHistórico*. 2017, vol. 3 (1), 14-48. <https://revistas.ufjr.br/index.php/lh/article/view/17105>
- MONTEAGUDO, H. "Política lingüística en Galicia: de la normalización sin conflicto al conflicto desnormalizador". In: GIRALT LATORRE, J.; NAGORE LAÍN, F. (eds.), *La normalización social de las lenguas minoritarias*. Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2019, 17-55.
- MONTEAGUDO, H. "Imponer la libertad: Sobre el régimen de lenguas en Galicia". In: NARVAJA DE ARNOUX, E.; BECKER, L.; DEL VALLE, J. (eds.), *Reflexiones glotopolíticas desde y hacia América y Europa*. Berlin: Peter Lang, 2021, 219-232.

OBSERVATORIO DA CULTURA GALEGA. *O idioma galego na sociedade: a evolución sociolingüística 1992-2008*. Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, 2011. http://consellodacultura.gal/mediateca/extras/CCG_2011_O-idiomagalego-na-sociedade.pdf

OBSERVATORIO DA CULTURA GALEGA. *Prácticas e actitudes lingüísticas da mocidade en Galicia*. Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, 2017. http://consellodacultura.gal/mediateca/extras/CCG_2017_Practicas-e-actitudes-linguisticas-da-mocidade-en-Galicia.pdf

OBSERVATORIO DA SOCIEDADE DA INFORMACIÓN E DA MODERNIZACIÓN EN GALICIA. *A Mocidade e as TIC. Edición 2019*. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2019. http://www.osimga.gal/sites/w_osimga/files/documentos/monografico_mozos_2019_v1.pdf

RAMALLO, F. *Mocidade, lingua e redes sociais*. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2012.

RAMALLO, F. "Linguistic diversity in Spain". In: AYRES-BENNETT, W.; CARRUTHERS, J. (eds.). *Manual of Romance Sociolinguistics*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018, 462-493.

SEMINARIO DE SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICA. *Lingua inicial e competencia lingüística en Galicia: compendio do volume I do mapa sociolingüístico de Galicia*. A Coruña: Real Academia Galega, 1994. <http://publicacions.academia.gal/index.php/rag/catalog/book/122>

SEMINARIO DE SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICA. *Usos lingüísticos en Galicia: compendio do II volume do mapa sociolingüístico de Galicia*. A Coruña: Real Academia Galega, 1995. <http://publicacions.academia.gal/index.php/rag/catalog/book/128>

SEMINARIO DE SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICA. *Actitudes lingüísticas: compendio do volume III do mapa sociolingüístico de Galicia*. A Coruña: Real Academia Galega, 1996. <http://publicacions.academia.gal/index.php/rag/catalog/book/244>

SEMINARIO DE SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICA. *O galego segundo a mocidade: unha achega ás actitudes e discursos sociais baseados en técnicas experimentais e cualitativas*. A Coruña: Real Academia Galega, 2003. <http://publicacions.academia.gal/index.php/rag/catalog/book/169>