ADVANCES IN INTERDISCIPLINARY LANGUAGE POLICY

EDITED BY

François Grin, László Marácz and Nike K. Pokorn

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Advances in Interdisciplinary Language Policy

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Acknowledgements

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We would therefore like to thank several groups of people, starting with all the colleagues who were willing to act as outside experts and share their valuable comments and suggestions with us: Jean-Claude Barbier, Pierre Foucher, Melita Koletnik, Rafael Matos Wazem, Tamara Mikolič Južnič, Marija Omazić, Yael Peled, Agnes Pisanski Peterlin, Mojca Schlamberger Brezar and François Vaillancourt. In addition, apart from the editing work carried out by the undersigned, many chapters were cross-read by other authors, whose contributions are greatly appreciated. Our gratitude further extends to Marco Civico and Guillaume Fürst for their invaluable help in preparing the final manuscript.

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Finally, together with all the contributors, we also wish, with this book, to honour the memory of our colleague and dear friend Dr. Rudi Janssens, who wrote Chapter 6 but passed away before this volume went to press. Throughout the MIME project, Rudi's contribution to our shared work has been invaluable.

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28 September 2021

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PART I

Setting the scene

General introduction

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This introductory chapter offers a brief account of the history behind this book, which originates in the MIME project, where 'MIME' stands for 'Mobility and Inclusion in Multilingual Europe'. This project, which was funded by the European Commission's Directorate-General for Innovation and Research as part of the DG's seventh Framework Programme, presents an exceptional degree of interdisciplinarity. A dozen different disciplines from the social sciences and humanities were involved, with a total of 25 participating teams from 16 different countries. The project's analytical framework, which federates the inputs from these various disciplines, rests on the concept of trade-off – in this case, between two desirable, but non-converging goals, namely 'mobility' and 'inclusion'. This general introduction shows how the trade-off can be used as a structuring device to approach the 'multilingual challenge' confronting Europe and its citizens, before describing the main thrust of each of the subsequent 25 chapters. The findings presented here, which go beyond the results provided in the MIME project outputs, aim to make this interdisciplinary experience available to a wide readership of scholars.

1. An unusual book

The aim of this book is to make accessible to readers some of the key results of a far-reaching research enterprise on the challenges of multilingualism and how to address them. For several reasons, this volume is somewhat unusual in the literature on multilingualism, diversity, and language policy.

First, its contents are unique in that, possibly for the first time, language policy is simultaneously approached from the perspective of a dozen different disciplines spanning the social sciences and humanities. This book combines research rooted in economics, the education sciences, finance, geography, history, law, political science, philosophy, psychology, sociolinguistics, sociology and translation studies (mentioned here in alphabetical order) and we are not aware of any previous collection offering a comparable range of disciplinary perspectives on language policy.

Second, these different perspectives are not merely lined up like beads on a necklace. This would have been a perfectly valid *multidisciplinary* endeavour, but this collection aims to be *interdisciplinary*. All the contributions in this book address the challenges of multilingualism with a shared analytical framework that helps us develop an integrated approach to the management of linguistic diversity, without, however, restricting each contribution's ability to draw on a discipline-specific body of theory, methods and findings. Such an approach proves useful as a stepping-stone for the identification and formulation of consistent language policies across various dimensions in the life of contemporary societies, whether political, educational, legal, socioeconomic, or geopolitical, for example.

Third, this book proposes an atypical combination of specialty and generality. It is specialised, in the sense that each chapter develops a compact, yet in-depth treatment of a specific problem, examined with the tools of a canonic discipline. Unsurprisingly for a volume about multilingualism, it includes contributions by scholars from the language sciences working with sociolinguistic concepts, but sociolinguistics is just one discipline among others. For example, some chapters in this book have been written by lawyers who use legal concepts to discuss the constitutional conditions surrounding multilingualism, or the place of multilingualism in consumer protection. One chapter authored by geographers examines our relationship to space and how this relationship is liable to change in response to the diverse makeup of the multilingual city. Elsewhere, economists use the core principles of microeconomic analysis to explore the dynamics of intergenerational transmission. Every chapter reflects the state of the art in its field and is accordingly specialised; at the same time, each chapter is an element that fits into the general, integrated perspective on multilingualism mentioned above.

Finally, this volume is a little unusual in that its somewhat 'textbook' approach is, in itself, an exercise in bridge-building. Precisely because its chapters draw on the tools, concepts and methods of a wide range of disciplines, a special effort is required to ensure that everything is accessible to all readers. Specialists in translation studies are used to their colleagues' writing, but they are not necessarily familiar with the conceptual apparatus of psychologists. Educationalists do not always get the point that economists are trying to make, and the latter, in turn, are liable to miss the nuance that a sociolinguist wishes to convey when talking about 'code-switching' rather than 'code-mixing'. This is why a few paragraphs in every chapter are set aside to describe the key concepts used in it, as well as the rationale that underpins its questions – or rather its *Fragestellung*, the way in which the questions are asked.

There are several ways to use this book. It may be read cover to cover, in order to take in the full scope of a research endeavour designed to address an unusually wide range of issues and – perhaps most importantly – always to remain alert to

the interactions between processes unfolding at the micro, meso and macro levels. However, some readers may choose to focus on a set of specific questions and head straight for the relevant chapters. This strategy will probably deliver more benefit if one devotes a few moments to the next sections of this introductory chapter, in which the analytical framework that links all the chapters together is described.

2.   Background of the MIME project

The origins of this book lie in a research project entitled 'Mobility and Inclusion in Multilingual Europe' (MIME), financed by the European Commission (EC) as part of its seventh Framework Programme for Research and Development (FP7). The EC's call for proposals was published in July 2012; proposals were submitted to the Commission in January 2013; the MIME project was selected in June of the same year and carried out over a four-and-a-half-year period from March 2014 through August 2018.[1]

The EC's call for proposals was unusual as well for a number of reasons. The first is the exceptionally wide range of issues that the Commission invited researchers to investigate. Eight groups of issues were listed by the EC, and the project was expected to shed light on 'the multilingual challenge for the European citizen' by:

1.   investigating politics and institutions in a comparative perspective, spanning European and non-European experience;
2.   analysing the management of multilingualism and its dynamics through policy and practice (involving issues of majorities, minorities, rights, and hegemony);
3.   studying how a lively diversity can mesh with efficient communication at the micro, meso and macro levels, which respectively concern actors such as individuals or households, companies or other large organisations, and society as a whole;
4.   revisiting (second/foreign) language education in general (curriculum design, school formal and non-school formal education, etc.);
5.   reassessing multilingual education under changing macro-level conditions;

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1.   From 2014 to 2018, the MIME project has given rise to well over 500 products in the form of papers in scientific journals, chapters in edited volumes, lectures, conference panels, etc. Several synthetic reports, called *publishable summaries*, are available through the Cordis website of the European Commission (https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/613344/reporting/fr), but user-friendlier versions of these and other documents can be retrieved from the MIME project website at https://www.mime-project.org/outcomes/. An extensive panoply of research results is available in the freely downloadable *MIME Vademecum* (Grin et al., 2018).

6. assessing the progress and potential of language technologies, new media, and their many uses (e.g. language certification);
7. evaluating the role of translation and interpreting, along with their social implications for migrant integration;
8. offering foresight on the future of a multilingual Europe in a globalised world, including the contribution of the language industry.

Research on the issues mentioned in this list normally takes place in separate, non-interconnected projects. Such projects are variously anchored in applied linguistics, education, political science, international relations, or sociology; in fact, most research on multilingualism focuses on even more specific issues, with projects devoted, for example, to advances in certain types of language technology, the sociological conditions of the linguistic integration of adult migrants in multicultural cities, or the effects of various types of 'inclusive practices' in multilingual classrooms. The MIME project, by contrast, could not restrict itself to a specific dimension of multilingualism, whether technological, sociolinguistic, pedagogical or other. Given the range of the issues to be addressed, no fewer than 25 teams in 16 different countries were involved in the project.

The EC's call for proposals also explicitly requested an interdisciplinary approach, going so far as to name a dozen different disciplines as founts of relevant perspectives on multilingualism. This requirement was, of course, a logical one given the vast thematic scope of the call; but just as importantly, it was also sincere. National funding bodies, project evaluation boards and appointment committees at universities typically tend to sideline, rather than support, interdisciplinary approaches (Bromham, Dinnage & Hua, 2016; Lyall, 2019), and institutions' appeals to interdisciplinarity 'often amount to academically correct background noise' (Grin, 2019: 128). It is also not unusual for ostensibly interdisciplinary projects to provide little more than a thin interdisciplinary veneer on some rather traditional, unadventurous juxtaposition of a couple of established disciplines. The MIME project took the expectation of interdisciplinarity very seriously, bringing together scholars from all the disciplines listed in the first section of this introduction. It is important to emphasise that (if only to prevent an imbalance that could have defeated the project's sincere commitment to interdisciplinarity) none of the disciplines represented in the MIME project enjoyed a dominant position. Somewhat unusually for research on language policy, MIME was not an applied linguistics project with a sprinkling of other disciplines as an alibi. The project was designed to put the problem in the foreground, in the form of a 'multilingual challenge' that needed to be addressed, and this challenge raised questions that do not come in neat disciplinary boxes. The researchers from the participating disciplines, who pooled their knowledge of multilingualism, were animated by a shared interest in

languages, multilingualism and linguistic diversity, and how societies deal with them (Grin et al., 2014).

The 'multilingual challenge' should be understood as a very generic notion, since there are many situations where linguistic diversity raises complex questions, and as the above list of issues indicates, MIME needed to come up with responses to a wide range of manifestations of diversity, including:

1. the protection and promotion of regional and minority languages in Europe;
2. the presence and visibility, in an EU member state, of the official languages of other member states as a result of intra-European mobility;
3. the challenges of effective second- and foreign-language learning in education systems, which raises, in particular, the issue of the special role of major languages, including one or more lingua franca(s);
4. the language issues surrounding the presence of other (historically extra-European) languages accompanying migration flows;
5. the problem of efficient and fair communication in multilingual organisations – not least in the European institutions themselves;
6. a number of more specific questions connected to the management of multilingualism, such as the linguistic dimensions of consumer protection or the specific language needs of retirees settling in another EU member state.

Against this backdrop, one of the first objectives the MIME project set itself was to design and implement a robust analytical framework allowing an integrated investigation of these topics across the traditional boundaries of academic disciplines.

3. The trade-off model

Developing the corresponding analytical framework requires researchers to try and avoid preconceptions, including the heavily ideological interpretations of the issues at hand often encountered in public discourse, in the media, and in academia itself. In the case of the MIME project, this meant asking ourselves why and how the 'multilingual challenge' is a challenge (or a problem) at all.

Our answer to this question was that, very much in line with the core principles that inspire it as a political project, the European Union is pursuing two goals that are both worthy and involve languages in complex ways that do not necessarily converge. These two goals are 'mobility' – which means mobility between linguistically different spaces, including, though not restricted to, the mobility of people across EU member states for education, work, leisure, etc. – and 'inclusion', i.e. making sure that European society in general, and specific locales within it (big European

cities, suburbs, small towns, the countryside) are places where all residents can feel comfortable and know that they belong. Over a short time span, combining these two goals has become increasingly difficult and has been raising ever more complex problems. Until very recently, different geographical units could organise themselves as relatively independent systems, and set up modes of governance postulating a degree of immunity from the processes developing in other units. The digital revolution, the development of information and communication technologies, the associated decline in the cost of maintaining regular contacts with other parts of the world, the increasing contribution of international trade to around a third of world GDP, the accelerated sharing and spread of cultural patterns, icons and memes – in a word, the wide range of phenomena often subsumed under the notion of 'globalisation' – have made it increasingly challenging for Europe to en-sure the *combination* of mobility and inclusion.

Positing mobility and inclusion as the twin goals of Europe's approach to the management of diversity in a globalising world in turn requires clarifying our treatment of linguistic diversity itself both as a social, political and cultural point of departure – an element of context in the European project – and as an area of governance or policy object. An important feature of our handling of this question is the notion that linguistic diversity is not intrinsically 'good' or 'bad'. It just *is*, and different forms or degrees of diversity have various effects that may be deemed positive or negative, and perceived as advantages or drawbacks.[2]

Both advantages and drawbacks may be material or symbolic, and both the ma-terial and symbolic facets must be taken into account when comparing alternative

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2.   This point requires a short excursus in the epistemology of research. Bucking currently pop-ular trends in some segments of social sciences and humanities, the researchers involved in the MIME project have done their best to carefully separate the ideological from the analytical, and the normative from the positive. We are of course aware that a totally detached vision of any social issue is not possible, and that all scholars bring their references, preferences and opinions into their scientific work. The fact that no discourse can be entirely value-free, however, is no excuse for abandoning any pretence of objectivity; it does not justify wilful obfuscation and mix-up between epistemologically different questions, of which some currents in contemporary sociolinguistics offer abundant examples. What we think is right and what we think is true be-long to different epistemological levels; so do what we think is wrong and what we think is false. Therefore, the undisputed difficulty (and, admittedly, the ultimate impossibility) of keeping the positive and the normative *totally* separate does not invalidate the classic principles of scientific investigation, and even if objectivity is an unreachable goal, it remains a criterion providing scholars with a method and a roadmap. Therefore, every effort is made in this book to explain our methodological choices, working hypotheses, and theoretical assumptions as transparently as possible. We can, however, make one ideological position perfectly clear: as citizens, all the authors of this book are deeply sympathetic to linguistic diversity and share the conviction that a drift towards linguistic uniformity would be a grievous loss for Europe – and beyond.

ways of handling linguistic diversity or, in other words, when comparing alternative language policies. As diversity increases, so do the associated advantages and drawbacks. The challenge may be reinterpreted as one of identifying the degree of diversity that delivers the highest level of well-being to the greatest number of residents and best meets citizens' expectations in a democratic society.

Of course, identifying and measuring these advantages and drawbacks is an exceedingly difficult task at the best of times. Analysts must do their best, and sometimes exercise creativity, when structuring a policy problem (Rossi et al., 2004). However, citizens as well as policymakers acting on their behalf through language policies may have to settle for policies whose effects are not exhaustively identified, or whose evaluation takes major benefits and costs into account, but omits minor or indirect impacts (Dunn, 1994).

In our case, this standard difficulty is compounded by the negative relationship between mobility and inclusion, which, as just noted, are goals that do not generally converge; at the same time, they are dynamically related in the sense that achieving more of one typically entails getting less of the other. This tension between two justified objectives gives rise to a classic trade-off problem, and multilingualism is a 'challenge' precisely because it points towards goals that are not easily reconciled.

On the one hand, a crucial aspect of the Europe's political project is to become a strongly integrated union whose citizens can freely move between member states for work, study, leisure or retirement, which we call mobility. This notion denotes a broader range of processes than physical migration. It reflects the growing multiplicity of motivations and modalities associated with the geographical, or sometimes virtual, movement of people. Mobility requires easy communication among people with different linguistic backgrounds. This can be achieved by appropriately combining multiple communication strategies which involve various ways of using languages, but challenge the association traditionally made between a particular language and a particular geographical area.

On the other hand, the diversity of languages within Europe raises issues of inclusion, of which languages are a crucial dimension. Let us recall that linguistic diversity is recognised as a core value of the Union. It is manifested in the linguistic specificity of different parts of the EU, whose member states have different official languages (sometimes more than one, with various internal arrangements at national and/or sub-national level). Inclusion, then, supposes a sense of belonging to and connection with one's place of residence, whether one was born there, or has moved and chosen to settle there. This sense of belonging or connection may in particular be reflected in participation in the social, political, economic, and cultural life of the country, region or local area of residence, implying familiarity with the local language. The maintenance or emergence of a sense of belonging and connection requires the many languages and cultures that make up European

diversity to be recognised and nurtured, since both require a linguistically and culturally identifiable setting that one can belong to and feel connected with. In plain terms, 'inclusion' requires something to be included in. At the same time, nurturing these settings with their respective uniqueness enables long-time residents to feel secure, including in their capacity to extend inclusion to newcomers. While inclusion implies the integration of newcomers into local conditions, it does not, however, require them to relinquish the linguistic and cultural features that they bring with them, and can allow the emergence of multi-layered identities.

This trade-off between mobility and inclusion provides the prism through which we have looked at various facets of the 'multilingual challenge', across the areas of concern mentioned in the EC's call, across specific types of linguistic diversity, and across disciplinary boundaries. In this integrative framework, if society opts for an exclusive emphasis on the need for inclusion in a specific place in the EU, this could materially or symbolically hamper citizens' mobility. An exclusive emphasis on inclusion makes mobility more complicated for people, whether in material or symbolic terms. More inclusion will generally entail less mobility. Conversely, an exclusive focus on mobility can have a detrimental effect on inclusion because, through the potentially uniformising forces it encourages, it may erode the sense of place, specificity and rootedness associated with different locales within the EU. At worst, if this focus on mobility is perceived as undermining local languages and cultures, it can cause a negative backlash among some citizens who may feel deprived of their sense of place. More mobility may be disruptive for inclusion processes.

This trade-off reflects our initial observation that diversity entails both benefits and costs (again, material and symbolic). These benefits and costs are inextricably linked to each other, particularly through the dynamics of mobility and inclusion. In other words, linguistic diversity is a challenge for the European citizen precisely because it has both costs and benefits, and both are closely connected. It follows that Europe's response to the challenge of linguistic diversity should take due account of these interconnections. This situation can be expressed with the help of a diagram (Figure 1.1), in which the extent of mobility and inclusion is measured on the x and y axes respectively.

The downward-sloping line represents a limitation or, in formal terms, a 'constraint'; it symbolises the fact that, starting from a situation such as that symbolised by point A, the only way to increase mobility is to sacrifice some inclusion. Society may therefore end up at point B, which is merely another location along the constraint. Conversely, if one were to start from B and try to increase inclusion, this would mean sacrificing some mobility.

The constraint reflects realities of the type mentioned a few paragraphs earlier. Consider the situation in which, starting out from the combination of mobility and inclusion symbolised by point A in Figure 1.1, efforts are made to facilitate mobility. Citizens would then be allowed, without any particular requirements, to
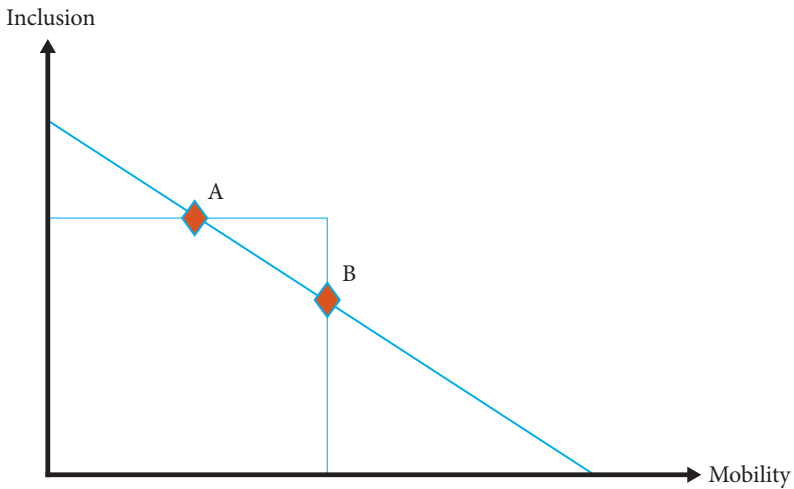
Figure 1.1 The basic mobility/inclusion trade-off

settle anywhere they like in the territory of the EU, and to demand access to various services in their own language, without making any serious effort to learn the local language. This, ultimately, harms inclusion by eroding the linguistic features of the context in which inclusion can take place.

As long as the constraint applies, the policy problem can therefore be reformulated as one of finding the best possible combination between mobility and inclusion – or, in terms of Figure 1.1, to identify the best point along the blue line. Appropriately chosen policies can then be designed and implemented in order to move closer to the combination of mobility and inclusion identified as preferable. Note that, depending on societies' priorities in terms of mobility and inclusion, *any* point on the constraint (A, B, or some other combination of mobility and inclusion) may be deemed preferable, and this preference may change over time; it is the role of political institutions to enable citizens to bring preferences to the fore, so that policy choices can be made accordingly. The main point here is that the two goals of mobility and inclusion tend to pull society in different directions.

However, we may also go further and consider the possibility that innovative policies may help to *shift the constraint outwards*. Suppose for example that Europeans want to put a little more emphasis on mobility, but still want to strongly support newcomers' inclusion in the local social and cultural fabric, which typically requires them to learn the local language. In order to encourage them to do so, mobility-enhancing policies should be tied to policies that make the acquisition of the local language cheaper and, ultimately, unavoidable. This may, among other measures, take the form of free language classes for newcomers. Tying mutually complementary policies together amounts to an outward shift of the constraint, as shown in Figure 1.2:
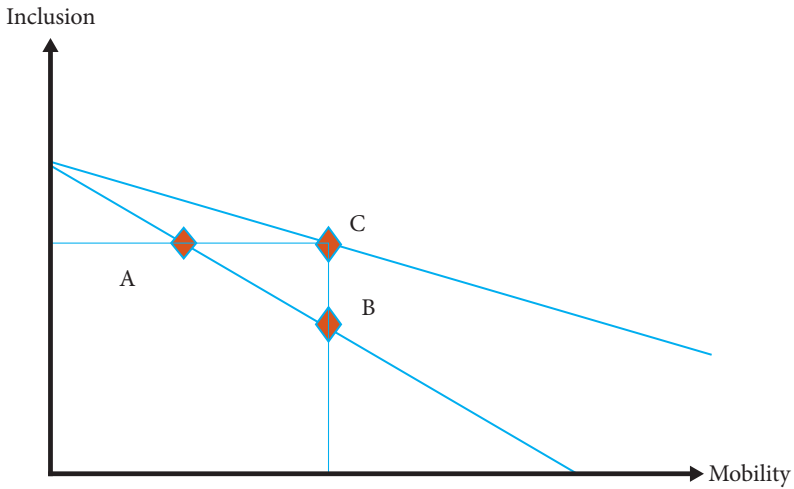
Inclusion

Figure 1.2 Outward shift of the constraint

Well-designed policies place point *C* within reach, and starting from *A*, more mobility can now be achieved without sacrificing inclusion.

The MIME project, then, proposed addressing the 'multilingual challenge' with a two-tier approach:

– first, to identify, given *existing* constraints (which restrict the extent of mobility achievable while preserving a certain level of inclusion, and vice versa), the best balance between the two;
– second, to identify policy orientations that would help relax this constraint – in particular, to formulate new measures (or novel combinations of measures) that can increase mobility without impeding inclusion, or improve inclusion without restricting mobility. The guiding principle is to *increase compatibility between mobility and inclusion.*

Much of MIME researchers' attention has been devoted to the study and reinterpretation of classical language issues in terms of this trade-off model, in order to reveal adaptations to existing arrangements that can increase compatibility between mobility and inclusion in various areas (constitutional provisions, educational systems, day-to-day interaction in various neighbourhoods, etc.). In the following section, we present the chapters in this volume, briefly showing how each has adapted the trade-off model to a specific aspect of the multilingual challenge.

4.   The contributions to this book

Following on from the approach sketched above, Chapter 2 by François Grin is also concerned with the general framing elements of the MIME project. The chapter takes a closer look at the epistemological and methodological requirements of using a policy analysis approach in the study of language policy and discusses the role of interdisciplinarity and the treatment of complexity in this exercise. Given this complexity, it would have been unrealistic to aim for one all-encompassing model of linguistic diversity and its treatment through public policy. Instead, the chapter proposes a typology, or template, for the identification of the main features of language policies across disciplines and domains. This template uses eight dimensions, which can serve to organise interrelated analyses into a consistent language policy plan for highly complex settings.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 address the directly political dimensions of the MIME project.

In Chapter 3, Astrid von Busekist investigates linguistic diversity in political (quasi)-federations and assesses non-European experiences, such as Canada, the US and India. These (quasi)-federations employ various strategies, like linguistic subsidiarity and reciprocity which may carry over to the European Union to strike a balance between mobility and inclusion of (internal and external) migrants. In order to resolve the mobility/inclusion trade-off, the author argues for the introduction of a language passport which she has called 'Linguapass' to recognise and document the linguistic skills of migrants.

In Chapter 4, Christopher Houtkamp and László Marácz analyse the status of traditional minority and migrant languages in the European context. Both language types are usually assigned fewer rights than the official, majority languages, although traditional minority languages have been assigned limited rights under pressure of supranational regulations. This provides a strong argument for an EU-wide supranational language policy for migrant languages which supports the upgrading of these languages. The authors argue that this upgrading should involve the personality principle as a central element of the language rights assigned to traditional minority languages. This principle helps optimise the balance between mobility and inclusion and is also relevant to 'motility', denoting potential mobility, in which different languages may trigger different types of mobility.

In Chapter 5, Edgár Dobos, Noémi Nagy and Balázs Vizi study the protection and promotion of regional and minority languages in Europe. International minority rights instruments scarcely address the questions of mobility and multilingualism. In their case study of a multilingual area in Serbia, Vojvodina, they conclude that formal adherence to international standards does not guarantee the effective implementation of minority rights in domestic settings, which may cause forced migration and homogenisation. The authors call for a robust and common European minority rights regime in order to guarantee minority rights.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 propose a more sociological perspective on the multilingual challenge.

In Chapter 6, starting from the changes that have affected patterns of mobility since the turn of the millennium, Rudi Janssens investigates some core sociological processes that underpin the emergence of a 'new' mobility paradigm and the associated tensions with changing conditions of inclusion. These developments entail, in particular, a profound transformation of the *network* phenomenon, which has always been essential in the study of migration. Against this backdrop of new mobilities, Janssens examines changing patterns of inclusion in the linguistically very diverse setting of Brussels, and the role of competence in French, Dutch, English and other languages in the bottom-up negotiation of mobility and inclusion.

In Chapter 7, Peter Kraus and Melanie Frank study the emergence of new linguistic identities in connection with the dynamics of Europeanisation and transnationalisation. They examine how the interplay of old and new patterns of linguistic diversity is affecting the trade-off between mobility and inclusion in multilingual societies, showing that historical processes of nation-building have affected modern identity-building by linking particular languages to particular collective (national) identities. They then turn to the political implications of 'complex diversity' as a challenge to the institutional monolingualism of nation-states. Case studies of the cities of Riga and Barcelona, which offer examples of specific types of complex diversity, illustrate the consequences that different institutional approaches to multilingual realities can have in terms of creating more or less open identity frameworks for the citizens.

Chapter 8, by Virginie Mamadouh and Nesrin El-Ayadi, turns to the spatial implications of multilingualism as features of the contemporary city. Places are not merely given – they are influenced by the linguistic diversity of the city, and residents' sense of place and belonging may be encouraged at the level of the city as a whole and/or in specific neighbourhoods. Hence, public spaces shape people's perceptions of linguistic diversity and multilingualism. The chapter introduces key geographical concepts and examines new forms of linguistic diversity in European cities fostered by globalisation, Europeanisation, transnational migration and digitalisation. A 'humanistic geography of urban multilingualism' highlights the perceptions and representations of languages and their links to a sense of place and belonging. A 'political geography of urban multilingualism' examines local policies and city networks regarding the management of linguistic diversity and the trade-off between mobility and inclusion.

Chapters 9 to 11 look at the role of education in the study of this trade-off.

In Chapter 9, Gabriele Iannàccaro, Vittorio Dell'Aquila and Ida Stria identify the gap between individual linguistic repertoires and the repertoires that are generally acknowledged in society as one of the principal factors hampering social and

linguistic inclusion, also in school environments, which may cause linguistic fric-
tion and linguistic unease. The authors argue that specific teacher training focusing
on the recognition of speakers' varied repertoires and the reduction of linguistic
discomfort would represent a suitable strategy to alleviate tensions and support the
inclusion of mobile people.

Mark Fettes, in Chapter 10, compares different policy frameworks or initiatives
geared towards the linguistic inclusion of students with a migration or minority
background, focusing in particular on processes at the meso level of communities,
municipalities, school districts, teacher training programs, and other local or re-
gional institutions. Fettes argues that systemic change could be achieved primarily
in three areas that should be adapted and expanded in order to promote the lin-
guistic inclusion of students: building of local educational partnerships, training of
teachers, and recognition, validation and assessment of community skills.

In Chapter 11, Célio Conceição and Elisa Caruso focus on mobility and inclu-
sion in higher education language policies. Their analysis, which combines docu-
mentary sources and data collected through recent case studies, argues that existing
language policies in higher education do not appropriately handle the trade-off
between mobility and inclusion. Their findings suggest that while internalisation
has made higher education multilingual and open to a diversity of linguistic rep-
ertoires, thus arguably facilitating mobility, it has also promoted the use of English,
with the need for visibility and comparison with other institutions being the most
frequently quoted justifications. By establishing English as a *lingua franca* for re-
search, teaching and higher education governance, internationalisation in higher
education may fail to ensure adequate levels of inclusion.

Chapters 12 to 15 focus on communication and discuss some mediation strat-
egies used to alleviate language barriers encountered by mobile people.

Nune Avayzyan and Anthony Pym, in Chapter 12, address the issue of linguistic
inclusion through a description of the linguistic exclusion of Russian-speakers in
the province of Tarragona, Spain. Interviews with selected members of this lan-
guage group show that they feel excluded if no mediation services are provided in
official situations, because of the policy of promotion of Catalan and the generally
low level of English spoken in the region. The results also indicate that this sense
of linguistic exclusion has motivated the Russian-speakers interviewed to learn
Spanish, the dominant language of the state, but not Catalan, the territory's tradi-
tional language of inclusion.

In Chapter 13, Nike K. Pokorn and Jaka Čibej explore migrants' attitudes to-
wards community interpreting. The research rests on 65 interviews with short- to
long-term migrants using 18 different languages as their L1s. The results show that
migrants, regardless of the country of origin, the status of their L1, the level of ed-
ucation and the intended length of stay in the host country, have a rather negative

attitude towards interpreting: they doubt the accuracy of this mediated transfer and consider it an impediment to their personal autonomy. However, they express the need to use interpreters and translators in the early stages of their stay in the host country, particularly in high-risk situations.

In Chapter 14, Sabine Fiedler and Cyril Brosch examine the languages choices and language learning of exchange students in the Erasmus Programme. Drawing on data collected by means of online questionnaires and interviews with more than 500 participants, Fiedler and Brosch conclude that a large majority of exchange students consider learning the language of the host country to be an important incentive for their stay. However, in practice, due to poorly organised language courses or even a lack of them, they spend most of their time with other exchange students. Results also show that while the students manage to raise their proficiency in English or French in countries where these two languages are dominant, the level of linguistic proficiency they achieve in less widely spoken languages varies significantly.

In Chapter 15, Alice Fiorentino and Machteld Meulleman explore the role of intercomprehension in short-term mobility experiences, in particular between Italian and Spanish in two Italian adoptive families when staying in the adopted child's home country before going back to Italy together as a family. Conversation analysis reveals that both families spontaneously resort to intercomprehension as one of their main mediation strategies. However, since the use of intercomprehension spontaneously decreases over time in favour of the child's use of the parents' language, the authors conclude that the use of intercomprehension is a transitional and propaedeutic communication strategy which nevertheless brings about strong cohesion between speech participants.

Chapters 16 to 20 draw on political philosophy, economics and law and examine fundamental aspects of language policy.

In Chapter 16, Michele Gazzola, Torsten Templin and Bengt-Arne Wickström propose a formalised treatment of the trade-off, in which the choice of acquisition- and status-oriented language policies generates different combinations of mobility and inclusion, operationalised respectively by the spatial distribution of users and the prevalence of bilingualism. The effects of the model are examined in a dynamic setting in which policy measures interact, over time, with the decisions that users make on the basis of the expected costs and benefits. The model is illustrated by two scenarios, one in which majority speakers move into a region with a strong minority language in a given country (such as Spanish-speakers migrating into the Basque country) and another where migrants using a foreign language settle in a country that comprises enclaves of speakers of this foreign language (such as Spanish-speakers moving to the USA).

Chapter 17, by Helder De Schutter, Sergi Morales-Gálvez and Nenad Stojanović, takes an in-depth look at the territoriality principle, which establishes a link between a certain geographical area on the one hand and a language (or set of languages) on the other hand. This principle is widely referred to, and countries like Belgium, Finland and Switzerland are often quoted as examples. However, as the authors show, 'territoriality' can stand for very different realities, which may create conceptual and normative confusion. Starting out from the justifications for and critiques of the territoriality principle, this chapter proposes a fundamental re-examination of the territoriality principle with a view to making it more consistent and more operational.

In Chapter 18, Brian Carey and Andrew Shorten look at the moral principles that underpin concepts of linguistic justice. Such a conception is expected to meet certain standards of public justification, which also bear upon the procedure used to arrive at it. This chapter examines the legitimacy of concepts of linguistic justice in relation to three crucial issues: the definition of the relevant constituency, the degree of multilingualism of the deliberation on linguistic justice, and the weighing of the interests of various groups. This leads the authors to conclude that in many cases linguistic justice means adopting a multilingual regime.

Chapter 19, by Marco Civico, presents the technique of agent-based modelling (ABM), which proposes an astute strategy to deal with the complexity of real-world processes. Standard techniques of formal mathematical modelling, whose strong suit is internal consistency, are quickly overwhelmed by this complexity. The traditional response is to introduce various assumptions, which make it possible to identify various important relationships between dependent and independent variables. This, however, amounts to assuming away some of the complexity, thus reducing the relevance of the analysis. ABM, by contrast, operates with computer-based simulations, which makes it possible to find solutions with far less *a priori* restrictions. Using an ABM approach, analysts can also test the likely effects of a wide range of policy options, identifying along the way the conditions that can make various policy measures more effective.

In Chapter 20, Robert Dunbar and Róisín McKelvey look at the legal regulation of mobility through laws and policies on immigration and naturalisation, which may include requirements for competence in the official language of the host country. While such language requirements can promote greater inclusion and enhance the life chances of immigrants, this approach may be seen as incomplete, in that it does not sufficiently provide for language teaching and mother-tongue education for children of migrants. This may end up hampering processes of inclusion, since the latter is facilitated by ensuring that migrants have effective access to crucial public services such as health care and social services. International obligations in this area generally do not provide appropriate responses; however,

principles put forward in international human rights, particularly the principle of non-discrimination and equal protection under the law, along with the principle of proportionality, suggest more adequate responses.

Under the heading 'Frontiers of multilingualism', Chapters 21 to 26 reflect a particularly novel facet of the MIME project, which ventured into hitherto little-explored dimensions of multilingualism.

In Chapter 21, Žaneta Ozoliņa and Rihards Bambals discuss the security implications of the management of multilingualism in the Baltic states, especially Latvia. Since the restoration of the country's independence in 1991, Latvia has had to deal with the imposing proximity of Russia, whose dominant geopolitical weight endows its language and culture with formidable influence in the Baltic states. In such a setting, there is a danger of language being used as a tool for manipulation and propaganda, and a potential source of unrest in society. According to the authors, a way to counterbalance this is to implement resilience-building measures involving broader support for government institutions across all ethnic and linguistic groups. This requires ensuring equal access to these institutions, as well as state-sponsored opportunities to learn Latvian, Russian, and other languages.

In Chapter 22, Christine Kaddous and Laura Marcus investigate the various language requirements in EU consumer law, showing that there is no general rule in the matter to guide the EU legislature; requirements differ from one field to another, as borne out by the examination of the case-law of the Court of Justice of the European Union. National linguistic requirements may also conflict with EU primary and/or secondary legislation. The authors propose to classify language requirements in EU consumer law on the basis of the objectives pursued by the legislature, with a view to helping member states adopt and adapt their national regulations. They also recommend promoting multilingualism in EU consumer legislations, which may foster both the mobility and inclusion of EU economic operators and citizens in general.

In Chapter 23, Lia Pop discusses some of the sociolinguistic dimensions of the experience of the Roma, who generally display a particularly high degree of mobility. She observes that Romani-speakers often quickly develop essential skills in a wide range of languages as they move across European countries. According to Pop, this is due to an informal approach to foreign language acquisition which she refers to as 'learning all from all'. It involves simplifying, selecting and validating teaching contents in order to facilitate some of the group's collective goals, making the roles of teacher and student interchangeable, and developing playful learning practices within the group. Apart from its intrinsic interest, this informal language learning strategy may suggest avenues to inclusion in host societies that may be of interest beyond Roma communities.

In Chapter 24, Per Gustafson and Ann Elisabeth Laksfoss Cardozo look at the linguistic challenges confronting mobile retirees. They examine the linguistic and

communication strategies of relatively affluent retirees from Scandinavia settling in the Spanish province of Alicante. The authors conclude that in settings with established expatriate infrastructures and a strong association with the tourism industry, mobile retirees use their native language or English as a lingua franca for communication. Conversely, in places without these features, obstacles for learning the local language will be smaller and inclusion in the host communities will be easier.

In Chapter 25, Guillaume Fürst and François Grin propose a statistical examination of the relationship between multilingualism and creativity. Using an especially collected database of nearly 600 adults and applying targeted measurements of creativity developed in psychometric research, they conclude that multilingualism and creativity at the individual level are positively and significantly correlated. Moreover, this positive relationship also holds in multivariate analysis, enabling the authors to show that creativity is enhanced by multilingualism as such, as distinct from multicultural experience – a distinction hardly ever made in the literature.

Finally, Chapter 26, by Paul Dembinski, Philippe Rudaz, Hannah Soissons and Marc Chesney, is located at the interface of questions that had never been considered jointly. The authors ask whether the use of Global English in the workplace affects the attention of non-native English-speakers to ethical dilemmas. The empirical examination of two groups of workers in the financial sector confirms their working hypothesis that non-native English-speaking employees of organisations operating in English may suffer from communicational, or linguistic, asymmetry, which may impair their level of ethical alertness.

5. Concluding remarks

Beyond specific findings on a wide range of issues, which the MIME project has approached through the lens of the trade-off between mobility and inclusion, a few fundamental findings emerge in sharper relief.

Analysis of the trade-off between mobility and inclusion leads to a reconsideration of the meaning of 'inclusion' and its implications for policy. In many contexts, 'inclusion' seems to be little more than a feel-good term with imprecise contours – other than being the opposite of its 'bad' opposite: exclusion. However, a few elements stand out as necessary to give actual substance to the notion of inclusion.

Let us first observe that there must be a social, political, cultural, linguistic or other environment for people to be included in. This means that different locales need to retain a strong sense of identity, which in turn implies cultivating their uniqueness and hence their difference from other places. It follows that language policy, when supporting multilingualism and linguistic diversity, should make sure that local linguistic specificity is not compromised, since it is essential to the unique

profile of each place. The very notion of linguistic diversity is meaningless without the possibility of identifying and cultivating the elements that make up this diversity. Ignoring this basic fact may feed a negative backlash, reflected in narrowly nationalistic or even xenophobic outcomes at the ballot box.

Affirming the linguistic specificity of each locale (which may be tied to one or several languages) is one of the key dimensions of people's sense of place. If they feel secure in their sense of place and in the priority accorded to the language(s) associated with it, people are in a much better position to encounter and welcome the linguistic and cultural 'Other'. A clear sense of place, along with the comfort of feeling secure in it, is a precondition for making space for an expanding range of cultural and linguistic expressions, as is likely to occur rapidly with globalisation; it is, by implication, a precondition of linguistic human rights. Similarly, 'inclusion' must by definition be for everybody, i.e. it is not only a guiding principle adopted for the benefit of autochthonous minorities or immigrant communities. Inclusion must also be perceived by majorities as part and parcel of a social, political and cultural project that it is in their own interest to support.

All this has far-reaching implications for linguistic diversity management, because it helps us clarify the meaning and import of linguistic diversity. Beyond the advantages and drawbacks of linguistic diversity, the crucial point (which the type of research described here puts back in the spotlight) is that *diversity, by definition, is predicated on the existence of distinct, identifiable elements*. This has implications for how we work on and with linguistic diversity, whether as practitioners or as scholars, whether in language education or constitutional law.

The undisputed fact that the elements that make up a diverse world are not closed sets (or that their boundaries are typically porous) does not affect the fundamental notion that diversity makes no sense without distinct, identifiable elements. This applies to what we regard as biological species as well as to what we regard as languages; and this convergence holds true even if we keep clear (as we should) of simplistic biological analogies, such as assuming that languages are akin to biological organisms, or that they live and die in the same way. Therefore, some currently popular but questionable claims about language and multilingualism ought to be taken with a pinch of salt. Consider for example the notion that languages, because they supposedly blend into each other (and because 'named' languages are constructs), do not really 'exist', or the claim that the very concept of a 'mother tongue' should be discarded. Such musings may be intellectually entertaining, but they ultimately undermine the diversity that they claim to promote, because diversity simply cannot exist without distinct and identifiable elements. Policies that (blithely ignoring actors' lived experience) deny the existence of the latter imperil the well-being of persons and communities, whether large or small, who are the carriers of this diversity. They are also detrimental to majorities, because the lively

manifestation of linguistic diversity is the very condition of a stimulating, mutually welcoming encounter between languages and cultures.

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Principles of integrated language policy

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This chapter proposes a novel perspective on language policy as a form of public policy, highlighting some of the epistemological implications of this approach and discussing its linkages with more standard approaches originating in applied linguistics. After introducing the relevance of interdisciplinarity and complexity as defining features of this enterprise, it focuses on the connections between principles of public policy on the one hand, and the specificities of language policy on the other hand. To this end, this chapter develops an entirely novel typology of the main dimensions of language policy (type, domain, sphere, tier, welfare, target, causation and instrument), with which the latter may be extensively described and characterised. These dimensions bring to the fore the importance of jointly considering the micro, meso and macro levels at which language policies necessarily unfold. Given the extreme complexity of practically any language policy, and the associated difficulty of establishing the full range of effects (including both advantages and drawbacks) of alternative policy choices, analysts often need to fall back on pragmatic solutions in the selection and design process. Accordingly, this chapter emphasizes the role of plausibility as a valid criterion for evaluating such effects.

1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present and discuss some fundamental principles of an integrated approach to language policy.

The term 'integrated' has two dimensions.

First, it refers to a goal of applicability across very different language policy issues. Principles of integrated language policy are relevant whether a policy addresses, for example, the protection and promotion of a threatened language, the need to arbitrate between the conflicting claims to recognition of users of different languages, or the problem of selecting a range of languages for official use in a multilingual organisation.

Second, 'integrated' refers to another desirable property, namely the ability to consider jointly the numerous *planes of reality* that need to be taken into account when developing a policy plan in a given context. For example, the protection and promotion of a threatened language often raises both educational and legal questions. However, a successful plan may also need to include measures in other areas – for example the media or regional economic activity. In most cases, many more phenomena come into play, such as citizens' attitudes towards and representations about language and languages, resulting in a list that can never be exhaustive.

Aiming for an integrated perspective on language policy invites us to reflect upon some of the conceptual foundations of language policy and planning (LPP), in particular deliberate, explicit forms of it. By 'deliberate' I mean measures that not only include but also extend beyond the minimal, unavoidable language policies that societies must adopt, such as choosing the language or languages that a state uses for normal operations, from tax collection to the provision of public education.

Section 2 describes how the questions addressed in this chapter mesh with the analytical approach to the 'multilingual challenge' set out in the MIME project. Section 3 introduces fundamental concepts and tools. Section 4 proposes a method for the implementation of these concepts, as well as specific language policy selection and design tools. Section 5 discusses some of their implications. Section 6 offers some concluding remarks.

2.   Integrated language policy in MIME

We have noted, in Chapter 1, that the MIME project answered a call for research proposals issued by the European Commission. This call was not only particularly broad in its thematic scope, but also listed ten different disciplines in the social sciences and humanities that research teams were invited to take into consideration as sources of input. The call further requested 'foresight' on the future of a multilingual Europe in a globalised world.

This exceptional range, together with an expectation of practical guidance on how to deal with the 'multilingual challenge' – in the broadest sense – confronting European citizens has led the research consortium to identify *interdisciplinarity, complexity* and *policy relevance* as the essential conceptual foundations on which a project should be built.

The MIME analytical framework recalled in Chapter 1, whose core is the trade-off model combining mobility and inclusion, offers a way to meet the simultaneous requirements of an interdisciplinary approach intended to do justice to the complexity of the questions involved, while proposing policy-relevant responses to them. More specifically, the MIME project was designed to:

– explicitly allow integration of inputs from distinct disciplines, thus transcending, in a sense, the mostly sociolinguistically inspired frameworks that used to dominate (and to a significant extent still do) research in language policy (see references in Section 4);
– be sufficiently broad to encompass a great variety of language problems, in full awareness of their fluidity and interconnectedness;
– lend itself to the development of language policies, whether in terms of *ex-ante* selection and design, of implementation and monitoring, or of *ex-post* evaluation.

These priorities have proved helpful in identifying the deeper implications of the 'multilingual challenge' confronting European citizens, which can be summarised as follows:

– What are citizens' reasons for preferring a certain linguistic environment over another?
– How can language policies actually help European societies attain the preferred linguistic environment?
– What are the material and symbolic costs of alternative language policy scenarios, and how can they be identified – and then measured?
– How can a society make the most of the resources it invests in language policies and make the latter cost-effective, not just in financial, but also in symbolic terms?
– What is fairness in language policy, and how can it be assessed and ensured?

Against the backdrop of these questions, which map out the epistemological and analytical landscape into which the MIME framework fits, let us now turn to the concepts that have guided our research effort towards the formulation of general principles for integrated language policies.

3. Key concepts and tools

Interdisciplinarity

Even though interdisciplinary is often mentioned as a necessary feature of LPP, this ambition is not always taken seriously, whether by academic institutions or funding agencies, whose practices often belie their exhortations (on the practice of interdisciplinarity in institutions, see Lyall, 2019). In this respect, the call under which the MIME project has been funded was a commendable and welcome exception. Since language pervades almost all aspects of human experience, only a committed and far-reaching interdisciplinary effort is up to the task of formulating

an integrated language policy plan spanning the various domains that make up a *linguistic environment*. Just how central this is will become clearer later on when we consider the question of complexity.

Implementing interdisciplinarity, however, requires an explicit strategy for cooperating across traditional disciplinary boundaries. This involves in particular:

– clarifying the different meanings that similar terms frequently take on in different disciplines (for example, references to 'norm', 'normativity', etc., mean different things for linguists and political theorists; what an economist sees as micro-level analysis is quite macro-level for a sociolinguist);
– understanding – at least at a general level – each other's methodologies, which requires, in particular, navigating the complementarity between qualitative and quantitative work, and stating very explicitly what a particular approach can and cannot say;
– producing policy-relevant proposals fitting into the linguistic environment which a policy plan is intended to modify.

This requires a form of interdisciplinary practice which the sociologist Coenen-Huther (1989: 6–8) has characterised as a process of combination ('*interdisciplinarité par articulation*'): different disciplines are seen as providing mutually complementary perspectives on a research object. The MIME model, with its focus on the trade-off between mobility and inclusion, is one possible meta-level framework that helps to operationalise such complementarity, but other frameworks are quite conceivable.

A further requirement of workable, operational interdisciplinarity is a degree of agreement on some 'theory of truth' – i.e. what type of proposition counts as scientifically valid.[1] Such agreement does not necessarily mean that scholars approaching a given object from different disciplinary angles interpret it in the same way. However, it should at the very least enable an interdisciplinary team to identify, spell out and locate the precise locus of insuperable epistemological disagreement, if it ever comes to that; but fruitful cooperation is possible until an epistemological incompatibility threshold is reached.

Interdisciplinarity goes beyond the mere juxtaposition of disciplines. When dealing with language policy issues, foregrounding the research questions (and, by implication, the possible policy responses to them) rather than the respective disciplinary canons leads research teams to pool their insights. For example, a

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1.   This precaution is hardly necessary if all teams involved in a project essentially adhere to a classic scientific canon that recognises the 'correspondence theory of truth' (Pluckrose and Lindsay, 2020: 237 ff.), in which the key criterion for a statement to be considered true is correspondence with empirical observation.

sociologist's contribution to the question of immigrants' inclusion in a multilingual urban context may highlight the importance of providing them with adequate access to free classes in the host country language (e.g. Janssens, 2018). However, our understanding of the complex ways in which the process of 'inclusion' unfolds, in a given urban context, may be greatly enhanced if we consider the findings of urban geographers about residents' perceptions of a city's linguistic landscape (e.g. Mamadouh & El Ayadi, 2018), and if we include this information, alongside data about immigrants' participation in language classes, in an account of inclusion processes. In a similar way, the contributions of translators and interpreters help us expand the range of responses to the challenges of inclusion (e.g. Pym, 2018).

Summing up, 'interdisciplinarity by combination' requires starting out from the problem to be solved and engaging, from an early stage, in the reasoned identification of its different facets. This implies active cooperation between practitioners from various disciplines. Their respective contributions are then combined into a framework that has, from the start, been designed to accommodate them – such as the trade-off model presented in Chapter 1. This points to the crucial importance of *policy analysis* as a supplier of frameworks into which inputs from various disciplines can be fitted.

Complexity

As noted above, the MIME project was submitted in response to a call for proposals about 'the multilingual challenge for European citizens'. This seemingly innocuous formulation actually spans a wide array of issues including, for example, the protection of minority languages, the granting of facilities for the use of the official languages of other EU member states, the linguistic integration of migrants, the teaching of foreign languages as part of a general language education policy, efficient and fair communication in EU institutions, or the optimal use of language technologies. Handling this bewildering range of questions within a single research project immediately raises the question of how to deal with complexity.

The complex nature of language problems is well known in sociolinguistics and language policy. Most LPP issues encompass not just linguistic, but also cultural, economic, educational, geographical, historical, legal, psychological, political and social aspects. It has been pointed out long ago that language issues are never 'just' about language (Nelde, 1992; Edwards, 1994; Spolsky, 2012), because language suffuses every aspect of human experience, and also because each of these canonic disciplinary perspectives could be broken down further. For example, the more explicitly linguistic aspects of language policy range from historical philology and toponymy to patterns of intergenerational transmission, its political aspects span

problems of linguistic justice as well as organisation in the civil service, its economic elements encompass the micro-level choices of consumers of goods and services offered in various languages, as well as the macroeconomic consequences that language policy orientations may have for the gross domestic product of a national economy. Since all these dimensions are closely intertwined, even an apparently self-contained language policy question soon confronts analysts with major cognitive and epistemological challenges. In other words, it is difficult to tease apart various language problems in order to handle them separately, because they usually come in thick and complex bundles.[2]

The linguistic challenges confronting the European Union, its member states and their citizens are among the most complex of all, since they combine a large number of language issues, in which the local, sub-national, national, cross-border, regional and supra-national levels constantly influence each other.[3] These issues may be organised into six broad categories:

1. the role, in the operation of European institutions, of member states' languages (which means, in general, their respective official language or languages);
2. the extent of the recognition to be granted, in a given member state, to the official languages of other member states;
3. the protection and promotion of Europe's minority languages and, more generally, the continent's cultural diversity, in line with the ideals proclaimed in the treaties;
4. the extent of recognition to be granted to the languages typically brought in by 'third-country' nationals, typically non-EU migrants, where mobility raises issues of integration and multiculturalism;

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2.   Some bundles are comparatively less complex, even if, in the absolute, they all remain so. Consider the task of designing LPP responses to the challenge of protecting and promoting Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand, where the dominant language is clearly English. The corresponding language policy plan is likely to be relatively more straightforward than in South Africa, which has opted for 11 official languages, a figure that includes nine languages of the Bantu family and two European languages. This total does not include other local languages with a longstanding presence in the area, such as those usually referred to as 'Khoi-San', nor does it include languages brought in more recently by immigrants from other parts of Africa.

3.   Regional' refers to specific parts of Europe as a geographical entity. They may include non-EU member states. For example, the protection and promotion of Irish (in an EU member state) is strongly influenced by the presence of English, whose historical anchoring point is the UK, now no longer an EU member state; the promotion of multilingualism in Scandinavia involves not just Denmark, Finland and Sweden which are member states, but also Norway, which is not. The strengthening of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian cannot ignore the presence of the neighbouring Russian Federation.

5. the special case of sign languages which, although they tend to be neglected, are beginning to receive more serious attention, in Europe and beyond;
6. all the consequences of the above regarding the mutually consistent regulation of languages in the *statal, public* and *private* spheres, encompassing public policy as well as private action.

The policy implications addressed in item 6 of this list are extraordinarily far-reaching. Obviously, they affect language education and calls for choices to be made regarding the linguistic dimensions of education systems, which must juggle 'first', 'second', 'foreign', 'international', 'heritage' and 'host-country' languages, along with the special needs of Deaf learners. However, language education is only one aspect of these far-reaching implications. Further dimensions include the provision of translation and interpreting in courts of law and the operations of officially multilingual structures, whether at supra-national level or in the administration of multilingual jurisdictions, the management of linguistic diversity in the media, and the regulation of language in economic life. As regards the latter, language issues arise not only with respect to publicly visible forms of language use such as the labelling of market goods. They also turn up in other areas of economic activity such as contracts (is a work contract in country *X* valid in *any* language?), labour relations (are bosses allowed to issue orders to staff in any language they choose, or should the local official language be used?), or advertising (may language on billboards or posted alongside on-line content be regulated in order to preserve a given linguistic environment?).

Throughout much of its history, language planning, whether as a field of scientific inquiry or an area of state action, has tended to approach such groups of questions separately. An additional limitation is the frequent emphasis, in sociolinguistic commentary on language policy, on discourse rather than real-world processes (see for example several contributions in Tollefson and Pérez-Milans, 2018). However, growing willingness to countenance complexity as such (Civico, 2018, 2019) and greater awareness of the interdependencies fostered by globalisation and Europeanisation have led to a more general acknowledgement of the interconnections between these categories of questions. Accordingly, the MIME project has drawn on strands of research resting on a broad vision of multilingualism in which, rather than individual languages, it is *linguistic diversity itself* that constitutes the fundamental area of investigation (Grin, 2003a, 2020). This focus on diversity can now serve to usher in the notion of *linguistic environment* as the ultimate object of language policy.

The aim of *integrated* language policy is to affect our *linguistic environment* in a consistent fashion and in a desirable direction. 'Linguistic environment' is the term I propose using (Grin, 2003a: 178) to describe the sum total of a society's demolinguistic

and sociolinguistic features: what languages are known by residents and what languages are used, by whom, with whom, in what contexts, how, and why. The 'who' in the preceding sentence includes any type of actor, from individual persons to private-sector businesses, the media, non-profit and third-sector organisations, and state institutions. The 'how' encompasses not just the language registers known and used, but also actors' attitudes and representations – for example, the prestige they assign to different varieties, or the degree of confidence (or, conversely, of insecurity) that people may experience when using certain languages in certain contexts.

Clearly, the increased frequency of interlinguistic contact brought on by globalisation, growing European integration, and rapid technological progress eroding linguistic and cultural distances between various locales are all major causes of complexity. Various locales influence each other more than they used to, making it more complex – and more difficult – to steer even a local linguistic environment in a given direction. This also holds true for the linguistic environment of a larger entity, such as Europe as a whole, unless one simply rejects diversity in favour of uniformity.

Referring, at any level, to the linguistic environment (which may be more or less linguistically diverse) as the true object of LPP amounts to a call for *internal consistency* in the handling of various facets of this environment. For example, promoting a minority language in the education system makes little sense if a similar ambition does not also inspire legislation on the language(s) of advertising in the public space. Likewise, celebrating Europe's 'rich linguistic diversity' rings hollow if European institutions use English only – as in the funding of scientific research through 'Framework Programmes'. Acknowledging the complex nature of language problems and the contradictions that typically pervade them therefore invites us to pay particular attention to the sources of such contradictions.

At an early stage, the MIME project has identified the interrelationships between different tiers of decision-making as a chief source of possible inconsistencies impairing society's capacity to meet the challenges of multilingualism (Grin, 2018). More specifically, much of the latter's complexity hinges on the non-alignment of constraints and incentives between the micro level of individuals, the meso level of organisations, and the macro level of society as a whole. Converging evidence suggests that for society as a whole (that is, at the macro level), linguistic diversity is more advantageous than uniformity (Grin, 2003a, 2020).

Various analytical paths point in this direction, but they all depend on the fact that, as it increases, diversity gives rise to both increasing benefits and increasing costs. The costs are mostly linked to the challenge of communication between speakers of different languages, which requires translation, interpreting, or foreign language learning, all of which are costly, although many of these costs are falling as progress is made in automatic translation. The benefits stem from the stimulating

character of a multi-faceted rather than uniform world, rather as diversity in animal and vegetal species makes our environment more attractive, and may also generate economic value. Furthermore, recent quantitative research (including in the MIME project) reveals a positive and statistically significant relationship between plurilingualism and creativity at the individual level (Grin & Fürst, 2018; see also Fürst & Grin, Chapter 25 of this volume); creativity is correlated with innovation, and hence with prosperity. Fundamentally, starting from uniformity (that is, zero diversity), benefits are likely to increase at a *falling* rate, and costs to increase at a *growing* rate. Although this does not mean recommending unbridled, unregulated linguistic diversity, it follows that optimal diversity (which maximises the *positive difference* between benefits and costs) is necessarily positive.

However, just as in the case of environmental quality, market signals may not be sufficient to ensure that individual decisions are aligned with the common interest. Decentralised decision-making may not suffice to nudge society towards a positive level of linguistic diversity. In such cases, it is appropriate for the state to enact public policy.[4] The trickier problem, however, is that at the intermediate layer of meso-level actors, including organisations such as private-sector companies and universities, constraints and incentives tend to differ from those confronting macro- and micro-level actors (Grin, 2021a). Although the latter have an interest in positive levels of diversity, meso-level organisations' goals tend to be more narrowly defined than those of actors in the tiers below or above them. For example, a private company's strategy is chiefly guided by the goal of maximising profits; a university seeks to attract students and funding to deliver teaching and research. Complex though they are, these goals are narrower than those of people making choices about all aspects of their lives (Becker, 1976), or those pursued by a state as the organised arm of society as a whole (Wheelan, 2011). Consequently, meso-level actors often have more to gain from uniformity – such as relying on monolingual solutions. This discrepancy between meso-level actors on the one hand and macro- and micro-level actors on the other lies at the root of much of the complexity we

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4. This problem of non-alignment is well known in economics, especially environmental economics, where it is approached through the concept of 'external effects' or *externalities*. Externalities, which may be positive or negative, result from the action of an agent. However, whereas agents usually bear the consequences of their actions, this is not the case with externalities. For example, if someone decides to drive her car to work instead of using public transport, she will get the benefit (flexible, comfortable transportation without the hassle of going to a bus station, queuing, and having to stand in a crowded bus) and pay most of the associated cost (fuel, parking fee, wear and tear of the car, and road hazards), but not all of it (engine noise, air pollution, and risk to pedestrians, cyclists, and other motorists). Hence, since they do not pay the full cost of driving their cars to work, agents may be tempted to use them too often. The *polluter-pays principle* recommends *internalising* this (negative) externality.

encounter when confronting 'the challenge of multilingualism'. The co-presence of and mutual influence between the local, subnational, national, cross-border, regional and supra-national levels mentioned above only deepens this complexity.

At this point we come to a fork in the conceptual road. One possible avenue is to marshal the concepts and methods of *complexity theory* (e.g. Page, 2010), and some of the research carried out in the MIME project does precisely that (see Civico, 2019 and Chapter 19 of this volume). However, given the wide range of issues that the MIME project investigates, as well as the need to devise policy responses to them, a formal treatment of the manifold interconnections just sketched out is not realistic. At the same time, because of the need to devise policy responses, the analytical challenge must be approached in a pragmatic way. One possible strategy, which only partly does justice to the complexity of the issues at hand but nevertheless over-comes the limitations of traditional, discipline-bound language policies, is to think not in terms of an all-encompassing theory of linguistic diversity, but in terms of a collection of mutually consistent, interrelated analyses, along with the conceptual gangways, passages and ladders that enable us to circulate between them. Before examining this strategy in Section 4, let us take a closer look at the third imperative of the MIME project, namely policy relevance.

Policy relevance

Engaging in language policy raises several structuring questions, in particular *why, how* and *for whom*. The foundational question of *why* language policy is important is intimately connected to the question of what language policy, in the broadest sense, is intended to achieve. Addressing the question of *how* language policies operate requires us to identify inputs, outputs and outcomes, and to consider what resources (inputs) are invested in language policy, with what direct effects (outputs), and generating what actual results (outcomes). Finally, no reflection on language policy is complete without addressing the question of its beneficiaries, that is, *for whom* language policy is selected, designed and implemented.

The selection, design and implementation of language policy may be approached in different ways. One well-established strategy is to start out from the concept of *policy cycle* (Knoepfel et al., 2015; Weimer & Vining, 2017; Rossi, Lipsey & Freeman, 2019). The concept of the policy cycle is central to the discipline of policy analysis. It has strong ties with economic theory (Wheelan, 2011), and it is routinely used to evaluate public policies in areas such as transportation, health or the environment. Some of the conceptual apparatus of policy analysis has been adapted to *language* policies (Grin, 2003b; Gazzola, 2013; Wickström, Templin & Gazzola, 2018; Gazzola, Grin & Vaillancourt, 2020); currently ongoing research revisits language policy and characterises it as a process involving a succession of stages matching the standard

policy analysis framework. When applying this type of approach, the standard stages of policy analysis may be cut up more or less finely, and the stages themselves may be defined slightly differently. Differing representations of the policy cycle do not, however, imply notable differences in their underlying philosophy. Rather, they differ in that they cast the net more or less wide, including more or less of what surrounds the core of the policy process. This core is typically made up of five phases: (1) agenda setting, (2) policy formulation, (3) policy adoption, (4) policy implementation and (5) policy assessment (Dunn, 1994: 17). However, one may also view the emergence of awareness of a language-related problem in a given social, political and economic context as a phenomenon that should be part of the analysis and, consequently, choose to insert a corresponding 'stage zero' focused on this emergence in collective consciousness, which precedes 'agenda-setting'.

Let us, however, approach the task in a slightly different way, focusing on the identification of the elements of the problem at hand, including the features that make it complex. It is useful for such identification to precede actual immersion in a full-fledged policy analysis exercise. This choice does not, however, imply incompatibility, since the questions addressed in this chapter arise before those that normally come up in the standard phases of a policy cycle. These initial questions may also be thought of as a set of epistemological precautions, or perhaps as a first pass allowing identification of the issues that will need to be taken into consideration in subsequent steps; they inform the process whereby citizens, civil society organisations, political parties, governments, the media and research become aware of a question that language policy will have to deal with.

4.   From theoretical principles to application

Developing an integrated approach to language policy requires us to reason in terms of linguistic environment and take stock of its complexity, an exercise in which the identification of possible tensions between the incentives and constraints operating at various levels (such as micro, meso and macro) often proves crucial.

For this purpose, we may draw on existing typologies of LPP, which differ substantially in how they structure the endeavour (see for example Cooper, 1989; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Dell'Aquila & Iannàccaro, 2002; Ricento, 2006; Spolsky, 2012; Johnson, 2013; Cardinal & Sonntag, 2015; Hult & Johnson, 2015). Since there is no clearly established 'best practice' for linking up the principles outlined so far with language policy in practice, our more modest goal here is to offer orientations through a pragmatic response to the complexities of integrated language policy. This strategy requires focusing on eight dimensions in terms of which language policies may be characterised.

1.   Let us begin with a very classical dimension and ask the question "What type of policy are we dealing with?" Here, 'type' refers to the classical distinction proposed by Kloss (1969) between status planning (i.e. the position of one or more languages *vis-à-vis* other languages) and corpus planning (i.e. the internal features of language – writing system, spelling, lexical and terminological innovation, etc.).[5] We will call this dimension TYPE.

2.   The second dimension refers to the *contexts of language use*; it answers the question "What areas of life does a policy measure seek to influence?" This dimension may be characterised in terms of another classical concept, namely the 'domains' of Fishmanian sociolinguistics. For example, the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* operates with the following domains: education (Art. 8 of the Charter), judicial authorities (Art. 9), administration and public services (Art. 10), media (Art. 11), cultural activities and facilities (Art. 12), economic and social life (Art. 13) and transfrontier exchanges (Art. 14). Policy measures are assigned to one of these seven categories. We will call this dimension DOMAIN.

3.   In order to characterise a language policy, it is useful to answer the question "Does the policy primarily affect, and/or unfold in, the *private*, the *public* or the *state* sphere?" Some policies bear on language use in the state sphere, which means the internal operations of the state as well as bilateral, non-public contact between the state and private citizens. Other policies affect the public sphere, where they may involve state as well as non-state actors (in other words, what is 'public' is not necessarily 'official' or part of the public sector). Language policies affecting the public sphere may include the choice of language(s) used by a publicly funded radio station, or the regulation of the language(s) that private-sector companies are allowed to use in advertising. Finally, some policies are intended to influence language use in the private sphere, which I define as what happens in the home, or between actors outside work and away from any form of public scrutiny. An example of such policies is subsidisation by the state of online language classes, in order to encourage citizens to study a language in their spare time; similarly, a state may cover the cost of translating children's books into a minority language to reduce their price in bookshops, thus encouraging parents to read bedtime stories to their children in the language. We will call this dimension SPHERE.

4.   It is useful to address the question 'Which are the different categories of actors affected?' While there is no harm in identifying groups of actors involved in different activities, this could imply redundancy with the DOMAIN dimension;

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5.   Some authors single out 'acquisition planning', which essentially means 'language education planning', while others see acquisition planning as part of status planning.

likewise, differentiating between actors operating in the private, non-profit, or public sector could overlap with the preceding dimension (SPHERE). The crucial point here, as noted earlier, is to distinguish between micro-, meso- and macro-*level* actors, because they face different incentives and constraints. We will call this dimension TIER.

5. The welfare implications of the language problems concerned address the question 'What does the policy considered imply for the use of scarce resources and their distribution among groups of actors?' Policy interventions always raise matters of resource allocation, resource distribution, or both; some are primarily efficiency-oriented, others primarily fairness-oriented (Wickström, Templin and Gazzola, 2018). Of particular relevance here is the distinction between the market and the non-market (or 'symbolic') nature of these allocative and distributive effects. We will call this dimension WELFARE.

6. Identifying the targets of policy intervention raises the question 'What are the actual levers that a policy is trying to pull in order to induce change in the desired direction?' Answering this question requires spelling out what is sometimes called 'programme theory' (Rossi, Lipsey & Freeman, 2019). For example, minority language vitality depends on a number of factors, or variables, that can be identified through various models, such as Fishman's graded intergenerational disruption scale (GIDS; see Fishman, 1991) or the policy-to-outcome path model (P-TOP'; see Grin, 2003c), where the language policy targets may be peoples' capacity, opportunities, or desire to use a particular language. We will call this dimension TARGET.

7. The closely related question of the causal chain activated by policy intervention asks 'According to what causal processes should a policy engender the type of change desired?' This is crucial because it goes right to the heart of the 'programme theory' mentioned just now in item 6. However, it goes beyond specifying the policy target, for it directs us to spell out the workings of a policy in terms of the logical links between inputs (the resources invested in a policy), outputs (the direct effects of the intervention) and outcomes (the effects in terms of the facets of reality that a policy is intended to modify in a given direction). We will call this dimension CAUSATION.

8. Finally, we may ask 'What policy instruments are being used in this policy?' A distinction can be made between 'command and control' (e.g. mandatory behaviours or, conversely, prohibitions) and 'incentives', which operate indirectly through taxes and subsidies, or through moral suasion. The latter measures affect the material and/or symbolic costs of the choices that actors can make, but the latter remain free to make their decisions. Another instrument is the production and allocation of language-related goods and services by the State itself. We will call this dimension INSTRUMENT.

Type, domain, sphere, tier, welfare, target, causation, instrument: taking these eight dimensions into account already yields quite an *integrated* characterisation of a given language policy. Note that this list is not assumed to be exhaustive, whether extensively or intensively. To put it another way, it is neither final (additional dimensions may be brought in) nor closed (each of these dimensions may be cut up more finely).

Combining the eight dimensions (numbered d_1, d_2, …, d_8), each with its specific range of possible realisations (numbered r_{d1}, r_{d2}, …, r_{d8}), a policy may belong to any of *P* different patterns:

$$P = \prod_{i=1}^{8} r_{di}$$

Given the interdependencies between dimensions, the actual number of patterns will tend to be smaller than *P* (for example, a policy whose 'sphere' is 'private' is very unlikely to use 'command and control' as its 'instrument'. Conversely, adding dimensions and/or cutting dimensions more finely will generate a number of patterns larger than the initial *P*.

Consider, for example, the hypothetical decision to *restrict* the use of English as a medium of instruction in Dutch universities, in order to strengthen the long-term prospects of Dutch as a language used in tertiary-level teaching and scientific research. That such a decision seems unlikely is not the point here; the idea is rather to show how we can use a typology of dimensions in order to generate a relatively integrated perspective on the policy. Assume this policy allows the use of English for some courses but bans Bachelor (BA) and Masters (MA) programmes made up *entirely* of courses in English, with the result that, in order to complete their degree, all students must earn credits for at least one course taught through the medium of Dutch, at least once in every academic year.

The eight dimensions just discussed would lead us to characterise this policy as follows.

1. TYPE: status planning.
2. DOMAIN: (tertiary) education.
3. SPHERE: mainly public, subsidiarily private (since the measure may affect students' language use, once they have to absorb and revise course material in Dutch).
4. TIER: student body (micro), university administration (meso), and society as a whole (macro);
5. WELFARE: the effects of the policy span the allocation of resources (redirecting resources towards the production of teaching through the medium of Dutch) and the distribution of resources among actors (by increasing the legitimacy of Dutch, it enhances the prestige of speakers of Dutch, whether as a first or as a

foreign language);[6] note that these welfare effects span material and symbolic resources.

6. TARGET: students' language skills or ability (enhancing Dutch for scientific purposes); opportunities to use a language (in this case, Dutch); and attitudes towards the language (not only students, but the public at large receives the message that the authorities consider Dutch a legitimate vehicle for tertiary-level education).

7. CAUSATION: the policy is intended to operate by redefining the range of opportunities and exclude English-only streams; it may be expected to engender knock-on effects by enhancing the legitimacy of Dutch in higher education and supporting students' confidence when using Dutch for scientific purposes.

8. INSTRUMENT: mainly 'command and control', although incentives might also be used, for example by linking central government funding of universities to the proportion of courses taught through the medium of Dutch.

The *P* index defined above only characterises *one* policy measure. For a state that adopts *M* policy measures for each of the *N* languages present in the territory over which it has jurisdiction, an *integrated* language policy plan will be defined by *K* elements, where:

$$K = P \times N \times M$$

5. Discussion: Adding plausibility

A country's (or some other authority's) language policy is rarely, if ever, described as comprehensively as suggested here. Even if it is extensively described, this is typically not done in terms of a systematic, yet integrative identification of its facets. This is why most language policies may be said to be, in a sense, incomplete and under-identified. Gathering and processing all the data needed to fill all the *K* informational elements will generally not be a realistic goal, unless of course all the terms in the equation are drastically reduced from the start – but this would quickly defeat the very purpose of the exercise, which is to approach integratedness. Formulating a genuinely integrated language policy should therefore be seen less as an obligation for language policies than as a tool providing guidance towards more integrated and hence more complete and more consistent language policies. One of its chief uses, indeed, is to prevent internal inconsistencies from going unchallenged.

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6. One could say, in Bourdieusian terms, that the policy increases the value of Dutch relative to English on the 'linguistic market' of the Netherlands.

Authorities usually get by because they very rarely develop comprehensive language policies and usually avoid considering the linguistic environment as a whole. For example, education authorities may develop a general strategy for the teaching of foreign languages and the language(s) of instruction, but they tend not to seriously check whether their strategy in this respect is consistent with other goals regarding the relative visibility of various languages. Thus a policy that appears well designed may appear so only because its focus is relatively narrow.

Broader language policies, such as an integrated language policy plan for the protection and promotion of a language, may have claims to more extensive validity. For example, Quebec's language policy is not only very comprehensive; arguably as a result of its comprehensiveness, it is more internally consistent than most of the language policies developed by other states or sub-national entities (Georgeault & Pagé, 2006). However, the challenge remains a difficult one, and the issue of consistency, or even compatibility among language policy measures, often arises.

Given the need for society to make decisions with respect to such issues, as well as the likely impossibility of formulating and then applying some kind of all-encompassing theory of LPP, a pragmatic approach to LPP selection and design is necessary. The solution therefore probably lies in striking a proper balance between some degree of simplification through the use of typologies, as proposed above, and adequate rendition of the real-world issues involved, which constant interdisciplinary dialogue can prevent us from neglecting. Developing a set of *mutually consistent, mutually compatible* models, each applying to a specific subset of issues in the management of diversity, is accordingly a pragmatic solution. Attention should therefore be paid to the *conditions* that must be met for this mutual consistency, or mutual compatibility, to be achieved. Theoretical approaches to the handling of complexity (Morin, 1990; Bar-Yam, 2005; Page, 2010; Room, 2011) can stand us in good stead here, but they are only now beginning to be applied to language policy. Mutual compatibility is something that must be checked, and if not formally established, then at least made plausible.

Making something plausible is less demanding than proving it, but it still requires attention, and is necessary in order for the resulting aggregate language policy discourse or actual language policy plan to make sense. The need for this is shown by the limitations of many important, arguably dominant lines of sociolinguistic discourse about language, some of which appear to assume that they form the bedrock of LPP. However, they often generate propositions that may prove impossible to fit into the set of mutually compatible models just advocated (or at least their ability to fit into such a set remains in doubt). Consider some ethnographic approaches favoured by interactionist applied linguistics, such as conversation analysis (see for example several contributions using an ethnographic approach in Berthoud, Grin and Lüdi, 2013). These contributions emphasise the detailed interpretation of a

small number of observed interactions between participants operating in a given, carefully described setting. Such interpretations, though heuristically valuable, often turn out to be somewhat idiosyncratic, which raises questions about whether they can be generalised (Grin, 2021b, in press).

6. Concluding remarks

In the foregoing discussion, we have noted that LPP is characterised by such complexity, particularly when addressing large-scale policy issues, that aiming for one all-encompassing, unified model of language policy is unrealistic. Some principles of integrated language policy can be identified, but rigorously applying these principles may prove very onerous, since a policy plan would involve specifying K elements generated by the product of multidimensional patterns (P), languages (N) and specific policies (M). Including such a wide range of issues often proves unrealistic, whether theoretically or empirically.

A perfectly valid strategy is to settle for an orderly collection of explicitly interrelated analyses, each focusing on a particular component of a language policy plan and trying, where possible, to characterise the component concerned with the help of shared conceptual elements. The coordinated consideration of various components of language policy then becomes easier, and mutually consistent analyses of various language policy problems become possible. In this process, the identification of the micro, meso and macro levels at which actors operate (possibly within the confines of each policy measure, but possibly also across several measures), may prove particularly important. One key feature of the distinction between the micro, meso and macro levels is the structure of constraints and incentives characterising each of them. They affect the conditions in which actors opt for one or other course of action, and they have a direct bearing on the success of policies. Clarifying the structural tensions between these tiers may be a precondition for ensuring compatibility between the various measures which, taken together, make up an integrated language policy plan.

Summing up, policies need to be consistent in order to be successful, and much of this consistency depends on the alignment of incentives across tiers.

Wherever the notion of collective interest is relevant (as, for example, in environmental policy), the macro-level tier of aggregate, collective interest is the one that should set the tone. Given the network nature of language, this is generally true of integrated language policies. Consistency, in turn, can be greatly enhanced by sustained interdisciplinary awareness, which, if directly applied to the language problems to be solved, provides one of the best possible reality checks.

Acknowledgements

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Politics

Cross-jurisdictional linguistic cooperation in multilingual federations
Proposals for Europe

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Political federations or quasi-federations characterised by linguistic diversity have developed various strategies to strike a balance between mobility and inclusion of (internal and external) migrants. This chapter first looks at the comparative performance of linguistic management and coordination between the central state and federal entities, mainly comparing Canada and the US, while exploring possible comparisons with India, in order to provide the EU with examples of language policies in large economic and political unions. We show that the experimental potential of sub-state entities, the cooperation between the public and the private sector, and reciprocity among sub-units are key to achieving linguistic non domination (Section 1). It then suggests mobility and inclusion equilibria via linguistic subsidiarity and reciprocity for the EU (Section 2). It concludes by introducing a new tool, a 'language passport' we have called Linguapass (Section 3). The expected benefits of Linguapass on an individual level are to recognise and document the linguistic skills of migrants in official and non-official languages and hence to facilitate their mobility and inclusion; on a collective level, commitment to equal and reciprocal accreditation and funding of Linguapass by the EU as a whole, as well as by European regions and some large existing language clusters, is a novel form of equitable and feasible language cooperation and coordination.

1. Introduction

This chapter proposes a scheme for linguistic subsidiarity and reciprocity in the EU while downplaying linguistic domination, using findings from other federations or quasi-federations: the US, Canada, and India.

Our contribution builds on preliminary research[1] showing that the fuzziness of complex asymmetrical arrangements in federal entities makes it difficult for governments to shape nationwide political cooperation and compensation schemes to cope with the costs of inclusion of migrants while enhancing their internal mobility. Asymmetrical *de facto* and *de jure* language situations are both the result of, and lead to, a variety of linguistic arrangements ranging from highly interventionist policies (Quebec) to laissez-faire policies that are most likely to accommodate linguistic diversity, as in the U.S. India's deep and unique ethnic and linguistic diversity offers a blend of laissez-faire, domination and interventionism. Equilibria in large multi-level political unions are the result of tensions between 'overt' and 'covert' language policies (Schiffman, 2012: 149–150; Goldberg, 2006; Johnson, 2013: 10–11),[2] and more crucially between centripetal and centrifugal tendencies. We would argue that the attempt to achieve a fair balance between economic, political and social inclusion and mobility of migrants in such constellations, and to avoid language domination, depends on the experimental potential of what we have called the 'federal principle.'[3]

Three provisional conclusions have emerged, allowing a detailed comparison with the EU, and clarifying our proposal regarding *Linguapass*: (a) the experimental potential of federalism relies on *limited decentralisation*: without restricting the relative normative autonomy of federal subunits or states (as in the US), regional self-determination in language matters must be governed by common and *public* principles and not left to the private sector (as in India); (b) *imposition of vehicular languages and cross-regional transfer schemes*, as in Canada's equalisation payments, is necessary to avoid power inequalities between large immigration (sub)states with greater bargaining power in drafting and implementing language policies; and (c) effective inclusion and mobility are not an impossible goal to achieve. In the US, second- and third-generation migrants are as mobile as their native counterparts.

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1.   The preliminary research conducted within the MIME project also included China and South Africa. For reasons of relevance (and space), we have dropped these countries in this chapter.

2.   Overt language policies are expressed through laws, executive directives and regulations, and define the legal framework framing the goals identified by policymakers. Covert policies are unwritten and often unnoticed mechanisms, embedded in practices, which may run contrary to overt policies. They reflect latent assumptions in a given political culture about the comparative worth of ethno-linguistic groups and may be inferred from the way in which overt language policies are implemented.

3.   Theoretically, the federal principle holds that the various levels of governance are not hierarchically ordered, but instead cooperate. In practice, competition for power between tiers of government may be either beneficial or detrimental to individual citizens' freedom, depending on the architecture of the federation. The principle stipulates that the collective elements of the political constellation are equal among themselves as well as with regard to the common authority.

This is not *only* due to federal guidelines, and not only achieved *despite* the relative normative autonomy of the states, but is largely due to ethnic and linguistic social networks. We therefore believe that a *coordination game* between governments (federal and sub-federal) and civil-society networks (formal and informal) is both useful to accelerate language acquisition, and socially worth encouraging. Building on these findings, we have designed a possible policy for linguistic subsidiarity, based on the principle of reciprocity (Sections 2 and 3).

2. Comparing mobility and inclusion in federal entities: Canada, the US and India

2.1 Canada

Canada is one of the Western federations that receives the most immigrants. According to the 2011 census,[4] 20.6% of the country's total population is composed of newcomers; of these, 70.5% do not have either English or French, the official languages, as their mother tongue. In Canada, the balance between mobility and inclusion reflects unequal power relations between majority and minority language groups. We start our comparison with Canada because the standoff between two languages allows a simplified analysis of linguistic domination the EU aspires to escape. The English-speaking majority, through the central government, assures its members in the French-speaking province of Quebec robust protection of their language; on their own territory, the majority includes members of the minority through assimilation.[5] Linguistic non-domination benefits the (English-speaking) minority within the minority in Quebec, assimilation or linguistic non-domination of French-speakers in the rest of Canada (RoC). For the present purposes we include immigrants as well as internal migrants in our Canadian example, as we are looking at mobility through inclusion into 'societal cultures' that differ in particular with regard to different 'national' or majority languages. It also facilitates comparison with the EU (see below).

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4.   2011 census, available on the official website of Statistics Canada, 2011. Retrieved from: https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/index-fra.cfm.

5.   Bill 101 was intended to abolish the historical religion-based 'school boards' in order to modernise them and to distinguish them on a linguistic basis, notably to accommodate intra-Canadian mobility. Canada has an elaborate case law regarding the Canadian governments attempts to exempt companies under federal jurisdiction from Bill 101, notably the military and banks, important employers in terms of numbers, and in terms of their qualitative, strategic importance as societal institutions. The current government of Quebec is still talking about looking for means to reverse these decisions today.

Canada shows how federal politics generate *specific* asymmetrical arrangements, even within a relatively simple frame of linguistic diversity. Canada is less populated and diverse than India or the EU, but nevertheless illustrates neatly how language policies affect the outcome of the inclusion/mobility trade-off. There is a clear correlation between language regimes and assimilation rates across provinces, and this trend is observed over time.[6] Comparing all Canadian provinces – except for Quebec – with Canada as a whole, it becomes obvious that the only officially bilingual province, New Brunswick, has been able to slow down the assimilation rate of its French-speaking population.[7] Figure 3.1 illustrates the variations between the number of individuals who say their native language is either French or English, and the number of individuals who use either French or English most at home.[8] We use these two variables as a means of grasping the influence of policies and social dynamics on phenomena such as assimilation or preservation of linguistic diversity. The red bar represents the percentage of people who say English is the language they most use at home, in proportion to the number of people who say English is their mother tongue. The blue bar represents the same proportion for French.
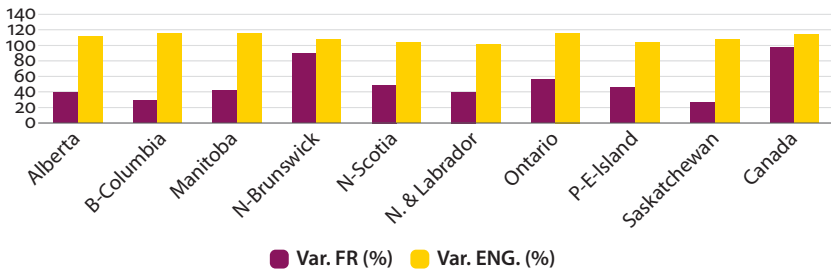
Figure 3.1 Impact of sociolinguistic dynamics on the use of native language (French or English) at home outside Quebec[9]

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6.   As shown in the Enquête nationale sur les ménages / National Household Survey. The gap between the reported mother tongue and the (most) spoken language at home confirms this evolution over time: the permanence of a small gap between these two variables among English-speakers in Quebec and the considerable decline among Franco-Quebecers outside Quebec clearly shows the impact of language policies on sociolinguistic dynamics (on an assimilation/preservation continuum of the status quo and minority language rights).

7.   Canada itself is officially bilingual according to the Constitution (Article 16.1 & 16.2).

8.   Our data includes all answers and not only unique answers, e.g. individuals who say French or English, and another language, or French, English and other languages are either their native languages or as the languages they use the most at home.

9.   http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/dt-td/Rpeng.cfm

New Brunswick is the only province where French is declining less rapidly than elsewhere, whereas the progression of English is comparable to what is observed in the English-speaking provinces. This suggests that the trade-off between mobility and inclusion of internal migrants is not mainly resolved through assimilation to the English language, in contrast to other provinces – with the exception of Quebec.

On the other hand, Quebec's interventionist language policy prevents the demolinguistic assimilation of the French-speaking historical minority into English-speaking North America.[10] Conversely, the strong protection enjoyed by the English-speaking minority in Quebec favours the preservation of diversity. Figure 3.2 illustrates how Quebec's language policy allows the maintenance of relatively stable numbers of French-speakers in Canada, despite the fact that English continues to thrive owing to intervention by the Canadian government and court decisions over Bill 101.[11] Finally, it should be noted that, despite the *prima facie* equal protection of French and English in Canada, absolute numbers differ greatly.
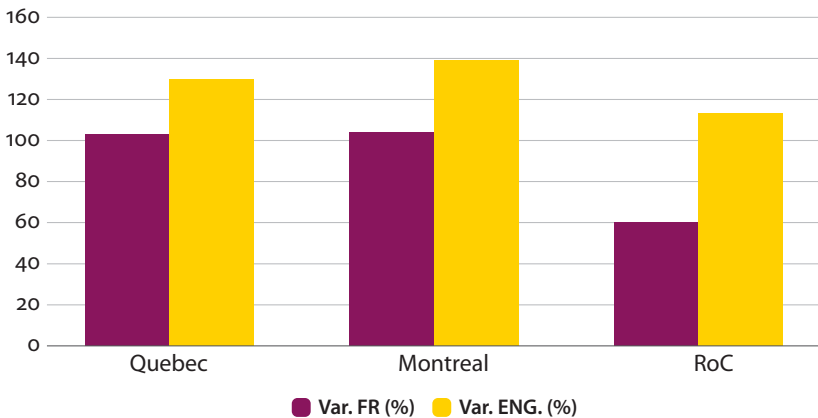
Figure 3.2 Impact of sociolinguistic dynamics on the use of native language (French or English) at home in Quebec and the rest of Canada (RoC)[12]

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10. For example, French-speaking parents in British Columbia (*Rose-des-Vents*) had to go to court to obtain schooling in French for their children. See Association des parents de l'école Rose-des-vents *vs.* British Columbia (Education), 2015 SCC 21, [2015] 2 S.C.R. 139.

11. Originally, in 1977, Article 73 of Bill 101 stipulated that publicly funded English-medium education was reserved for parents who had received English-only education in Quebec. In this sense, the Constitution was explicitly designed to curb Quebec's linguistic self-determination..

12. http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/rt-td/lang-fra.cfm.

This bar chart shows that a large political union like Canada generates different and specific equilibria regarding the inclusion/mobility trade-off scheme: in New Brunswick, French is declining more slowly and English is progressing more slowly than in the RoC owing to the particular language regime of the province specified by the Canadian Constitution.[13] In the English-speaking provinces in the RoC, sociolinguistic dynamics, including the linguistic laissez-faire policies of provincial governments, display a very high rate of assimilation of both French-speakers and immigrants. Lastly, in Quebec both French and English are adopted by immigrants, as a result of the political competition between provincial and central governments to protect individual rights and to gain political allegiance. These particular equilibria observed in Canada can be explained by the political ability of the English-speaking majority to impose its language on the minority language group, and this is consistently the case across regions.

The lack of reciprocity in the protection of minority language groups across provinces leads to politically organised language domination in Canada. The constraints faced by French-speakers, and the province of Quebec in general, is that the English majority outnumbers every other group and acts as an English-speaking nation via the central government.[14]

The conclusion from the Canadian case hence seems to be that the rights of linguistic minorities (the balance between mobility and inclusion) are best protected in a linguistically interventionist regime.

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13. See Section 16 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, enshrined in the Canadian Constitution. This being said, if the decline of French is slower than elsewhere (outside Quebec), it has worrying implications over time.

14. In his classic work *Multicultural Citizenship, a Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, Oxford University Press, 1995, Will Kymlicka comments as follows on the balance between centralisation and decentralisation in Canada: 'While most Quebecers want an even more decentralized division of powers, most English Canadians favour a stronger central government. One of the challenges facing Canada, therefore, is finding an acceptable form of "asymmetrical federalism" which grants Quebec powers not given to the other provinces. Other federal states face similar problems' (p. 28). The author adds a footnote arguing that English Canada has always been opposed to giving special powers to Quebec (on a number of occasions Quebec has indeed used the 'notwithstanding clause' for its linguistic policy). When provinces call for more centralisation, this is precisely because they are acting as nations.

2.2   United States

In the US, current (federal and state) policies seem to struggle to find a coherent and comprehensive way of balancing mobility and inclusion. Some reasons for this are *structural* and hence allow another type of comparison with the EU than Canada: namely the way language policies, their justification and their usefulness are understood and assessed by the public, institutions and individuals (migrants and natives alike). Institutional agendas matter as much as perceptions, and policies as much as politics. Another structural similarity between the EU and the US is the great autonomy of member states in the EU, which is less true of the provinces in Canada, and the normative autonomy in important matters in the US. This federal principle may account for these similarities but also allows us to make distinctions. Other reasons are *specific* to the US and the EU: their immigration history, their relationships with their closest neighbours, their types of migrants, the concentration of language groups in specific states, as well as the high scores of (social and geographical) mobility within the second generation of migrants.

Mobility and inclusion policies are determined by a variety of factors. In order to evaluate the trade-off (or the lack thereof) we have looked at official data which the US provides abundantly;[15] but also public discourses, values (Knoll, 2009: 313–331),[16] the rationale for (selective) border control policies, the impact of immigration on the American economy and the American welfare state. Although federal policies are in principle binding on all states, variations within and between states remain.

We have first found that these variations are generally, but neither systematically nor necessarily, negatively correlated to numbers of immigrants within states, as well as to their linguistic and national or ethnic origin. In other words, states with the highest numbers of immigrants do not systematically enforce more restrictive immigration policies, and the correlation between high numbers of groups of a single ethnic origin does not systematically account for specific ethnically targeted policies. Secondly, we have found that the trade-off between mobility and inclusion is time-sensitive. In other words, although geographical concentration of first-generation immigrants is very high, second and third generations seem to be as mobile as their native counterparts; but it is virtually impossible to state that their mobility is *casually* only related to their linguistic proficiency (Chiswick & Miller, 2015: 18). However, our findings show that language proficiency is key, that

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15. *United States Citizenship and Immigration Services* (USCIS), https://www.uscis.gov, *Migration Policy Institute*, http://www.migrationpolicy.org/.

16. Religious people, as shown by Knoll (2009), for example, are more likely to welcome liberal immigration policies.

the classic 'third-generation language shift' works well in the US (generally achieved in the second generation), but that testing the language proficiency factor *only* is misleading, as geographic concentration, ethnic and social networking, education and bargaining power as well as political participation are important variables.

American states indeed have a dense network of loosely coordinated multilateral (federal and state) agencies to encourage linguistic, educational and economic inclusion. But the most efficient vectors of inclusion and employment for newcomers of the first generation are ethnic and linguistic *social* networks, especially in states where immigration rates are high: New York, Texas, California, Florida, Illinois – unlike in India, where *private* networks support inclusion and employment (mainly relatives).

The fact that some states have large groups of immigrants provides these states with great bargaining power in drafting and implementing language training policies in the ongoing debate between advocates and opponents of restrictive immigration and border control, and maintains a legislative status quo (Jeong, 2013: 611). The political and linguistic agendas of specific states do not overlap with the political agenda of the federal government: English is the *de facto* national language of the US, in the absence of an official language at the *federal* level;[17] however, 32 states have declared English as their official language, but not necessarily to the exclusion of native, indigenous or Austronesian languages.[18] The tensions between the US federal government and specific states hence generate asymmetrical equilibria between states. However, unlike in Canada, there is no systematic domination of one language group as an explicit result of federal arrangements.

The loose coordination between the federal government and the states, despite federal guidelines, is *pragmatic*: a means of dealing with both the relative normative autonomy of the states, competing political preferences (regarding immigration in particular) and the intergenerational dynamics of inclusion and mobility among migrants. Within the broad national framework, each state has its own *de facto* language policy.

In the US, language proficiency is therefore an important variable, but not the only one allowing the trade-off between inclusion and mobility to be grasped; first because *achievement* (educational and economic) and *inclusion* (mobilisation

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17. English is compulsory at all levels in primary and secondary schools. But the US also provides extensive translation services, especially in politics (multilingual voting ballots) and in the courts (court-appointed translators). At the college and university level, some English classes are compulsory, and the level of English is tested through admission procedures for Americans, and through standardised tests (Ielts, Toefl) for foreigners.

18. Congress: English Language Unity Act of 2017 (H.R. 997 – 115th). Retrieved from https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/115/hr997.

and political participation) are not perfectly correlated (some migrants enter with valuable skills but poor language proficiency and vice versa, and some are high achievers at the educational and economic level, but show less interest in political participation), and second because numbers of mobile workers, from the second generation onwards, are almost equally distributed between migrants and natives. Lastly, since employers, although required to report illegal aliens through a federal worksite that checks eligibility for employment, E-verify, do not seem to report systematically in high-immigration states (Newman et al., 2012: 160–182),[19] it is difficult to conclude that language proficiency is the only variable for employment.

US (and Indian) linguistic laissez-faire policies, unlike the interventionist policies in Quebec, hence lead to a different type of linguistic domination: *de facto* rather than *de jure*. This may be explained by the fact that there is one common nationwide American 'melting pot' – a language which is also a 'world language'. Despite the numerous federal – and state – services the US provides (translation, multilingual voting ballots, judicial assistance, and English Language Learners (ELL) services), the shift towards English is rapid, as confirmed by census data.[20] In short, despite political encouragement of minority languages (such as appeals to Spanish-speaking constituencies in electoral campaigns), protection of native languages (such as Hawaiian), economic regulations,[21] and demographic dynamics, e.g. *composition* of language groups and *balance* between language groups, the shift to English is relatively rapid in all groups (Ryan, 2013: 4–7).[22] Mobility across jurisdictions seems to act as an accelerator of language acquisition.

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19. E-verify is a federal 'worksite employment eligibility enforcement' technology, which is supposed to prevent or reduce illegal employment of immigrants, shifting actual checks from the border to the workplace and allowing individual employers to report illegal aliens. However, studies show that the increasing number of illegal immigrants within states (California and Texas) is not encouraging the adoption of E-verify policies.

20. The self-assessment used in the 2013 Census data reveals that most people who spoke a non-English language at home also reported that they spoke English 'very well'. Overall, 58% speak English 'very well', 19% 'well', 15% 'not well' and 7% 'not at all'. Spanish is the second most used language, steadily growing in numbers of speakers (25.9 million more in 2010 than in 1980), but the percentage of Spanish-speakers with low proficiency in English has actually decreased since 2005.

21. Illegal immigrant workers are protected the same way as natives through the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Migrant and Seasonal Agricultural Worker Protection Act.

22. South Asian languages, for example, have displayed high levels of growth. Malayalam, Telugu and Tamil grew by 115%, and Hindi by 105%. African languages (Amharic, Ibo, Yoruba and Swahili) also displayed significant growth, 111%.

2.3   India

In India, the Constitution does not mention any national languages, but two 'official languages' (Hindi and English), 22 'scheduled languages' (plus 1650 dialects, composing some 200 languages in total). Indian governments have been aiming for individual trilingualism in the official and the larger scheduled languages through public schooling, facilitating mobility and communication catering to the educated, but leaving out the vast majority of dialect speakers. India's constitutional *and* informal respect for linguistic diversity and mobility-enhancing policy is at first sight admirable, but does not pass the test of political, economic and social inclusion policies. Linguistic domination in India is also *de facto* domination: English and Hindi are the languages of reference, and politically and economically 'enabling' languages (Montaut, 2004: 63–90).[23] Hindi is also the language of the most powerful linguistic nationalist grouping, with far-reaching implications for the its usefulness, especially in the north of the country (Rai, 2001). India is also a major immigration country, but numbers have been declining for many decades now;[24] whereas internal migration has been growing steadily. This is why we have included India in our sample.

"Public policy is an ever-changing resultant of pushing and shoving by different organized groups and interests. This or that language group (e.g. Konkani) which may gather enough clout asserts itself, and after adequate political mobilization, gets the language included in the Eighth Schedule, etc. This seems to be mainly symbolic, as no one in Goa would like to send his children to a Konkani-medium school. […] There is the political logic (mass mobilization, opposition to the "oppressive" language, political glory and capital) and then the personal. A politician who may be publicly "anti-English" or "anti-Hindi" may make very different choices for his children."[25]

We conclude that in multi-level political constellations the experimental potential of the federal sub-units should be encouraged (especially in states that have

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23. 'The Eighth Schedule of the Constitution lists 22 languages. In keeping with the mandate of capturing the mother tongue, the 2001 census lists sub-categories under each of these languages. The broad category of Hindi has 49 mother tongues listed under it, including Hindi. Of the 422 million people in this group, only 61% actually reported Hindi as their mother tongue. Bhojpuri and Magadhi are among the top 5, with shares of 7.8% and 3.3% respectively. In Bihar, the reverse is true. Less than one fourth recorded their mother tongue as Hindi. Bhojpuri and Magadhi had a share of 33.6% and 20%, respectively'. Retrieved from http://www.livemint.com/Leisure/Nl73WC1JA8d6KVybBycNlM/How-a-Bihari-lost-his-mother-tongue-to-Hindi.html

24. See https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/IND/india/immigration-statistics; and, especially for internal migration: https://censusindia.gov.in/Census_And_You/migrations.aspx.

25. Personal Interview with Hindi language scholar Akshay Bakaya.

witnessed an ongoing influx of immigrants: the five main immigration states in the US, and the province of New Brunswick in Canada). Yet potential to innovate in solving the trade-off between mobility and inclusion is dependent on the balance between centralisation and decentralisation, in other words on common guidelines spelling out general rules of non-domination and requiring reciprocity between sub-units.

Building on our comparison, we now introduce two new principles we believe to be heuristic for a coordinated language policy for the EU: linguistic subsidiarity and reciprocity.

3.   Towards optimal mobility and inclusion equilibria – linguistic subsidiarity, reciprocity and a new tool: Linguapass

3.1   Lessons drawn from comparisons: The EU and extra-European federations

The Canadian Constitution includes a *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* that is in many ways comparable to that of the EU. Application of this Charter is supervised by the Supreme Court, which has ruled many times on Quebec's language policy Bill 101 (*Charte de la langue française*).[26] In Canada, given the vulnerable status of French outside Quebec, and the loopholes in legislation allowing English to thrive in Quebec, we do not believe that changes to Bill 101 would achieve what we would like to see, either in terms of a better balance between inclusion and mobility (e.g. a balance that would not be to the detriment of French in the Canadian case), or regarding the internal balance between the two major language groups. On the contrary: legislation to protect one or other language group seems to widen the gap. Rather, we believe that the central government should put pressure on the English-speaking provinces to allow more resources to be devoted to the preservation of French. The federal government has undertaken to encourage French immigration outside Quebec in order to increase the percentage of French-speakers, but immigration alone is not enough. Resources are too scarce and political will too feeble to achieve integration of migrants in French. As we will discuss in the next

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26. Gouvernement du Québec (1977 [2015]). http://www2.publicationsduquebec.gouv.qc.ca/dynamicSearch/telecharge.php?type=2&file=/C_11/C11.html In Quebec, the situation is somewhat polemical as article 73 of the *Charte de la langue française* grants English-medium public education only to children whose parents have themselves received education in English, anywhere in Canada. Immigrants have to send their children to French-medium schools, as do French-speaking parents too. The latter has been contested and successfully taken to court; see *Gosselin (Tuteur de) vs. P.G. du Québec* (2005).

section, we believe that the emphasis should be on reciprocating minority rights across jurisdictions, instead of favouring assimilationist patterns.

Meanwhile, differences and similarities between Canada and the EU are worth noting. The two-language constellation, the demographic situation, and the constant decline of French reinforce the domination of English in Canada, as opposed to the EU where strong and populous members states are able to promote their languages within the Union; France is a good example of such active national language protection policies. The deep linguistic diversity of Europe, as well as European commitment to language diversity (Van Oers et al., 2010),[27] may well be the best safeguard for the EU, if the efficiency and lingua franca proposals advanced by many scholars do not prevail.

The similarity between Canada and the EU, on the other hand, is more theoretical than practical: pluralism and multi-level governance generate different equilibria across jurisdictions. As we have noted, New Brunswick, Quebec, and the RoC all function differently and generate different outcomes. In the EU, some member states do not recognise linguistic minorities and do not offer these groups status and rights (France typically), hence offering a wide range of possible constellations within the EU. Yet, as we have observed for Canada, the more interventionism, the more diversity in the realisation of political and economic inclusion. This is a lesson that should be learned from the Canadian case.

In the US the situation is quite different, as there is no cleavage between a limited set of language groups, given that English is the uncontested 'main' language, although Spanish is the largest group in terms of minority speakers. Individual states recognise specific (native) language groups, but there is no *reciprocity* between Hawaii for example and other states in recognising their respective minority languages. There is a similar problem in the EU.

The federal government issues guidelines for English language training through a multiplicity of official acts, some of which are not necessarily designed for newcomers or immigrants but do benefit these categories.[28] The US also collects data on a large scale to identify the linguistic shortcomings of its own citizens and newcomers.[29] We have mentioned, however, that federal guidelines are not binding in

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27. The EU is committed to diversity and requires that all languages be treated with equal respect; see the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR), http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Migrants_Home_FR.asp. LIAM (Linguistic Integration of Adult Migrants) has a dedicated website: www.coe.int/lang-migrants.

28. Such as the No Child Left Behind Act, the Every Student Succeeds Act, the Adult Education and Family Literacy Act or the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act.

29. Limited English Proficiency (US Federal Interagency website). Retrieved from https://www.lep.gov/.

applying standardised tests and enforcing them (approval for exit from special services related to English learning within ESSA (Pompa, 2015) for example); in other words, states are free to relax (or increase) the language requirements in these tests.[30] The result is the lack of a state-wide evaluation system.[31] 'Despite ESSA's (Every Student Succeeds Act) focus on the needs of English learners, there are challenges and potential pitfalls for these students' advocates. There is no longer a single federal accountability system; there will be more than 50 …'.[32] This is similar to the lack of coordination and enforcement regarding language testing and training in the EU.

As in the US, the EU guarantees the free movement of workers and persons within the European economic area[33] and is committed to acknowledging minority languages within member states (Grin, 2003: 223),[34] but labour legislation in many EU member states is far more constraining, as access to the workplace generally occurs in the national/official languages, which in turn influences economic and social inclusion. The same seems to hold true of the EU. Well-educated individuals, highly skilled workers, are mobile economically though not necessarily socially included, as their lingua franca is often English; in contrast, poorly skilled migrants face linguistic inclusion problems before considering economic mobility for the above-mentioned reasons.

The true challenge and the major difference from the EU in terms of mobility and inclusion is *cross-European* communication (this is true of India as well,

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30. See https://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/new-education-legislation-includes-important-policies-english-learners-potential-pitfalls-their.

31. 'Given ESSA's overall thrust of reducing federal authority in education, however, ensuring that EL needs are met will be complicated by the fact that education agencies in 50 states and the District of Columbia will be interpreting the new mandates and perhaps implementing them differently'. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/new-education-legislation-includes-important-policies-english-learners-potential-pitfalls-their.

32. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/new-education-legislation-includes-important-policies-english-learners-potential-pitfalls-their.

33. Directive 2004/38/EC, *Official Journal of the European Union*, L 158/78.
The European Court of Justice has proven in the past that it can effectively constrain regional governments on how far they go to enforce their linguistic norms for the sake of mobile workers' socioeconomic freedom and equal inclusion. See for instance Las v. PSA Antwerp (2013), where the Court ruled that the 'the contested decree which requires all employers whose established place of business is located in Flanders to draft all cross-border employment contracts exclusively in Dutch is in breach of EU law'.

34. We also drew on European Commission, Directorate-General for Education and Culture (2006). Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity: An Action Plan 2004–2006, 'Building language-friendly communities', COM2003 – 449 final, (pp. 11–12).

especially in regard to poorly trained workers). Opting for diversity is a sign of respect for all speakers and a means of *local* inclusion, but may hinder mobility in the EU or in India as a whole.

This is a problem we are now addressing, and we believe we can offer a modest solution through reciprocity, subsidiarity and a European language passport.

3.2   Multi-level governance, subsidiarity and reciprocity

The discussion above shows that it is extremely difficult for large political unions to tackle the trade-off between mobility and inclusion in an optimal way for all the partners involved. In this section, we build on our previous analyses to draw political lessons relevant for the EU. We focus on how to improve *multi-level governance* within the broader perspective of a *sui generis* European framework of integration, and to downplay linguistic domination as a means of reaching a better balance between mobility and inclusion (Vilanova, 2015: 125)[35] and determining how linguistic decentralisation should be politically entrenched.

The EU has been labelled a 'coming together' federalism (e.g. supranational integration of states), whereas Canada for example is a 'holding together' federalism (internal decentralisation of states) (Follesdal et al., 2015: 89–90). The governing principle of federations in general and the EU in particular is subsidiarity: 'Public responsibilities shall generally be exercised, in preference, by those authorities that are closer to the citizen. Allocation of responsibility to another authority should weigh up the extent and nature of the task and requirements of efficiency and economy.'[36] Subsidiarity is a way of federalising social agencies with specific social goals and coordinating practices that both bind citizens and consolidate their co-operation. Subsidiarity is at the same time a relief from state interference, a means of fostering pluralism and diversity, and a way of encouraging citizens to participate and to perform social tasks.

We therefore suggest extending subsidiarity to language-related issues under conditions of reciprocity: a general political framework based on reciprocal, multilateral

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35. Pere Vilanova recently commented: 'In the case of the European Union … one of the increasing topics any debate has to deal with is "multi-level governance" and thus, with decentralization.'

36. Art. 4 of the European Charter of Local Self-Government (October 15, 1985). See also Article 5(3) of the Treaty on European Union: 'Under the principle of subsidiarity, in areas which do not fall within its exclusive competence, the Union shall act only if and in so far as the objectives of the proposed action cannot be sufficiently achieved by the Member States, either at [the] central level or at [the] regional or [the] local level, but can rather by reason of the scale or effects of the proposed action, be better achieved at [the] Union level (Maastricht, 1992).' Protocol 30 to the European Community Treaty spells out the EU's commitment to subsidiarity in more detail.

recognition of languages as social goods (in the same way autonomy in other sectors is recognised and reciprocally guaranteed by the principle of subsidiarity), including regional and minority languages fostering intra-European mobility while providing the means of inclusion. Keeping our federal principle and our two sets of norms in mind (federal or quasi-federal and local), we suggest that a *linguistic principle of subsidiarity* would be an apt solution, in much the same way political or institutional subsidiarity is defined above: decentralisation, federalisation and coordination between different tiers of national and regional governments, and supranational institutions as applied to language issues: 'federalising social agencies with specific social goals, and coordinating practices that at once bind citizens and consolidate their cooperation' – this is consistent with the current literature on European linguistic coordination as a desirable policy for fostering inclusion.[37]

Linguistic subsidiarity for the European regions would achieve a twofold goal within a coordinated economic plan: firstly, entities such as Catalonia which demand more linguistic and political self-determination would benefit from the system, but would have to bear the cost of integrating migrants (intra-European and third-country nationals) (a) with flexibility regarding their own particular situation (for example by also offering alternative training in Castilian)[38] and (b) within a well-defined legal framework that specifies positive obligations promoting the protection of linguistic minorities and the promotion of diversity more generally. Secondly, regarding reciprocity, all languages would have equal status within Europe, and equitable, reciprocal financing of our proposed system of subsidiarity would sustain mobility (see below for a cost-sharing proposal).[39] A welcome side-effect of this policy may be to reduce potential secessionism of regions desiring more autonomy and foster smoother European inclusion of regions around principles they deem socially important: language. It is compatible with linguistic territorialism but would play down *exclusive* territorialism by offering a means of collective linguistic personality at a sub-state level. Historical parallels could be drawn with the former Austrian-Hungarian Empire and Karl Renner's proposals regarding a 'Danubian model of pluralism'.[40]

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37. See for example: Grin, François, and Michele Gazzola (2013). 'Assessing Efficiency and Fairness in Multilingual Communication: Theory and Application through Indicators', in: Anne-Claude Berthoud, François Grin and Georges Lüdi (eds), *Exploring the Dynamics of Multilingualism*, pp. 365– 386. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

38. The minority within the minority problem would be solved in this way.

39. For students, the passport could become an Erasmus requirement for example.

40. See A. von Busekist, « After Empire, Karl Renner's Danubial Model of Pluralism », Nations and Nationalism, 25/2, 2018, p. 544–563.

In other words, we suggest that where sub-national communities or, more specifically, linguistic groups (e.g. the presence of several linguistic components within sub-national communities or regions), demand more self-determination in order to diminish the level of (objective or subjective) linguistic domination they experience, a certain amount of power in governing language issues should be devolved to them. Yet this should not be unconditional and, most importantly, it should be done within a political and legal framework that will not allow newly acquired power to replicate domination, whether on a lower scale or over new segments of the population.[41] In conformity with our framework, we believe that this linguistic principle of subsidiarity would neatly fit decentralisation mechanisms that exist in many European countries, such as Spain, where 'some peripheral nationalists [take the] view that there is a vanishing practical distinction between the terms "nationalities" and "regions", as more competences are transferred to all communities to roughly the same degree.'[42] Our principle would establish a *European standard* favouring regional interventionism in language policies,[43] relating both to democratic and economic inclusion and to geographical and social mobility.

The underlying idea is that subsidiarity is intrinsically linked to multi-level governance, yet there is relatively little work so far discussing how it could be applied to language goods or rights or used as a means to favour the optimality of the different mobility-inclusion equilibria that a *demoi*-cratic Europe should politically organise and sustain. The great strength of subsidiarity is that it already exists in the European framework, as well as in multilingual member states: it is hence a politically attractive and possibly *feasible* proposal, and some of the corresponding linguistic implications have begun to be explored (e.g. Vaillancourt & Grin, 2002; Vitores, 2011).

On a *practical* level, as we have argued previously, the EU does not enforce common rules regarding language testing, although access to a variety of services and jobs is language-related, especially in countries with constitutional national language provisions (France, Belgium), despite the best-case scenario mentioned by the MIPEX indicator:[44] 'All residents are or have been learning the language to

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41. This is why, for instance, Quebec's Bill 101 has remained a contentious matter within the Canadian federal legal apparatus.

42. Vilanova, Pere, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

43. As we have noted with regard to Canada, interventionism is efficient in diminishing domination and forceful assimilation into majoritarian language groups.

44. In its 'worst-case scenario' (http://www.mipex.eu/key-findings), the MIPEX indicator states 'The few others that are eligible must prove their "integration" through discretionary interviews and prove unrealistically high language proficiency, all without enough free courses and materials to succeed'; the best-case scenario states 'All residents are or have been learning the language to the best of their abilities through free and flexible courses and materials'. Interestingly, however,

the best of their abilities through free and flexible courses and materials.' If, from a justice perspective, language skills are the substructure for access to a variety of other means (voice and claim rights for instance), and help sustain ideals of inclusion and mobility, then the principles of subsidiarity and reciprocity may make them politically more attractive to citizens and migrants alike. A simple tool, which we have called *Linguapass*, may be able to achieve such reciprocal subsidiarity, but would have to pass the test of democratic approval by the EU member states.

3.3   *Linguapass*

Linguapass[45] would be an individual language 'point system' documented by a European language passport. The system would be democratically financed and governed by the member states and the member (language) *regions* – in other words, the European peoples – under the auspices of broad EU coordination, as well as optionally, and in part, by the migrants themselves.[46] The passport would be a single official European document enabling Europeans as well as immigrants to benefit from the opportunities for inclusion and mobility that come with language proficiency. For example, an immigrant from Canada moving to Belgium would apply for a European language passport documenting his or her ability to speak French and English, say at level 3 (native/fluent or C2 in the CECRL index). It is important to note that non-European languages should be 'rewarded', as employers may also require non-European language proficiency. An immigrant with proficiency in Hindi, Chinese or Arabic should therefore be awarded a number of points. This would mitigate linguistic domination of third-country nationals. The number of European languages they master may be low or non-existent, but their skills in their native language may provide a means of employment and mobility. This is something that has to be worked out democratically by the European partners and coordinated with EU language requirements.

Depending on the proficiency level (beginner or A2 in the CECRL index, intermediary/professional[47] or B2 in the CECRL index, fluent or C2 in the CECRL index), the migrant would thus accumulate points ranging from level 1 (beginner)

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the EU Special Eurobarometer 437 does not correlate language and discrimination: http://ec.europa.eu/COMMFrontOffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/Survey/getSurveyDetail/instruments/SPECIAL/surveyKy/2077

45. The same system may be applied in the ALENA or in India with the same expected results.

46. Provisos could be added enabling the less advantaged to benefit from either member–state, member–regions or EU funding.

47. In other words, sufficiently proficient to take up a job. If not in a literary agency.

to level 3 (fluent). Language *training* is free of charge, but accumulation of points for third-country nationals (the Canadian or the Indian in our examples) would optionally involve a fee. Upon arrival, the Canadian would pay for his passport in proportion to the languages he masters.[48] Full proficiency in three or four languages would make the passport cheaper than beginner's level in one language only. The fees could be kept to a minimum amount – for example, reimbursing printing and processing fees: but again this is subject to debate among European partners. Although this argument may sound unfair at any given point in time (a cheaper 'admission ticket' for linguistically skilled/multilingual individuals, justified by the fact that those who need to learn languages represent costs for the host country or region, whereas the others do not), the desired outcome is to equal out costs between more or less proficient speakers over time. Proficiency would be tested by an independent agency (in the country of origin or upon arrival).

To avoid linguistic domination, it is crucial that sub-units of the federation or quasi-federal entity – not only member states – sustain the system we propose. We have argued that lack of coordination and lack of enforcement of language regulations result in *de facto* linguistic domination (US), and that lack of interventionism leads to *de jure* domination (Canada). Decentralising language policy competences within a single framework would alleviate the tensions we have observed elsewhere and counter laissez-faire language policies which are generally detrimental to the weakest language communities and less proficient speakers.

Apart from member states, the relevant sub-units at *meso level* are the European regions, which are also often linguistic entities (Catalonia, Flanders). At *macro level*, cross-jurisdictional language clusters could also choose to cooperate (German- or French-speaking communities): this would extend mobility to single-language clusters and to some extent reduce the costs of language training.

On the one hand, the incentive for member states to grant the linguistic subsidiarity we advocate here is to ask regions to participate in proportion to their demographic weight. On the other hand, it would make sense for language clusters to cooperate and coordinate their practices in order to encourage cross-border mobility and inclusion. In addition to the member states, we would hence have a coordinated two-tier system: small regions and large clusters.

This would imply, however, that the list of the 24 official languages of the EU is not necessarily the relevant list of languages to be documented on *Linguapass*. Catalan, for example, although only semi-official but an important source of employment, should be one of the documented languages.

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48. With the same proviso as noted above.

We have argued that language training should be free of charge. But how many languages should the EU reasonably finance? If we take means and opportunities for mobility seriously, we would suggest that (at least) two language training cycles should be provided, and that professional proficiency B2 should be the ideal outcome. Regions should have a say on the level they require for level 3 proficiency (C2). A Catalan-speaker moving to Poland, for instance, would have level 3 proficiency in Catalan and Castilian, and level B2 in English. None of these languages is spoken in Poland, but Poland would offer the Catalan free language training in Polish in order to achieve level 2 proficiency. The same would hold true if a Polish-speaker moved to Catalonia.

4.   Conclusion

This is a modest proposal to adopt linguistic subsidiarity and reciprocity as building blocks of European linguistic integration and means of inclusion and mobility for Europeans and immigrants alike. Our circular system (2 language learning cycles) would also promote and actively encourage mobility (see Figure 3.3).
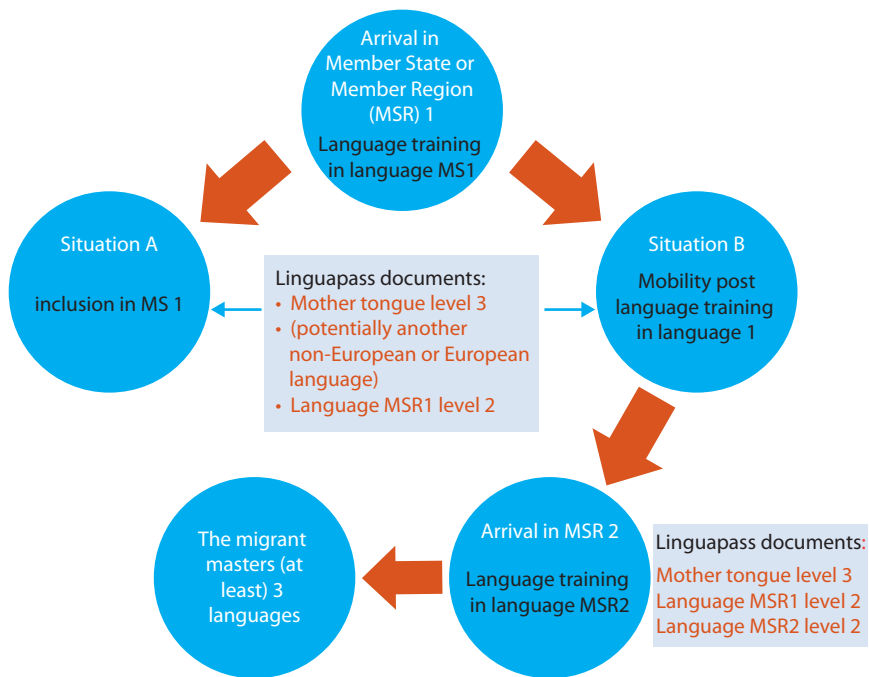
Figure 3.3 Circular language training

Financing scheme for Lingua pass
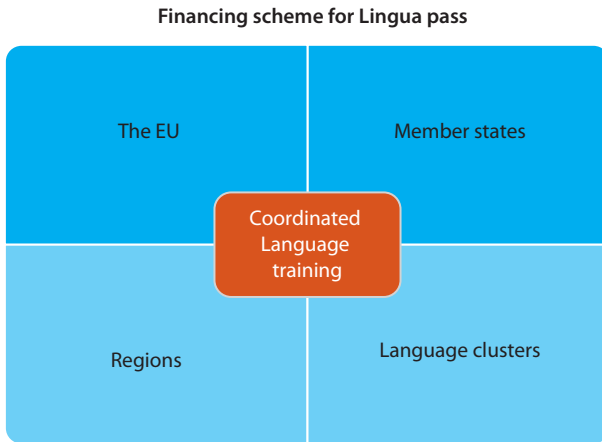
Figure 3.4   Cooperative financing scheme

Linguistic domination by large member states would be reduced through our sub-sidiarity principle, within a coordinated financing scheme (see Figure 3.4) fostering cooperation. Internal decentralisation of language policies and multilateral language reciprocity of the kind we suggest may in time be one of the answers to an optimal equilibrium between inclusion and mobility; with Linguapass as a practical tool to sustain the process of European linguistic integration.

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How to upgrade the status of migrant languages in the European Union

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In this chapter, we will compare the status of traditional minority and migrant languages in the European context and its practical implications for the trade-off between mobility and inclusion. It has been observed that traditional minority languages in Central and Eastern European (CEE) states have fewer rights compared to official languages and that their status and position is best described by language hierarchies, asymmetries, subordination, and threshold restrictions. This against the background of international treaties, such as article 22 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (CFREU) stating that the European Union (EU) respects cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity and the charters of the Council of Europe (CoE). Although linguistic inequality is an unwanted state of affairs violating international treaties and obligations of member states, these traditional minority language cases might refer to the assignment of linguistic rights to languages of migrants. Both categories belong to the domain of the non-official, majority languages and are expected to be assigned less rights than 'national languages', although traditional minority languages have been assigned limited rights in terms of the personality principle next to the territoriality principle applied to the national languages. Note that the language rights of migrants in the EU are also restricted by the mobility-and-inclusion trade-off, which is detrimental to migrant languages in the national context. A solution to this inequality is provided by the fact that the personality principle is a common denominator in the assignment of linguistic rights to minority-language speakers and has already been introduced into transnational European spaces. Hence, the rights of migrant languages can be accounted for by applying the personality principle in these spaces as well. This results in a Union-wide supranational language policy for migrant languages which supports the upgrading of migrant languages in accordance with the personality principle.

1.   Introduction

Our discussion will take the linguistic rights within EU Member States in CEE as a starting point, for these states are clearly defined as national states with one official language spoken by the majority population. All other languages spoken in these states are considered minority languages. The status of these minority languages was included in the political conditions of the Copenhagen criteria, when these new member states were joining the EU.[1] These traditional minority languages were integrated into the countries' language policies on the basis of the personality principle, even if minority-language speakers were in the majority in specific sub-national territorial jurisdictions. As McRae (1975: 332) points out, there are two relatively clear-cut options in designing a solution for the language rights of groups: 'to link the decision either to the specific territory or region concerned – the principle of territoriality – or alternatively to the language chosen by or attributed to the individuals being served – the principle of personality'.

The application of the personality principle has assigned a lower-ranking official status to the traditional minority languages, resulting in bi- and multilingual asymmetries, subordinations, and so forth, by comparison with the official, majority language. In this chapter, language policy for traditional minority and migrant languages in the European system will be compared and discussed. Since minority and migrant languages do not enjoy official status, and given that there is already a hierarchy between majority and traditional minority languages, the linguistic rights of mobile groups in the EU member states could be granted with reference to the existing linguistic rights of traditional minorities, which give us a point of reference for what the framework of the linguistic rights for migrant languages in the European space might be. In most European member states migrant languages, i.e. the languages introduced by third-country nationals, internally mobile European citizens, expats and mixed-language families have little or no legal status. In this chapter, we will position the study of territorial minority languages and the migrant languages in the MIME framework, which is determined by non-convergence between mobility and inclusion.[2] A toolkit of key concepts will be introduced in order to facilitate analysis. This will allow a proposal for upgrading of the status of migrant languages in the EU. Greater justice can be done to the rights of migrant languages in a transnational framework dominated by the personality principle. In the discussion section, we will make observations and generalisations that follow from comparison of the position of territorial minority and migrant languages.

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1.   For a discussion of the Copenhagen criteria, see McCormick (2015: 146–147) and for minority rights in this context Grabbe (2006), Sasse (2005, 2008) and Marácz (2017).

2.   See Chapter 1 of this volume for an introduction to the MIME framework.

2.   Migrant language status and the MIME project

The central thesis of the MIME project is that there is a trade-off between mobility and inclusion. The issue of the integration of non-official languages, like traditional territorial minority or migrant languages, in societies with a national language is directly related to the non-convergence between mobility and inclusion. In the case of traditional minority languages in CEE countries, the personality principle dominates, although it is mostly conditioned by territoriality requirements. However, this facilitates maximum mobility within a specific country or territory. If we also applied the personality principle to migrant languages, this would satisfy maximum mobility, and provide opportunities for inclusion without disturbing the social cohesion of host societies. In order to support changes in this direction at the level of the EU as a whole, supranational inclusive programmes should be implemented, involving EU citizenship programmes, language proficiency programmes and programmes to preserve the languages spoken by migrants.

3.   Key concepts and tools

The key concepts that are important in this chapter are territorial and migrant languages, the territoriality and personality principles, a transnational linguistic space in Europe, and motility, a term we use to denote *potential* as opposed to *actual* mobility. In this section, we define these concepts and tools in order to allow a comparative study of the rights of traditional territorial minority and migrant languages and relate these languages to the observation at the heart of the MIME project, namely the non-convergence between mobility and inclusion. The personality principle implies that citizens should enjoy the same set of (official) language rights no matter where they are located spatially within the state; the territoriality principle posits that language rights should vary from region to region, according to local conditions (Kymlicka and Patten, 2003: 29). The latter approach thus applies a geographical condition in protecting language rights in a particular area (May, 2012: 187–188). The personality principle, however, arguably provides greater flexibility in protecting group-based language rights, notwithstanding its limitations, such as the arithmetical criterion to be adopted: the cut-off point at which there are deemed to be a sufficient number of speakers of a particular language to warrant active language protection and the related use of such languages in the public domain (May, 2012: 190).

The EU's language policy schemes leave more options for the detachment of mother tongue and official languages, as compared with the traditional nation-state scheme. Such detachment has been implemented by the Council of Europe (CoE),

an organisation that monitors human and minority rights in European states and is closely involved in the conditioned accession to the EU of candidate countries (Gál, 2000; Schwellnuss, 2005; Skovgaard, 2007). Two CoE conventions guarantee the linguistic rights of traditional minorities in the states that are parties to these legal treaties: the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCPNM) signed in Strasbourg on 1 February 1995, and the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (ECRML) signed in Strasbourg on 5 November 1992 (Trifunovska, 2001; Skovgaard, 2007; Marácz, 2016: 31–32). Both treaties have been listed by the Union among the four accession criteria – the Copenhagen criteria – for EU membership. The result of these supranational conditions concerning member-state accession, is a transnational linguistic space in the EU safeguarded by the CoE conventions that have a general validity all over the CoE member states, although it is somewhat limited and subject to various specific conditions (Csergo-Goldgeier, 2013; Marácz, 2014, 2015a, 2015b, 2016; McCormick, 2015: 32; Scholten & Penninx, 2016). Note that the personality principle is much more fitting to a transnational linguistic space than the territoriality principle, and that it is in harmony with 'motility', a concept related to mobility.

Motility refers to *potential* rather than *actual* mobility, and is a key concept when attempting to understand the dynamic between language (learning) and mobility within Europe. Language learning is rarely the main reason for people to migrate. It is not a factor such as economic inequality or the presence of social networks, which are respectively direct 'push' and 'pull' factors for potential immigrants. Instead, learning a certain language expands one's mobility *options*. Motility can be studied through three sub-concepts: 'access', i.e. the nature and level of development of linguistic infrastructure in a given country, 'competence', i.e. the linguistic skills of the individual or group of individuals, and 'appropriation', i.e. how useful an individual or group of individuals perceives its language to be when migrating. These three concepts, when studied both individually and jointly, provide a good insight in potential migrants' motility, and how this is influenced by language policies.

4. Introducing traditional minority languages and migrant languages

This section will focus on traditional minority languages (4.1) and migrant languages (4.2) respectively.

4.1   Traditional minority languages

In this subsection, we will briefly discuss traditional minority languages in CEE. The reason we concentrate on these languages in this region of Europe is that these languages have a hierarchically lower status than official, majority languages within nation states. The language regulations for traditional minority languages in CEE are the result of an interplay between the territoriality and personality principles. This will be illustrated by the Hungarian minority language in Romania and Slovakia.

Literature review
The relationship between the territoriality and personality principles was first examined in McRae (1975). The collection of papers in Dembinska et al. (2014), and Vizi (2016) offer a detailed discussion of the application of the territoriality and personality principles in CEE states. These papers conclude that a hybrid system of both principles in fact operates when assigning linguistic rights to language minorities in CEE states. The system is restricted by a threshold rule depending on ad hoc, politically driven decisions.

Data and methods
The research has been pursued on the basis of an extensive study of scientific literature and unexplored primary sources that contain statistical data on sociopolitical features and events that give insight into the position and status of the minority languages under investigation. Due to the collapse of the Hungarian kingdom after the First World War and the new formation of states in CEE after the collapse of communism in the beginning of the 1990s, ethnic Hungarians have come to live in eight different countries: Hungary, Romania, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Austria, Slovakia and Ukraine (Marácz, 2011; Beregszászi & Csernicskó, 2003; Fenyvesi, 2005; Gal, 2008). Consider the situation of Hungarian minority language speakers in Slovakia (567,000) and Romania (1,600,000). These languages are not equal in legal terms to the official state languages, namely Slovak and Romanian, not even in the territories where ethnic Hungarians live, namely southern Slovakia and the Transylvanian region in north-west Romania, and sometimes form a majority in sub-national regions (Szabómihály, 2003; Brubaker et al., 2006). These states follow a policy of 'exclusion', characterised by inequalities, like hierarchies, subordination, asymmetries,

and additional restrictions reinforcing the inequalities mentioned before, such as the threshold requirement of at least twenty percent of ethnic Hungarians using their language in the public domain of an administrative-territorial unit (Péntek, 2006: 267–273; Csergo, 2007; Horváth et al., 2010; Lempp & Marácz, 2015).

Analysis

Language policies in EU Member States in CEE, including Romania and Slovakia, have clearly been affected by the Europeanisation of CEE. The Europeanisation process actually covers several separate processes that are connected (Wiener & Diez, 2009; Dinan, 2010). Firstly, general acceptance of the Union's supranational level boosts linguistic diversity all over the Union. Volman (2012) argues that linguistic diversity is firmly anchored in the legal system of the EU. According to him, article 3 of the consolidated Treaty on European Union, (part of the Lisbon Treaty), which describes its aims, stipulates among other things that the Union 'shall respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity, and shall ensure that Europe's cultural heritage is safeguarded and enhanced'. This provision mirrors article 22 of the ECFR, which states 'The Union respects cultural, religious and linguistic diversity'. According to Volman, any attempt to influence language policies in the member states, including those of linguistic minorities, both autochthonous minority and migrant communities, will be considered in this context. Secondly, apart from the 24 official languages of the Union, around sixty indigenous regional or minority languages are spoken. No special EU convention protects minority languages, although the right to use one's native tongue is recognised as a fundamental right in the EU. The European Parliament (EP) has adopted several resolutions to protect minority rights, including language rights (Vizi, 2012). Thirdly, even more robust policies in support of indigenous minority languages have been adopted by the CoE, as referred to above. All the CEE states in the EU that include Hungarian linguistic minorities, including Slovakia and Romania, have also ratified the relevant CoE treaties. In conclusion, the legal and political situation created by the Europeanisation of CEE favours the position and the use of traditional minority languages. Minority rights protection, including language rights in the region – although far from perfect – has improved (Jutila, 2009; Deets, 2010). This improvement owes much to the Union's leverage and conditions (Sasse, 2005, 2008). This is also true of ethnic Hungarian communities. It is allowed to open Hungarian language schools, to use the Hungarian language – subject to certain conditions – in the public realm (Gál, 2000; Skovgaard, 2007).

Results

The fact that CEE states have joined or are affiliated to the EU has affected the language policies of nation states and language use at the sub-national and local levels. Transnational structures and networks resulting from Europeanisation process therefore bear directly on the trade-off between inclusion and mobility through institutional arrangements for cultural and linguistic diversity management. The multilingual space is regulated by the personality principle functioning in addition to the territoriality principle valid for the official, majority language. The personality principle may apply to some of the settings where minority languages are being used, such as education and the public sphere, as in the case of multilingual public signs, although even in those cases the personality principle turns out be subject to conditions (in Slovakia and Romania, a 20% threshold). In fact, we observe a hybrid system consisting of a combination of the territoriality and personality principles (Csata & Marácz, 2016).

4.2   Migrant languages

Official languages representing the majority languages of states are supported by the states concerned. As a consequence, both traditional minority and migrant languages, the topic of this subsection, have fewer rights than the official language of the state or do not have any official status at all.

The concept of 'path dependency' is essential for the historical-institutionalist approach, in the sense that present policies can and should be understood within the context of their respective state traditions. This subsection seeks to draw a comparison between the policy contexts and policy perceptions of migrants between France, Sweden and the Netherlands, three countries that are deemed to have a different national tradition concerning migrant language policy. It is imperative to realise that the document analysis in this research is not sufficient to prove or disprove completely the value of the national model approach in general integration and language policy research. This study has focussed entirely on the linguistic aspect of integration policies, even though this is inevitably embedded in integration policies as a whole. The chapter will therefore briefly map out the legal and political situation of the Polish and Turkish mobile minority languages in these three countries and, crucially, present how the Polish and Turkish communities perceive this situation.

Literature review

The expectation, based on previous theoretical work, was that France, Sweden and the Netherlands would fall more or less into three separate categories, namely 'assimilationist' (France), 'multicultural' (Sweden), and from previously 'multicultural' to 'assimilationist' (the Netherlands). The 'model thinking' tradition of integration scholars, or the idea of categorising countries based on presumed policy ideologies, has some crucial similarities to the historical-institutionalist approach of Sonntag and Cardinal (2015) regarding language policy, especially where it concerns the importance of path dependency. Several scholars seem to have taken this approach regarding language policy towards migrant communities (Brubaker, 1996; Bourhis et al., 1997; Joppke, 1999). Other scholars, including Joppke, criticise this approach on empirical and theoretical grounds (Joppke, 1999; Green, 2007; Bertossi, Duyvendak & Scholten, 2015).

These 'national models' are mostly ideal types, and are mainly treated as such by scholars. They also provide potentially useful tools to clarify certain differences between countries. However, when specifically analysing certain aspects of states' linguistic integration policy for immigrants, it is questionable whether the national model approach and the state tradition approach offer the most useful lens to understand why and how these policies have been put in place.

The Dutch approach can best be characterised as one of 'pragmatic multiculturalism', and not as one that has ever been fully committed to a multicultural approach. Multiculturalism as a policy ideology assumes that all cultures, hence including minority cultures, have intrinsic value and that citizens have the fundamental right to maintain their 'own' cultural identity (Taylor, 1994). The Dutch government has never expressed these ideas in official documentation. Language policy towards immigrants has always been inspired by pragmatism. The policy's history indicates that, as regards language policy towards migrants, the Netherlands can at no point in history be categorised as a country with a true 'multicultural' policy tradition.[3] Dutch policy is, furthermore, not conducive to enhancing the motility of its citizens with a migrant background, with regard to the three factors access, competence and appropriation. The linguistic infrastructure (access) is, especially in the present day, not very well developed, whether regarding Dutch language acquisition or mother-tongue education.

The Dutch experience becomes even more interesting when compared with France, a country usually firmly classified in either the 'republican' or 'assimilationist' policy tradition. It could therefore be expected that France would solely focus on French language acquisition. After all, assimilation in its classical meaning

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3.   For an extensive discussion of the history of Dutch, French and Swedish policy, see Houtkamp (2020).

requires immigrants' full adaptation to the host society culture, while virtually abandoning their heritage culture. The French government's idea of assimilation from a linguistic point of view has remained relatively constant since the post-war period. Assimilation means simply being able to speak French. However, with the introduction of *l'Enseignement de langue et de culture d'origine* (teaching of the language and culture of origin) in 1973 and the expansion of languages taught within this programme in later years, French governments have arguably even stimulated linguistic diversity to a certain extent (despite being primarily focussed on the French language), by granting certain immigrant languages a place in the official school system. Currently it is even possible to study a wide array of languages, including many major immigrant languages, as fully fledged courses in secondary education, and even to choose them as a subject for the final exam. At the same time, free or at least affordable French language acquisition classes are widely available for new immigrants.

Sweden, lauded as the most liberal and multilingual country of the three states in this study, had a peculiar history, making the transition from a largely assimilationist policy ideology before 1960 to one of the more multicultural regimes in the present day. Currently, any migrant language is supposed to have a place in the school system, if certain conditions are met. However, certain remarks on Swedish multiculturalism need to be made here. The country has primarily focussed on its existing national minorities, rather than its immigrants. This is not illogical, given that the language rights for traditional minorities in Sweden seem to be largely the result of advocacy by national minority groups. Furthermore, the language policy has been slowly dismantled to the point where well-organised minority groups set up their own mother-tongue education institutions. This potentially creates similar issues as in the Dutch case, for immigrants themselves will *de facto* be primarily responsible for mother-tongue classes, which inevitably leads to differences in content and quality. Concerning Swedish language acquisition, however, the Swedish for Immigrants (SFI) system is both competently organised and freely available for every immigrant. In terms of its tradition, Sweden is thus a special case: it has switched from assimilation to high degrees of multilingualism (at least officially) to a more hollow form of multilingualism. Its linguistic infrastructure is still comparatively robust: facilities for mother-tongue education are still in place, and the SFI system is accessible to all.

In short, when maintaining the notion of national models and policy traditions, the three countries fall mainly into different categories from those envisaged in the literature.

Data and methods

The study draws on data collected by means of online questionnaires and in-depth interviews with representatives of the two 'mobile' communities, i.e. Polish intra-EU mobile persons and Turkish third-country nationals referred to above. In addition, to study the development of language policies towards migrants, a policy document analysis is carried out, comparing the Netherlands, France and Sweden. Data was also collected among migrant communities in all three countries. As a result, the research allowed a thorough comparison of an EU (Poles) and non-EU (Turks) migrant community, of the policy contexts in the three countries, and also how migrants from each of the countries perceive the various policies.

The Netherlands is currently in a state of *laissez-faire* assimilation or, as Van Houdt, Suvavierol and Schinkel (2011) put it, a state of 'neo-liberal communitarianism', where immigrants have very few linguistic rights and are for the most part responsible for their own Dutch language acquisition. The French model offers language rights for immigrants, on condition that they learn French to a high standard. From a language policy perspective France is thus not as assimilationist as might be expected based on previous scholarly work, and is in fact pursuing a relatively diversity-friendly linguistic policy that lies closer to the multicultural end of the spectrum. Lastly, Sweden is still a country that offers extensive rights to its migrant language communities, but the practical organisation of the policy and its under-funding make it questionable exactly *how* multicultural the country still is in practice.

Despite the differences between the three countries, however, there are also several similarities. First, all three countries responded in a similar way to their influx of foreign workers in the 1970s: they all created limited provisions for mother-tongue education, on the assumption that the workers would eventually return to their home countries. All three states went through a phase of diversity-friendly policy (regardless of motivation) in the 1980s. Starting in the 1990s all three shifted their focus even more to their national (i.e. French, Dutch and Swedish) language, at least in public utterances. These fundamental similarities raise the question of how relevant the theoretical classification into national models of integration is in practice, at least concerning language policy towards immigrants.

The main reason for interviewing both Poles and Turks in the three countries under investigation was to compare an EU internal migrant group with a non-EU one, to see if any group-based differences could be found. In addition, both groups have a sizeable presence in all three countries studied, and also in other EU countries that are outside the scope of this research, which allows us to study whether processes of 'transnationalism' take place within these communities. In the following section the main similarities and differences within and between groups will be spelled out.

Table 4.1 Summary of results of interviews with migrants*

Themes \ Groups	Turks in Netherlands	Poles in Netherlands	Turks in France	Poles in France	Turks in Sweden	Poles in Sweden
Connection between host language & socio-economic integration	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive
Host language & socio-cultural integration	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Mixed	Positive
Mother tongue & socio-economic integration	Mixed	Negative	Positive	Negative/ mixed	Positive	Positive
Mother tongue & socio-cultural integration	Mixed	Negative	Negative/ mixed	Positive	Positive	Positive
High-quality host-language education facilities	Negative/ mixed	Mixed	Mixed	Positive	Negative/ mixed	Positive/ mixed
High-quality mother-tongue education facilities	Negative	Negative	Negative/ mixed	Positive (private institutions)	Negative/ mixed	Negative/ mixed
Transnationalism	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive
Does government policy towards migrant languages influence respondents' attitude towards their mother tongue?	Negative	Negative	Negative	Positive	Positive	Positive
Does English improve motility?	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive
Does mother tongue improve motility?	Negative	Negative	Positive	Positive	Positive	Negative
Does socio-economic status influence attitude towards mother tongue?	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive

Source: Houtkamp (2020)

* Table 4.1 summarises the interview results by categorising the main interview themes. It shows the respondents' general feelings about each topic. For example, the Turks interviewed in the Netherlands generally agreed that there is a connection between mastery of the host language and socio-economic integration, which is why that box is marked 'positive'. Each group consisted of 10–15 interviews, amounting to a total of 88. The interviews were semi-structured and lasted on average 45 minutes.

Analysis

The first, perhaps obvious, similarity between all groups is the importance they attach to learning the host language (i.e. Dutch, Swedish or French) for their socio-economic opportunities within their countries of residence. Virtually all respondents deemed this of the utmost importance.

The second similarity is extensive discontent about the practical organisation of linguistic facilities in the countries of residence, concerning both mother-tongue education and host-language acquisition. Usually the courses were deemed too theoretical with little emphasis on practical conversation, the teaching quality was poor, or there was too little time for the courses to be effective. France is a remarkably positive exception, with the Poles in France being very positive, and the Turks in France moderately so, especially about facilities in the past.

Third, there is a high degree of transnationalism among Turkish and Polish immigrants and their descendants in all three countries. They are often in contact with friends and relatives in their country of origin, or ethnic peers in other EU countries. This obviously means that they all frequently use their mother tongues. Such extensive transnational contacts do not lead all groups to believe that their mother tongues improve their motility within Europe. It could be argued, especially given the major presence of Turks and Poles in many European countries, that mastery of their mother tongue is an asset in connecting with ethnic peers when migrating. Only the Turks in France, Poles in France and Turks in Sweden seem to identify this mechanism as such. However, and perhaps unsurprisingly, English is universally valued as a very significant tool for motility.

A fourth similarity is how the respondents view 'integration'. They mainly identify it as a reciprocal process in which there should be room for both their heritage language and culture and the host society language and culture. None of the respondents expressed a desire to assimilate. This result confirms earlier studies, where it was found that in general migrants prefer the 'integration' acculturation strategy (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Hehman et al., 2011; Rojas et al., 2014). The main differences between the groups lie mainly in the value they attach to mother-tongue education, and the way government policy influences their attitudes towards the mother tongue. Only the Turks in Sweden and Poles and Turks in France see a positive effect of their mother tongues on their socio-economic and socio-cultural integration. It can be speculated that Swedish policy is in practice more positive towards bilingualism and mother tongues than in the other countries. However, that does not explain why the Turks in France and the Poles in France do not value their mother tongues in a similar fashion.

A final difference that emerged is the importance of education for the respondents' attitudes towards language in general. Low socio-economic status (SES) interviewees in general placed a much higher emphasis on the economic aspects of language, which in general made them value the host language over their mother tongue. Sometimes they either opposed mother-tongue education, or even transmitting their language to their children at all, for this reason. High SES interviewees placed more emphasis on the cultural aspects of language, alongside the economic ones. They were usually also well informed on the advantages of bilingualism and raised their children bilingually, regardless of the policy of their country of residence.

Results

Documents and interviews: How do 'national models' affect migrants' appropriation and competence?

The study of national models led to two provisional conclusions. Firstly, assuming the national model approach is valid, the categories that are often attributed to France, Sweden and the Netherlands are questionable. Secondly, given some fundamental similarities between the countries, it could be questioned whether in the case of language policy towards migrants, the national model approach is valid at all.

However, after examining the theoretical discussions on national models, several possible hypotheses can be formulated based on the policy practices observed in this research, regarding the effects of the respective policies on migrants' motility. In the Netherlands immigrants would score relatively low on both host-language acquisition and mother-tongue education, given the state of the linguistic infrastructure (access) and the low support for multilingualism among policymakers. This may be slightly different for older migrants, who mainly experienced the Dutch system in the 1980s. For France and Sweden, the evaluation should be markedly more positive, since on paper both countries value multilingualism more than the Netherlands and have a more developed linguistic infrastructure. When analysing the interviews in this research these hypotheses are only partially confirmed. Swedish language policy, for instance, seems to have had a significant trickle-down effect on individual migrant families. It was often mentioned that teachers played a significant role when migrant families decided whether to enrol their children in mother-tongue education classes and whether they should raise them bilingually. For the Poles in France the situation is similar, but not for the Turks in France. This difference could perhaps be explained by differences in language hierarchy (Polish as a European language is perhaps easier to promote than Turkish), or a difference in region (most Poles were interviewed in the Paris region, and a significant number of Turks in Alsace, near Mulhouse). These are just examples of the positive effects policy may have, but it is just as interesting that the policy climate does not have any negative effects. Although in the Dutch case, for instance, the migrants reported very little support for their mother tongues, this barely influenced their view of their mother tongues in a negative way. As in other countries, support for bilingualism was dependent on socio-economic status, the only difference being that there were no teachers to increase support for mother-tongue transmission among low SES parents, as there was in Sweden.

This also leads to one of the most important trends observed when comparing the documents with the interview data: the effects of language policy on competence and appropriation should not be overestimated. The economic and cultural capital of the family into which one is born is much more relevant than a country's

language policy. The former determines whether a child is raised bilingually at all and, if so, the quality of the education. Perhaps unsurprisingly, high SES families have a better command of the language than low SES families, have more access to information and have the resources to supplement sparse government provision and find extra-curricular education. Especially if these high SES families are supported by a relatively powerful kin-state (i.e. Poland and Turkey) that is willing to set up facilities in the country of residence, the official language policy in their country of residence becomes less relevant. This, however, increases the difference that exists between high and low SES families. Since high SES families have better access to good linguistic facilities, their children will have a better command of the mother tongue, which increases their linguistic competence. Their increased linguistic competence means they have more human capital, and hence also far greater motility. Government policy that guarantees at least a minimum standard of competence in the mother tongue could perhaps mitigate these differences to some extent.

5.   Discussion

In Section 4 we looked at two sets of case studies: one on traditional minority languages (4.1) and one on migrant languages (4.2). These language categories are subject to different power-political constellations. However, what they have in common is that they are treated unequally to the official languages of the state, especially in states with a strong one-language ('national-language') approach to statehood.

Let us compare the two analyses and investigate what the practical implications are for the mobility-and-inclusion trade-off. Traditional minority languages in CEE, including Hungarian minority languages in Romania and Slovakia, are embedded in a hierarchy that is dominated by the national language of the majority speakers. Different forms of Europeanisation, like the introduction of articles 3 and 22 of the ECFR (Volman, 2012), statements by the EP and the charters of the CoE referred to above, the FCPNM and ECRML have strengthened the inclusion of these minority languages into social life, including the mobility-and-inclusion trade-off. It should be noted that Europeanisation in fact opens up European transnational spaces in which the personality principle, although subject to different conditions depending on political decisions, is introduced alongside the territoriality principle that is generally valid for majority languages.

Migrant languages will remain a coherent part of the European linguistic constellation, for none of the respondents in the various EU member states is willing to abandon his or her native language. With respect to this category of languages and their speakers, transnational spaces are also highly relevant. Firstly, the inadequacies of 'national models' for migrant languages show that a Europe-wide 'supranational

language policy' is needed. Secondly, there is a high degree of transnationalism among Turkish and Polish immigrants and their descendants in all three of the countries studied in Subsection 4.2. Finally, relatively powerful kin-states such as Turkey and Poland also make use of transnational spaces to help migrant families satisfy their linguistic needs. Kin-state support, and most of the traditional minority language groups have kin-states in CEE, is also relevant in the case of traditional minority languages. The upgrading of migrant languages in order to provide them a status in a national context can be achieved by assigning the personality principle to their speakers. This principle has already been introduced in the transnational European space for CEE minority languages. Consequently, migrant languages would be recognised as an official language at a micro level of governance resulting in, for example, comparable educational rights in the EU for migrant language speakers. Notice that this would include the mobility-and-inclusion trade-off variable, and that the personality principle also would guarantee optimal mobility. Therefore, specific policy measures at the supranational level affecting the domain of linguistic inclusion can help optimize the equilibrium between mobility and inclusion.

6. Conclusion

The research undertaken in this chapter has focussed on two different case studies: the status of traditional minority and migrant languages in the EU. In the domain of the individual case studies new data and insights have been achieved at by collecting and reordering data and applying different methods of research in getting new data and typological patterns to the surface. In the case of minority language rights that we have studied for CEE states with Hungarian minority groups, especially Romania and Slovakia these have been included in the official regulations in terms of a mixed system of the territoriality and personality principles restricted by a 20% threshold. Even in states with a strong one-language regime the personality principle recurs constantly. This opens up the possibility for the development of an overall European language policy at supranational level. It is crucial, if a successful language policy towards migrants is to be developed, that the perceptions and needs of these communities are taken into account. A successful language policy for both traditional minority and migrant languages should be guided by respect for language diversity and equality of languages. The status of migrant languages can be upgraded using the solutions applicable to traditional minority languages. Such solutions should always involve the personality principle in order to respect linguistic diversity and equality of languages. As a result, the personality principle functions as an analytical tool to position the case of traditional minority and migrant languages in the MIME framework that is designed to optimize equilibrium between mobility and inclusion.

The analysis of migration languages, aside from the new empirical insights provided, proves the relevance of the concept of motility. It embodies several necessary elements for modern-day migrant language policy research: it acknowledges the connection between policy and the perception by the 'subjects' (in this case: the members of the migrant communities) of the said policy; it emphasises the fluidity of concepts, such as mobility especially when connected to language skills; and it allows incorporation of transnational processes. Note that the personality principle is also relevant to the case of motility, a special case of mobility, when languages may trigger different mobility processes.

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Inclusion and mobility
in the multilingual region of Vojvodina

At the intersection of international
minority rights law, state policies and local realities

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International and internal mobility can result in both linguistic diversity and forced migration due to intended homogenisation efforts (e.g. "ethnic unmixing" in the successor states of former Yugoslavia). International minority rights instruments scarcely address the questions of mobility and multilingualism. Vojvodina is expected to be a multilingual region in Serbia, an EU-candidate state, according to the laws on language use. Recent migratory trends in Vojvodina – within Serbia and from Serbia to Hungary and other EU states – have changed the "identity landscape" of a region that possesses deeply anchored multinational–multilingual traditions. An important question, therefore, is how existing legal provisions on language rights could offer protection to minority language speakers. International actors also promote the respect for and protection of minority language rights, reflected in the broad political and normative commitments made by Serbia within the context of EU-accession process. However, this political objective is often not achieved, a frequently observed obstacle being that local authorities see any attempt at implementing those language rights more as a burden than an opportunity. This chapter addresses questions such as: How is the legal framework implemented in practice (*de iure* vs. *de facto* use of minority languages)? What influence may international norms have on language rights regime? What influence do kin-state policies have?

1.   Introduction

Language diversity is often seen as an important element in the European integration project. This is particularly true of the European Union, which faces challenges in recognising 'its rich cultural and linguistic diversity' (TEU, 2012: Art. 3(3)) in building a European polity, while respecting its member states' wide-ranging and often exclusionary language policies (Kraus, 2008). In Serbia, an EU candidate country, the multilingual region of Vojvodina offers an interesting case to analyse the effects of European integration on minority policies (Vizi, Tóth & Dobos, 2017). The complexity of international norms, EU conditionality, domestic practices and EU member states' kin-state policies have a strong influence on the multilingual setting in the region. This chapter does not intend to offer a clear typology of the causal relationship between different kin-state policy strategies and socio-linguistic changes in Vojvodina. Instead, it identifies the different actors and legal/political dynamics that influence language use and the societal position of languages in the region.

In many respects minority language rights are contested, and even among EU member states they do not enjoy unanimous recognition. In the context of EU enlargement, EU institutions (in particular the Commission and the Parliament) make regular references to international standards on minority rights, and cooperation between the European Union, the Council of Europe and the OSCE in the field of human rights protection has been stepped up. State practices differ widely as to the interpretation and implementation of minority language rights, and most of the international documents on minority rights are legally non-binding soft-law instruments (the two major exceptions being the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM) and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML) – see below).

European integration and accession to the EU is not only about the extension of a normative policy regime to candidate states. The EU's economic and labour market opportunities have a serious impact on the migratory dynamics in applicant states' societies. Moreover, the post-conflict political and social consequences of the break-up of Yugoslavia and the secession of Kosovo have dramatically influenced inter-ethnic relations and mobilisation dynamics in Serbia.

From a broader perspective, international and internal mobility may result in both linguistic diversity and forced migration due to intended homogenisation efforts (e.g. 'ethnic unmixing' in the successor states of the former Yugoslavia). There is both mobility-induced diversity and mobility-induced homogeneity. Language rights and language policies should ensure that the trade-off between mobility and inclusion properly reflects multilingual realities, and that the problem is not simply erased by assimilation.

The case study on the Serbian province of Vojvodina has confirmed the above mentioned tendencies. Recent migratory trends in Vojvodina – within Serbia and from Serbia to neighbouring and other EU states – have changed the 'identity landscape' of a region with deeply anchored multinational/multilingual traditions.

From 1989 onwards a strong centralisation process in Serbia resulted in the almost total elimination of Vojvodina's provincial autonomy, and also minority rights were seriously cut back in comparison with communist Yugoslav times. Serbia's nationalist policies and its isolation at international level during the post-Yugoslav wars had a very negative impact on minorities and multilingualism in Vojvodina (see Beretka, 2014). After the fall of the Milošević regime, Serbia's foreign policy orientations and its domestic constitutional structure were completely redesigned, creating a more stable democratic and inclusive legal framework, including for minorities. The new constitution adopted in 2006 recognised minority language rights that have been translated into specific legal provisions. Not only domestic policy developments, but also international commitments have influenced developments in legislation on minority rights. Serbia has signed and ratified both the FCNM and the ECRML, and concluded bilateral treaties on minority rights protection. In addition, minority issues are also part of EU accession negotiations, resulting in the adoption of special policy measures aimed at improving the situation of minorities (Akcioni plan, 2016).

However, these international commitments do not offer a clear normative blueprint for the protection of minority languages. Regarding the use of (minority) languages, international human rights instruments focus on the communicative role of language and on the prohibition of discrimination. Much less attention is paid to the promotion of linguistic diversity, including regional or minority languages (RMLs), and to ensuring language rights. The purpose of, and instruments for, minority language rights protection are often debated.

Broadly speaking, there are two different approaches to minority rights: from an integrationist position, minority rights claims are acceptable until they are aimed at establishing self-governing or power-sharing arrangements. The right to use minority languages in education or in the public sphere may fit into this approach as a legitimate right. However, claims to regional official status for a minority language may be rejected on this basis. An accommodationist criticism focuses on the needs and claims of minority groups, irrespectively of their political content. Granting official status to a minority language could even be seen as an instrument for offering equal symbolic powers to minority and majority languages in a region. The criticism that European minority rights legislation has been 'politically ineffective' and 'conceptually unstable' reflects the gap between such legislation and the aspirations of certain minority groups (Kymlicka, 2008). Under the emerging European

minority rights regime both European international organisations and states tend to support an integrationist rather than an accommodationist approach to minority rights (Galbreath & McEvoy, 2012).

As regards the European Union, since the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, the values of the EU include 'respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities' (TEU, 2012, Art. 2.). The term 'minorities' is used without any qualifications, but it may be assumed that linguistic minorities are included in the concept. This may be linked to the recognition of the EU's 'rich cultural and linguistic diversity' (TEU, 2012, Art. 3(3)). This provision does not, however, establish a legal basis for EU legislation in the field of minority rights. Whereas Art. 19 of the TEU offers a solid basis for EU action against discrimination (among other things based on 'ethnic origin'), it does not mention language as a basis for discrimination. In contrast, the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights also prohibits discrimination based on language (Art. 21) and recognises respect for linguistic diversity (Art. 22). In this respect the European Union still applies double standards: whereas 'protection of minorities' is an accession criterion for candidate states, member states are no longer required to fulfil their minority protection commitments *after* joining the EU. Whereas EU institutions have done extensive work in the field of multilingualism and language learning (Commission, 2006, 2011), these initiatives have had a very minor impact on the situation of minority languages, since they promote all foreign, migrant or minority languages.[1] Although there have been various initiatives (mainly by the European Parliament) to provide financial support for regional or minority ('lesser used') languages since the 1980s, such support has decreased dramatically in the past 20 years (Gazzola, 2016).

Since it is important to understand how social inclusion and mobility can be interpreted under international minority rights instruments, we will start by addressing these issues separately, explaining why these documents fail to tackle the challenges of mobility. We will then clarify the particular role played by kin states in influencing the identity patterns and mobility prospects of minorities in particular cases. The second section of this chapter explores in detail the case of a multilingual region, Vojvodina in Serbia.

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1.   Implementation of these programmes largely depends on member states, many of which have no inclination to promote minority languages.

1.1   Inclusion and European minority rights instruments

International human rights instruments – the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the European Convention on Human Rights in particular – reflect a limited approach to language rights. Both the European Court of Human Rights (Nagy, 2018) and the UN Human Rights Committee tend to limit language rights to the prohibition of discrimination and only marginally accept claims to the effective promotion of minority languages. In a European context, we can make a distinction between a human rights approach and an identity rights approach to minority languages. The human rights model focuses on the communicative role of language and on social inclusion. Although the FCNM and the ECRML offer more detailed provisions on the protection and promotion of minority languages, they leave a large margin of discretion for state parties and *per se* cannot appropriately prevent the governmental promotion of linguistic assimilation (Patten, 2009).

Inclusion with respect to minority rights takes two main forms: inclusion of territorial minorities in the context of multi-level governance and federalisation processes (e.g. autonomy arrangements, see below); and inclusion in a host country, including traditional minority communities, of persons originating from other communities (whether from another part of the same state, or from another state). As for the latter, the very focus of the ECRML on 'users' of RMLs has an inclusive element: it encompasses not only those who speak the language, but also 'non-speakers of a regional or minority language living in the area where it is used' (Article 7.1 *g*), by setting objectives and principles in order to enable them to learn these languages, and therefore facilitating their inclusion in the minority community. This is important because genuine inclusion is a two-way process: it works towards including the minority into the majority and *vice versa*. Encouraging members of the majority to learn the languages of national minorities appeared as early as 1996 in the Hague recommendations by the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM Hague Recommendations, 1996: 8), and the role of language as a key policy area of social integration was further elaborated in the Ljubljana Guidelines (2012). The latter document emphasises, *inter alia*, that '[s]tates' policies should balance the need for one or more shared language(s) as a common basis for the integration and functioning of society with the obligation to safeguard and promote linguistic diversity, including by protecting the linguistic rights of minorities. Governments should provide accessible opportunities to learn the State language' (HCNM Ljubljana Guidelines, 2012: 52). On the other hand, in light of the 'mutual adaptation inherent in the process of integration', the High Commissioner calls for state provisions encouraging members of the majority to learn minority languages (HCNM Ljubljana Guidelines, 2012: 54). In the same spirit, a 2017 recommendation by the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities called on member states of the Council of Europe

to develop better teaching methods in state language learning for minority students and promote RML learning among majority language speakers (CLRAE, 2017: 7). As far as the FCNM is concerned, inclusion only appears in the context of minority speakers' duty to learn the official language of the state (Article 14, para. 3), and as a warning that integration policies and practices can never go so far as to assimilate members of the minority – at least against their will (Article 5, para. 2). However, the fourth Thematic Commentary of the Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention (ACFC) emphasises that the main purpose of the FCNM is to 'promote dialogue in open and inclusive societies' (FCNM Commentary, 2016: 3.), and that its application should reflect the spirit of inclusion. This approach is also reflected in the two-decade monitoring practice of the ACFC which consistently encouraged state authorities to be inclusive when implementing the FCNM (FCNM Commentary, 2016: 6.), since the treaty has 'an immediate relevance for the whole society' (FCNM Commentary, 2016: 18). Although the FCNM does not *expressis verbis* contain a provision to that effect, the Advisory Committee has repeatedly 'encouraged measures that promote the knowledge and the use of minority languages by persons belonging to majority communities' (FCNM Commentary, 2016: 24). Furthermore, the Advisory Committee has supported inclusive language policies catering for the needs of 'everybody', including 'persons belonging to national minorities living outside their traditional areas of settlement, immigrants and "non-citizens"' (*ibid.*).

1.2   Mobility and European minority rights instruments

RMLs usually have strong territorial anchoring, so there is little flexibility in the mobility side of the inclusion/mobility trade-off because there is no real physical mobility involved. In fact, policy recommendations for regional and local authorities underline the importance of offering attractive conditions to RMLs which 'can act as a bulwark against work force or brain drain, by increasing the willingness to stay in the regions concerned' (CLRAE, 2017: 2). It should be emphasised that minority language rights inevitably have a geographic dimension: they are granted, funded, and implemented within particular polities. The ECRML, for example, intentionally builds upon the notion of territoriality: the term 'regional and minority languages' refers to languages that are traditionally used within a given territory of a state, whether or not they can be identified with a particular area of it. Furthermore, the Charter expressly excludes the languages of 'new minorities' from the scope of its protection (Article 1). However, signatory states may 'undertake to apply, *mutatis mutandis*, the principles listed in paragraphs 1 to 4 of Article 7 to non territorial languages' (Article 7, par. 5).

Similarly, the FCNM aims to protect national minorities 'within their respective territories' (preamble), and Article 16 expressly refers to areas inhabited by persons

belonging to national minorities. Although the treaty text does not contain a definition of national minorities, it is traditionally understood that mobile minority communities do not belong to them. However, the monitoring body of the FCNM has accepted a more flexible scope of application, and takes account of today's trends of migration and mobility: "[i]ncreased mobility in many countries has resulted in a high number of persons belonging to national minorities moving from areas of their traditional settlement to other regions that offer more favourable economic conditions or educational opportunities, such as industrialised areas or urban centres" (FCNM Commentary, 2016: para. 33). However, persons belonging to a national minority who live outside their traditionally established areas should not be disproportionately disadvantaged. According to the ACFC, "[i]n particular the fact that only some rights (that is Articles 10(2), 11(3) and 14(2)) allow for territorial limitations implies again that the applicability of other rights should not in principle be restricted to certain regions" (FCNM Commentary, 2016: para. 32).[2]

In any case, mobility is of minor relevance in international instruments on the protection of minorities. The few exceptions include paragraph 2 of Article 8 of the ECRML, which provides for teaching in or of the RMLs in territories other than those in which these languages are traditionally used. As explained in the Explanatory Report to the ECRML, this provision 'is motivated by the realization that in modern circumstances of mobility the principle of territoriality may no longer be sufficient in practice for the effective protection of a regional or minority language. In particular, a substantial number of speakers of such languages have migrated to the major cities' (ECRML Explanatory Report, 1992: 14).

The other provision of the ECRML, possibly relevant to mobility, relates to transfrontier exchanges. Pursuant to Article 14, states undertake (a) to apply existing bilateral and multilateral agreements which bind them with the states in which the same language is used in identical or similar form, or if necessary to seek to conclude such agreements, in such a way as to foster contacts between the users of the same language in the states concerned in the fields of culture, education, information, vocational training, and permanent education, and (b) for the benefit of RMLs, to facilitate and/or promote cooperation across borders, in particular between regional or local authorities in whose territory the same language is used in identical or similar form. A similar provision on bilateral and multilateral agreements and transfrontier co-operation is found in Article 18 of the FCNM in order to ensure the protection of

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2.   In fact, the Committee holds that some rights in the FCNM (i.e. protection against discrimination – Article 6, and provisions related to mutual education and research of the language and culture of minority and majority communities, and the media as tools for integration – Article 12) should be applicable to all persons, including immigrants and 'non-citizens' (FCNM Commentary, 2016: 21–24).

persons belonging to national minorities. Transfrontier relations, however, are not necessarily linked to mobility, since relevant provisions promote access to services for people belonging to minorities regardless of state borders. The above-mentioned resolution of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities invited local and regional authorities of the Council of Europe member states to improve regional and cross-border cooperation in order to provide access to services using RMLs in kin states (CLRAE, 2017: 4). This, in turn, leads us to the role of kin-state policies which is further elaborated in this chapter. The OSCE HCNM has produced a set of recommendations on this topic, the Bolzano/Bozen Recommendations on National Minorities in Inter-State Relations (2008), although without any explicit reference to mobility.

2.   Multilingualism, mobility and inclusion in Vojvodina

Vojvodina is a multilingual border region where modern settlements, migrations and assimilation processes have resulted in the formation of groups and communities with a mixed cultural repertoire (Tátrai, Kocsis, Gábrity & Takács, 2013).
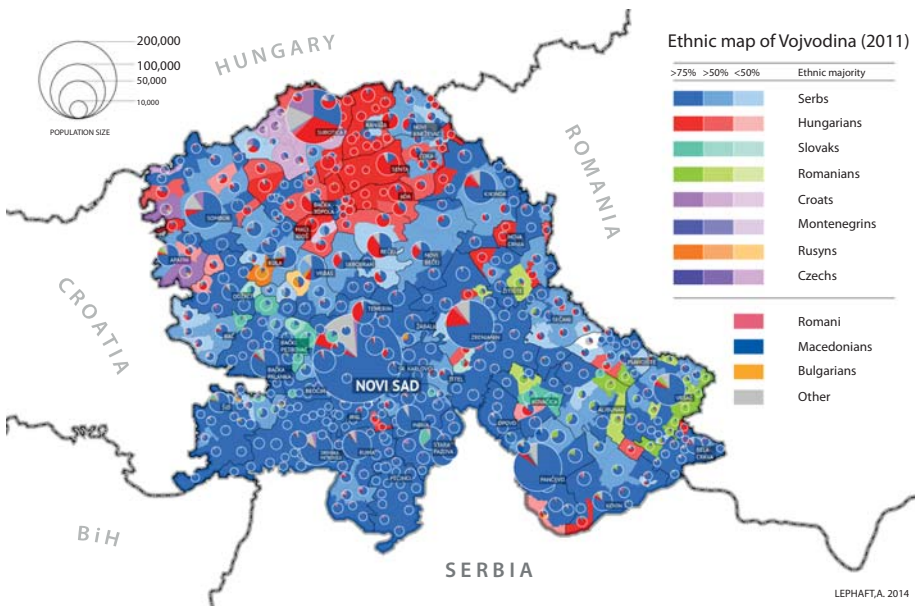
Figure 5.1 Ethnic map of Vojvodina
Source: Léphaft (2014)

Sociological surveys in the 1990s showed that besides Bosnia-Herzegovina, Vojvodina had the highest average inter-ethnic tolerance and the greatest national diversity within the former Yugoslavia. Levels of national tolerance have been influenced by the structural position of minorities and majorities at various administrative levels (Hodsen, Sekulic & Massey, 1994).

Field research in Vojvodina shows that some places display harmonious cohabitation of ethnic and linguistic communities, while elsewhere the changes in local population (following the influx of large number of Serb refugees from Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina or Kosovo) caused the ethnicisation of socio-economic conflicts (Tátrai, Kocsis, Gábrity & Takács, 2013).

The 2011 census data reflect the heterogeneity of Vojvodina, where less than 67% of the population declared themselves Serbs. National minorities include Hungarians (13%), Slovaks (2.6%), Croats (2.43%), Roma (2.19%), Romanians (1.32%), Montenegrin (1.15%), Bunjevci (0.85%), Ruthenians (Rusyns) (0.72%), and a few smaller communities (Republički zavod za statistiku, 2012). Vojvodina's multi-ethnic fabric differentiates the autonomous province from the rest of Serbia. 41 of Vojvodina's 45 local municipalities can be considered multi-ethnic (i.e. more than 5% of the local population belongs to one minority group, or all minorities together make up more than 10% of the local population), while the number of multi-ethnic municipalities in the rest of Serbia (not including Kosovo)[3] is only 27 out of 167 (Beretka & Székely, 2016). The question is whether the sociological reality of multilingualism is reflected in legislation and translated into practice during everyday encounters with public service providers and authorities.

Unfortunately Vojvodina's unique multilingual character is not reflected in the allocation of competences between the central government and the provincial government. Although the region enjoys some autonomy, this seems to be of an administrative nature, as only the Serbian Parliament has the right to adopt laws and is entitled to implement them. Thus Serbia could be described as an asymmetrically decentralised unitary state with a unitary legal system. The Assembly of Vojvodina can only regulate issues falling within its competence under legislation, which must be in accordance with the Constitution and state laws. Opportunities to regulate an issue differently in the province than in other parts of Serbia are very limited (Beretka & Székely, 2016). The Serbian Constitution guarantees the right of citizens to provincial and local autonomy (Art. 12) and it also states that "autonomous provinces shall ensure the exercise of human and minority rights, in

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3.   Kosovo declared independence in 2008, and by 2020 was recognised by almost 100 states, whereas Serbia has so far refused to do so. Under the Serbian Constitution (Art. 182) Kosovo is an autonomous province with a 'special status'; however, what exactly this means needs to be regulated by a separate law that has not yet been adopted.

accordance with the Law" (Art. 183 (3)). The specific competencies of the autonomous province were adopted in a separate law in 2009 by the Serbian Parliament (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, 2009) and regulated by the Statute of the Province, adopted by the Provincial Assembly. Largely because of party-political conflicts between the central government and Vojvodina, both laws have been challenged before the Constitutional Court for review of constitutionality (Beretka, 2014: 257). The Constitutional Court's decision reflected a restrictive interpretation of the constitutional provisions on provincial autonomy. It declared that, since any provincial competence can be exercised in accordance with state law, there are essentially no exclusive provincial competencies; this means that the province has limited competences to grant some additional rights, including linguistic ones, to minorities living on its territory.

The language regime of Serbia reflects a combination of territorial and non-territorial approaches to autonomy arrangements. Serbia limits the territories where minority language rights can be claimed (ECRML ExCom, 2009: 7, para. 29.). According to the state-level threshold rule, a national minority's language is in official use in local self-government units (LSGUs) which are inhabited by more than 15% of persons belonging to the respective national minority, based on the latest population census (Službeni glasnik RS, 2010: art. 3). The Provincial Assembly of Vojvodina has introduced another threshold and permitted national minority languages to be in official use in settlements or villages if they are inhabited by more than 25% of persons belonging to a national minority in accordance with the data of the last census (Official Gazette APV, 2012: art. 8[3]). Currently 9 national minority languages are in official use in one or more of the 45 LSGUs in Vojvodina.[4]

Under these circumstances, Grin's (2011: 29) recommendation seems to be particularly relevant: "territoriality … can prove highly flexible and be reconciled with linguistic diversity if the language regime is modulated by exploiting different tiers of government, by fine-tuning the allocation of competences between these authorities and building in asymmetries in favour of languages seen as weaker and most in need of protection."

The constitutional uncertainties regarding the division of competences between the central government and the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina do not help preserve and promote traditional multilingualism in the region. In 2009 the Constitutional Court's ruling forced the Provincial Assembly of Vojvodina to repeal its decision on detailed regulation of language rights of national minorities settled in its territory. Hence the Constitutional Court limited the legislative powers of the autonomous province and its opportunities to improve conditions of

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4.   The Hungarian language is in official use in all or part of 31 LSGUs, Slovak in 13, Romanian in 10, Ruthenian in 6, Croatian in 4, Macedonian in 2, and Czech, Montenegrin and Bulgarian in 1 (APV, 2017).

multilingualism to simple repetition of state laws (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, 2012). Although the European Union obliged the Serbian government to adopt an Action Plan for Exercising the Rights of National Minorities (Akcioni plan, 2016) in order to open negotiations on Chapter 23, 'Vojvodina's future contribution to the implementation of [the plan] is deemed to be negligible, because instead of regulation, control or soft law measures taken in order to improve enforcement of language rights, Vojvodina is only required to provide financial support for local municipalities in its territory' (Beretka, 2016: 528–529).

Interviews, assessed reports and documents, and participating observations during field research[5] allow us to highlight the relationship between *de jure* and *de facto* situations concerning the use of minority languages, as well as connections with domestic and cross-border mobility and social inclusion. The role and impact of various actors (including conditionality of international organisations, language policies of Serbia, kin-state activities by Hungary, Croatia and other countries, monitoring work and legal assistance by the provincial ombudsman and NGOs, individual choices and adaptation strategies or 'navigation') are inseparable when shaping multilingualism in practice (see Kraus & Grin, 2018).

From a *practice-based* point of view, "the crux of the minority problem is not to establish rights on paper, but to make sure that they are operative – in other words, to establish guarantees" (Toynbee, 1992: 323). Serbia's legal framework on national minorities not only supports the rights guaranteed by the ECRML, but in fact provides a higher level of protection. However, legal provisions are not consistently implemented (Szerbhorváth, 2015), which is justified by the fact that in 2015 almost 42% of the complaints concerning minority rights submitted to the provincial ombudsman referred to the use of languages (Pokrajinski zaštitnik građana, 2015; Ombudsman, 2016: 85–87). Problems arise in various fields of language use: linguistic landscape (public signs and street names),[6] communication with public

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5. Interviews were conducted by Edgár Dobos in September 2010, July 2013, June 2015 and May 2016. The selection of informants and sites aimed at reflecting the variety and heterogeneity of positions in terms of (a) ethnicity (e.g. Bosniak, Bulgarian, Bunjevci, Croat, Hungarian, Serb, Slovak positions), (b) locality (settlements with different ethnic structure and minority/majority positions, (c) level of agency (local-, provincial-, national- and international-level actors as well as kin-state representatives), and (d) professional background (e.g. legal experts, officials, politicians, teachers, activists, ordinary people, etc.).

6. Inconsistency and inaccuracy are typical problems. In many places the name of the public office is displayed in the minority language but the name of the city remains in Serbian. To mention some examples with reference to a primary school, a public library and a tax bureau: 'Bratstvo-jedinstvo Általános Iskola – Belo Blato' (instead of the Hungarian 'Testvériség és Egység Általános Iskola – Nagyerzsébetlak') (see Figure 5.2); 'Népkönyvtár – Bela Crkva' (instead of the Hungarian 'Népkönyvtár – Fehértemplom'); tax bureau: 'Adóhivatal – Kovin' (instead of the Hungarian 'Adóhivatal – Kevevára').

authorities and officials (hospitals, post offices, judicial proceedings), proportional representation of national minorities among employees (see below), textbooks and language of instruction in schools, translation of personal documents and transcription of names. Several factors contribute to the implementation gap: (a) lack of will among authorities and officials who perceive minority language speakers as a problem rather than a positive resource, and the 'extra' services that would meet their needs as a burden; (see Kontra, Philippson, Skutnabb-Kangas & Várady, 1999: 6), (b) politics (political image of Serbia as the state of Serbs, powerful linguistic ideology emphasising the primacy of the Serbian language), (c) lack of legal consciousness (many persons belonging to a national minority are not aware of their language rights), and (d) local and regional branches of the republic's central institutions (tax bureaus, employment agencies, pension funds, institutes of geology etc.) are not sensitive to the local context with national minority languages in official use.[7]

Figure 5.2 The primary school in Belo Blato (Nagyerzsébetlak)
Source: photograph by Edgár Dobos.

In principle, everybody has the right to use his mother tongue in court, the police station, the land registry and hospitals, to receive bills and other documents from post offices and gas and electricity suppliers in national minority languages in official use, or to receive information about their medical condition in a language they understand. However, when there are no staff who can speak national minority languages in official use, clients, customers, or patients are required to use

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7.   Contrary to public perception, the lack of financial resources is not the main obstacle to the application of language rights.

the Serbian language in order to get any information (Ombudsman, 2016: 35). In reality, pseudo-multilingual or *de facto* monolingual practices prevail over genuine multilingualism.

2.1   Social inclusion and the proportional representation of national minorities

Rules and practices governing language use in administration, law, education, media, public signage and communication with authorities and public service providers affect the interests and identities of people. Language is therefore unavoidably politicised in multilingual societies. Majority and minority perspectives often conflict over the interpretation of reality and/or the desired model of state/minority relations. The proportional representation of national minorities among civil servants or employees of public bodies is one of the instruments that may counterbalance the disadvantages based on language, and safeguard successful inclusion and actual participation of national minorities in social, political, economic, and cultural life.[8] In this connection, the HCNM *Ljubljana Guidelines* have emphasised that effective participation in social and economic life includes the promotion of 'labour market inclusion of minority groups with disproportionally low participation' (HCNM Ljubljana Guidelines, 2012: Art. 40). According to the Constitution and the laws of Serbia, public authorities and organisations providing public services must ensure proportional representation of national minorities among their employees (Constitution of Serbia, 2006: Art. 77[2]). Moreover, in order to exercise the right to use the mother tongue, they have to employ officials and staff who understand and speak national minority languages (Službeni glasnik RS, 2010).

However, there is a significant gap between these requirements and actual practice (Pokrajinski zaštitnik građana, 2015). There are three barriers to the application of legal standards. First, belonging to a national minority and speaking the language of a national minority are not overlapping categories. On some occasions, e.g. in the police, instead of hiring members of national minorities, they offer a minority language learning course, although the efficiency of such measures is questionable (see Rácz, 2012). Second, under Serbia's Constitution (Article 47.2) "no person shall be obliged to declare his national affiliation". Hence it is impossible to know the precise number of public servants belonging to minorities, which is a serious

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8.   Successful inclusion 'implies a feeling of belonging and of being accepted, as well as actual participation … in the social, political, economic, and cultural life of the country, region and local area of residence. This feeling of "belonging", which is a marker of successful inclusion, needs to be safeguarded for different types of constituencies, whose specific needs may be different'. MIME, 2017. 6.

practical obstacle to the application of the proportionality principle.[9] Third, there is no legal mechanism to check anyone's command of a national minority language. Laws neither require proof of language knowledge in case of employment in the public sector, nor require public service providers to hire staff competent in minority languages. Although national minority language skills may appear 'desirable' in employment specifications, language criteria or language tests cannot be prescribed (Beretka, 2016: 519).

Legal incoherence undermines social inclusion: persons belonging to national minorities may feel compelled to request legal assistance, use informal networks or opportunities provided by kin states, or choose assimilation when they face ethnic-based social exclusion and practical obstacles in their problem-solving efforts on a daily basis.

2.2   Migratory pulling forces and kin-state policies

As a result of redrawing borders and population displacements, sections of linguistic and cultural communities have found themselves cut off from the states where the relevant majority communities live. For this situation, Brubaker (1996) used the terms 'kin state', 'national minority' and 'nationalising state', whereas the Venice Commission (2001) used the terms 'kin state', 'kin minority' and 'home state'. This 'triadic relationship' characterises many contexts in Central and Eastern Europe,[10] but the observable reality is much more complex. Acknowledging the fact that there are international actors (e.g. the EU) shaping these interactions and dynamics, thereby widening the triadic model into a quadratic one,[11] and also taking into account the heterogeneity of the various 'fields', the following cases can be distinguished:

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9.   The Constitution of Serbia is not the only constitution with structural contradictions. An illustrative example is the Constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Annex IV to the Dayton Peace Agreement).

10.   Not everywhere does the concept of kin state make sense. For instance, French-, Italian- or German-speakers living in Switzerland neither consider themselves French, Italians or Germans, nor regard neighbouring countries as their kin states. In fact, and apart from the temporary occupation of some cantons during the Napoleonic wars, the French-, Italian- or German-speaking parts of Switzerland were never part of France, Italy or Germany, and as the case of Switzerland illustrates, a shared language does not necessarily imply a common history or identity. See Wimmer, 2011.

11.   The model is, of course, an over-simplification: 'the international community' (or 'the EU') also represents a very heterogeneous field of different actors and interests. See Smith, 2002, and Krasniqi, 2013.

a. Autochthonous/national minorities that had majority nation status before the redrawing of state borders. Even if they ended up under the sovereignty of another state, where they do not constitute the 'titular' nation, they have preserved their national consciousness. Although they are classified as national minorities within the legal and political order, from an analytical view 'minority nation' or 'co-nation' (Kymlicka & Opalski, 2001) would be a more precise term for them in the social and cultural sense. They are part of a 'divided nation' (McGarry & O'Leary, 2013) who consider their former home state their kin state. Examples include Hungarians in Vojvodina (Serbia) and Transylvania (Romania).

b. Autochthonous/national minorities or co-nations that consider a neighbouring state their kin state although they never lived under the sovereignty of that state; the place where they live historically was never (or only for a short period) part of that putative kin state. They consider the majority nation of that neighbouring state their ethnic kin and this sense of being part of the same nation is mutual, despite both their situational stigmatisation by the transborder ethnic kin and their cultural similarity with their co-habitants in their home state. Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs illustrate this pattern, who are two of the 'constituent nations' of Bosnia besides the (Muslim) Bosniaks, and in fact it is the internationally brokered Dayton Peace Agreement that allowed the maintenance of 'special relations' between the neighbouring states (Serbia, Croatia) and the two entities of Bosnia-Herzegovina (the 'Republika Srpska' and the Bosniak-Croat Federation) (Fraser, 2013).

c. The concept of kin state does not apply to all autochthonous/national minorities. There are also 'claimed co-ethnics', who maintain a sense of separateness (distinctiveness) and refuse to identify with the putative kin state or kin nation, or to participate in its cross-border nation-building project. This lack of reciprocity can be observed in the case of Bunjevci (Vojvodina/Serbia and Hungary) in relation to Croatia; Slavic-speaking ex-Yugoslav Muslims, e.g. Torbeši (Macedonia), Goranci (Kosovo) or Muslims (Montenegro) in relation to Bosniaks; or Vlachs (Vojvodina/Serbia) in relation to Romania (Stjepanović, 2015; Friedman, 2016). These minority groups in liminal or in-between situations may be exposed to loyalty pressures and homogenisation efforts by both the kin and the host state. There is a complex interplay and tension between their local practices of self-identification and the top-down mechanisms of competing nation-building projects. In the case of Vojvodina, the relationships between Vlachs and Romanians and between Bunjevci and Croats illuminate these dynamics well.

For instance, Romania threatened to use its veto right during Serbia's EU accession talks[12] unless Serbia changed its policy towards the Vlachs, a group considered by Romania to be the descendants of Romanised people, part of the cross-border Romanian nation, and not recognised as a distinct national minority.

The relationship between Croats and Bunjevci has acquired an interesting political dimension. The content and script of textbooks can be a highly contested issue in a border region where ambivalent identities and loyalties are endangered by competing nation-building projects. The attempts to introduce textbooks in Cyrillic letters to Bunjevci children provoked immediate and fierce reactions from prominent Croat politicians who regarded this gesture as an insult, and claimed Bunjevci to be part of the Croat nation and their script to be Latin rather than Cyrillic.[13]

It is of utmost importance to focus on the local effects of kin-state policies and cross-border nation-building activities, especially extraterritorial citizenship policies. An interesting finding is how the acquisition of citizenship of neighbouring EU members is used as a tool for labour migration within the European Union. Bulgaria, Croatia and Hungary are happy to provide benefits and institutionalise relations with their cross-border kin communities, whereas many inhabitants of Vojvodina and Southern Serbia mobilise their language skills, family histories and personal connections in order to acquire EU citizenship via Hungarian, Croat or Bulgarian citizenship (Pogonyi, 2017). The fact that labour migrants from Vojvodina often use social networks and experiences from the former Yugoslav 'guest worker' era suggests that ethnic and linguistic social networks seem to be the most efficient vectors of inclusion and employment for newcomers.[14]

Local minority representatives noted in their interviews that many young Hungarians are planning to leave or have already left Serbia in order to find jobs in an EU member state that is not necessarily Hungary. Similar dynamics were observed within the Bulgarian and Croatian communities in Serbia, with Germany and Austria having been mentioned as the most popular destination countries.[15] Apparently young minority-language speakers (whether or not belonging to the minority in question)

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12. On EU conditionality and the protection of national minorities, see Csergő & Vangelov & Vizi, 2017; Vizi & Tóth & Dobos, 2017.

13. Representatives of the Croat community in Serbia raised the issue of textbooks with Latin letters during the drafting process of the Action Plan for Exercising the Rights of National Minorities (*Akcioni plan*, 2016). Interview and personal communication with Brigitta Toldi (Hungarian Language Office) and Katinka Beretka (legal expert), Subotica (in Hungarian *Szabadka*), May and June 2016.

14. Interviews by Edgár Dobos, May 2016.

15. *Ibid.*

respond adaptively to the changing conditions that open up new opportunities within the EU's labour market. The migration of young and talented members of minority communities may result in a lack of minority language-speaking personnel at courts, hospitals, universities, post offices, etc. Labour migration thus reduces the population of some minority communities and therefore their chances of survival.[16]

Opportunities for cross-border mobility opened up by acquisition of Hungarian citizenship have resulted in growing prestige for the Hungarian language. As conditions for the acquisition of Hungarian citizenship by facilitated naturalisation are based on citizenship of the Hungarian kingdom before 1920 rather than ethnicity, knowledge of Hungarian also becomes attractive to non-Hungarians. A similar phenomenon can be observed in Niš and its environs, where many Serbs attempt to find Bulgarian relatives in order to acquire Bulgarian citizenship. In fact, the local Serbian dialect is quite close to the Bulgarian one, which makes it relatively easy to transcend language boundaries.[17]

3.   Concluding remarks

The case of Vojvodina shows that formal adherence to international standards does not guarantee the effective implementation of minority rights in domestic settings. Governmental negligence, the vague formulation of specific language rights, and the social and political prioritisation of the state language may exert a dominant influence on language-use patterns. At the same time, kin-state support for minorities, especially the practice of facilitating naturalisation, has become a major driving factor for migration. Access to citizenship of EU member states has proved to be a mobilising force, especially among young people. In this context, minority language becomes a tool for labour migration, and for migrating members of minorities the EU is considered a single market, without preference for the kin states. Assimilationist practices and migration largely contribute to the linguistic homogenisation of the multilingual Vojvodina region in Serbia, regardless of the legal protection of minority languages.

The macro environment is not always helpful: international minority rights legislation is often contested and subordinated to geopolitical interests. Without a robust and common European minority rights regime, EU member states – and in

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16. Although the 15% threshold rule is based on the latest population census, the status of a national minority language in official use cannot be endangered by population loss, since national minority (language) rights are 'vested rights' within Serbia's legal order. See Beretka, 2016; Szerbhorváth, 2015.

17. Personal communication with Ana Veljković (a native of Niš and a graduate student at the University of Glasgow), Budapest, June 2016.

practice also EU candidate states – remain unaccountable for failure to implement minority protection commitments, and domestic party politics often outweigh the influence of EU legislation.

In domestic settings, ethnic and linguistic pluralism should be reflected in policies that exploit different tiers of government (national, regional and local), fine-tune the allocation of competencies between these authorities, and build in asymmetries in favour of languages most in need of protection.

Accepting local initiatives could also open the way for a more flexible approach to recognising official languages at regional and local levels: for example, where minority-language users are numerous and/or the minority exceeds a certain proportion, and minority representatives so request, the minority language should be declared a regional official language. This could be particularly useful and offer mutual benefits in border regions where minorities live. Policies related to multilingualism should also reflect a complementary ('additive') rather than exclusionary ('subtractive') approach, allowing the learning of the state language as a second language essential to employment and social mobility, while reinforcing the mother tongue as a first language essential to identity, psychological and security needs.

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PART III

Society

Language and inclusion in a multilingual environment

A bottom-up approach

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Since the turn of the century, two important social developments have had a considerable impact on daily life in most western European cities. The first is increasing mobility in a globalised world that transcends the traditional concept of migration and has even led to a paradigm shift in sociological thinking ('new' mobilities paradigm). A second related development is at the technological level, where communication patterns have changed significantly and prompted people to expand their networks beyond the local level. Both evolutions are most prominent in cities in which a growing number of citizens engage in different networks and traditional forms of social solidarity are under pressure. In this context, language plays a key role.

In this article, based on the case of Brussels, we investigate the dynamics behind the process of social inclusion in a mobile environment and the role that languages play in this. We set out from the Brussels pacification model and the analysis of the impact of mobility on the local population. Based on the shift in language use and citizens' attitude towards multilingualism and living in a multicultural environment, we seek a breeding ground for inclusive policies through a bottom-up approach. The conclusions focus on its impact on Brussels and its potential significance for other cities.

1. Introduction and methodological approach

Although only a small portion of the population is mobile (Favell & Recchi, 2009), the changing nature of migration dominates the political agenda of most European countries. Freedom of movement and residence for EU citizens, as one of the fundamental rights arising from EU citizenship as set out in the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992, has increased the number of EU citizens residing in other member states. Of the 512 million people living in the EU in 2018, 7.8% were nationals of another EU country (referred to in EU documents as intra-EU mobility) and 4.4% of the

residents were third-country nationals (referred to as migrants; Eurostat, 2019). These movements of people pose major challenges for the local inhabitants and their policymakers. Various European countries and the EU itself face so-called 'identity questions'. The growing influence of populist parties and the increase in racism and nationalism, the struggle with the consequences of the refugee crisis and the debate on the failure of multicultural society, Brexit etc. illustrate a growing sense of economic, cultural and political insecurity. Globalisation challenges social inclusion, such as the awareness of belonging to a community. People sharing the same territory no longer share a common history, culture, religion, language etc. Especially urban populations have become increasingly heterogeneous, as reflected in the multilingual character of most cities.

Although these social developments have been thoroughly documented, only limited research exists concerning the concrete impact on the evolution of local language knowledge and language use. This contribution focuses on the situation of the Brussels Capital Region (in the remainder of this contribution also referred to as 'Brussels'), the only officially bilingual region in Belgium, with a political system based on the institutionalisation of the two main language communities of the country, but with the majority of the population of non-Belgian descent. When analysing the relation between multilingualism and social inclusion, Brussels can be seen as a research laboratory. Given its specific political design, it lacks a coherent and compulsory integration policy. This creates an ideal context to observe how people deal with multilingualism in everyday life and the solutions they find to communicate (or not) within this urban setting.

The research design is based on a bottom-up methodology. The data on Brussels derive from the BRIO Language Barometer Project. Beginning in 2001, every five years, a representative sample of the officially registered adult residents of Brussels are questioned face-to-face about their language use and their attitude towards the complex linguistic situation of the city (see Janssens, 2018). The data collected through the various surveys form the starting point of the analysis that seeks to bring to light social order and structure within these data. This is in contrast to a top-down approach in which policymakers explicitly or implicitly impose their representation of the social structures under investigation. Through the development towards a networked society, citizens experience society as complex and often chaotic, yet this chaos reflects a new social order, in line with what Boutellier (2013) calls the 'improvising society'. In this respect, Brussels serves as a good example with, on the one hand, strict institutionalisation based on two traditional language groups and, on the other hand, a multilingual and multicultural population.

The aim of this chapter is twofold: first, we analyse the concrete language behaviour of the inhabitants of Brussels and, second, we provide a basis for a language policy adapted to a more inclusive society.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 The new mobilities paradigm

In social science literature, international migration is mainly approached as the movement of people trying to improve their economic situation by looking for a job and greater security in another country. Neoclassical theories in the 1960s and 1970s were restricted to economic motivations in light of the development level of various countries, stressing the north-south divide. At the end of the twentieth century, more global approaches like the New Economics of Labor Migration (Stark, 1991) also focused on economic factors but viewed the act of migration as a rational choice at the family level. In the following decades, greater attention was paid to the diversity of the migration process due to globalisation, the individual motives of migrants and the importance of networks at the community level (Massey et al., 1998). Current migration movements are no longer based solely on economic motives and the 'people on the move' are much more diverse. Traditional countries of origin have become receiving countries and vice versa. Not only are people in search of a job moving from one country to another, but their family members, students in higher education, commuters between countries, retirees, political refugees looking for asylum, workers on sabbatical, tourists and backpackers, illegal immigrants etc. have also joined the migration movement. Arroyo has stated that each of these theories only offers a limited contribution to the ever-changing reality and the extreme diversity of interrelated socioeconomic and cultural contexts, the types of migration, motivations, actors etc. Indeed, no general theory of international migration exists; rather, different theories and frameworks are used to explain this diverse and multifaceted phenomenon (Arroyo, 2005).

Based on this complexity, Urry (2000) has pointed to the increasing speed and intensity of migration due to the interconnections of these places through networks built on new technologies. These networks undermine society by affecting the concepts on which it is based. The nation state with its legal framework and membership criteria, traditional family relationships, work, housing etc. reflect a rather static approach within the same time/space context. Geographic mobility and international connectivity add a new time/space dimension to social research. Society is no longer based on static organising structures but has to consider mobility on different levels and within a global context. Cresswell distinguishes movement, the fact of displacement and mobility, which goes beyond the physical act of geographical transition (Cresswell, 2006). This approach suggests a set of questions, theories and methodologies from various disciplines to describe and analyse this phenomenon rather than a reductive theoretical approach. This multidisciplinary perspective, which focuses on mobility as a basic dimension to analyse society, is called the 'new' mobilities paradigm (Sheller & Urry, 2006).

2.2   The city as a node of flows

In a global economic context, cities play an increasingly important role as nodes of integrated networks of economic activities. Interrelationships between cities are not determined by a single network but by endless regimes of flows, with people, ideas, goods and data moving at different speeds, scales and viscosities. Castells (1996) views cities as geographical anchor points where the 'space of flows' (electronic networks generating information, ideas, financial transactions, etc.) and the 'space of places' (where industrial plants physically settle and people locally participate in this global economy) interact. The functions and densities of these networks create a hierarchy among the different cities (Taylor, 2008). The new mobilities paradigm highlight the importance of these networks, which differ from the traditional economic network approach in their speed and intensity of mobility and the lack of an institutional framework that deals with the effects of this mobility. Sassen (2014), for instance, has pointed to the effect of wealth distribution and the growing disconnection between the mobile city and its hinterland and the problems of the coexistence of an urban international elite with a growing marginalised population.

The increasing mobility of human capital affords more choices and greater freedom but it also causes resistance and introduces tensions in the field of cultural, social and economic segregation and identity issues. Mobility is not only a global issue; it also has a profound impact on local society, and this impact differs according to local practices and sensitivities. With their aggregated diversity of people and activities, become cities highly complex organisms seeking new forms of social interaction (Frisby & Featherstone, 1997). In this context, Wittel (2001) has suggested the concept of 'network sociality' as the social expression of liquid modernity (Bauman, 2000). Sociality is the counterpart of community; but whereas community includes elements of a common history or narrative of the collective as a basis for the sense of belonging and identity of its members, network sociality presents a much more individual sense of integration or disintegration based on communication in various domains. The nation state is experiencing ever-greater difficulties in offering an organising structure with rights and duties linked to membership and identity. It is subject to a process of deterritorialisation while emerging as a growing power within the local and global contexts.

From the perspective of this chapter, the EU is an illustration of the evolution in which the nation state continues to claim a central role but concomitantly tries to adapt to this new reality through a reorganisation of that sense of belonging. The establishment of EU citizenship is a complement to national citizenship, not a substitute for it. It creates three categories of citizens: nationals, EU citizens acquiring certain rights because of their nationality, and non-EU citizens or third-country nationals. These movements of people and the categorisation of inhabitants into three categories of citizens pose major challenges for local inhabitants and their

policymakers. Especially, urban populations have become increasingly heterogeneous, reflected in the multilingual character of most cities. The EU also seeks to promote an overarching sense of European identity among the nationals of its member states. By creating this new sense of belonging and solidarity, the boundaries between nationals and non-nationals are weakened and shifted to the European level, excluding residents with a non-EU nationality from the rights and obligations inherent in full citizenship (Jacobs & Maier, 1998).

2.3 The challenges of language and social inclusion in a mobile urban environment

In cities characterised by increasingly diversified patterns of mobility and by global networks, a complex linguistic and cultural diversity emerges. This diversity touches almost all aspects of daily life, not least the local people, who are confronted with multilingual challenges in their neighbourhood, at their children's schools, in the public realm etc., and this diversity raises questions about the extent to which people still feel 'at home' in this ever-changing urban context. Achieving a more inclusive society is a task for all citizens, and multilingualism is a bridging characteristic in this respect.

This challenge is usually reflected in a language policy focusing on integration policies. In most countries this implies that children acquire the official language(s) of the state through education, if necessary via a separate educational pathway, and that adults are expected to attend language courses. Within this policy framework there is little or no room for other languages; a multilingual policy is rather exceptional and restricted to some specific areas. EU policies regarding mobility increase the complexity of the field and may even contradict local policies. Policy focusing on social inclusion of such third-country nationals falls under national legislation, although the EU offers a framework with best practices helping to structure this policy. Its aims include active citizenship, economic participation, social cohesion and education, with an emphasis on language learning (European Commission, 2014). To enforce EU mobility within a context of multilingualism, language learning, teacher and student mobility and translation initiatives are supported (European Commission, 1998; Franke & Mennella, 2017). However, the distinction between EU citizens and third-country nationals means that the first group cannot be subject to a compulsory integration policy designed as a contract between the state and the newcomer, as is the case in several countries for non-EU nationals.

Thus, the emerging questions are as follows. What type of language policy will be created by the current urban reality subject to these contrasting challenges? To what extent will the government support or regulate multilingualism? What will be the status of the various languages? And what will be the role of multilingualism in defining urban citizenship?

3.   Brussels as a node of flows

3.1   A history of dealing with diversity and social inclusion

The choice of Brussels as a case study to analyse inclusion in a multilingual context is no coincidence. Brussels has a history of dealing with linguistic diversity and language contact/conflict situations. The current socio-political situation cannot be understood without considering its historical evolution. It is interesting to dwell upon the different stages of this evolution, because the particular case of Brussels contains various elements still important today in dealing with linguistic diversity and the resulting language policy.

When Belgium became an independent country in 1830, its constitution stipulated freedom of language. This should not be seen as a concern for an inclusive, in those days mainly bilingual society, but as a reaction to the former authority of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. Due to the status of French as the language of its economic, political, cultural and religious elite, its capital Brussels shifted from a predominantly Dutch-speaking city towards a bilingual city with French as the dominant language in the public domain. From 1880 until the last language census in 1947, the majority of Brussels' citizens were bilingual, since French was the language of upward social mobility and the majority of Dutch-speakers adopted French as their second home language. Owing to the conflicts accompanying the result of the language censuses that determined the language status of municipalities, the fixing of the language border in 1962 led to the application of the territoriality principle as the basis for language policy. This provisional end point in the shift from a personality principle towards territoriality as the basis for language policy likewise explains the institutionalisation of the pacification process between two language groups resulting in a complex theoretical framework of asymmetric partial power-sharing between the language communities and the regions (Janssens et al., 2014). Brussels became the only officially bilingual region in the country, where both French and Dutch have official language status.

In Brussels, bilingualism means a particular form of 'dual monolingualism'. The first characteristic of this political approach is that every citizen of Brussels is assumed to belong to one of the two imagined language communities (Anderson, 1983) and must be able to live as a monolingual in a politically bilingual society. The second characteristic is each citizen's unconditional freedom of choice. For instance, in every contact with the administration, the citizen can choose between French or Dutch, and the current language choice does not determine the next one; thus, one can easily choose an identity card in Dutch and a driving licence in French. Following this bilingual logic, no bilingual forms exist and one must always choose between two monolingual alternatives.

This form of bilingualism is prompted by the fact that, following the last language census in 1947 that led to this policy, the majority of the population was bilingual and it was impossible to reduce an individual citizen to one of the two language groups. Both language communities are considered exclusive, but no criteria determine membership in either of the two language communities, a typically Belgian political compromise.

3.2   The impact of 'new' mobility: Some figures

The above paragraphs illustrate the complexity of the institutionalisation of a pacification model based on the presence of two language groups in the 1960s. Since then, the composition of the population has changed substantially. One of the main driving forces behind this change is the international position of Brussels as one of the main EU capitals and NATO headquarters. According to the GaWC[1] categorisation, Brussels is an alpha world city due to its ranking on international political engagement and global governance and as a global information centre. Its international position has attracted an increasingly mobile workforce employed by international institutions and stakeholders in the international governance process. This dimension of the globalisation process is often called 'globalisation from above', referring to the driving force of institutions and governments. The mobile workforce involved in this global economic and political system is composed of a group of highly cosmopolitan, multilingual yet isolated and politically inactive Brussels citizens (Corijn et al., 2009) often referred to as the 'international' or 'expat' community. However, this is only part of the story of the impact of globalisation. 'New mobilities' not only refers to these highly qualified immigrants but also to similar networks using similarly mobile technologies to connect people in a transnational community based on more informal networks, known as 'globalisation from below' (Portes, 1997). This form of globalisation is driven by global economic networks and is related to lower-skilled jobs, often in an economic grey zone. This is also the case with Brussels, where mobility results not only in a transformation based on deepening internationalisation but also in growing social and spatial diversification and new challenges for Brussels' institutions.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent enlargement of the EU, the establishment of EU citizenship guaranteed free movement within the borders of the various nation states. This caused a drastic change in the composition of Brussels' population. Figure 6.1 shows its evolution by nationality (Belgians by birth, naturalised Belgians, EU nationals and non-EU nationals) from 2000 to 2018.

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1.   The GaWC or Globalization and World Cities Research Network classifies world cities according to their relationships in the context of economic globalization (http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc)
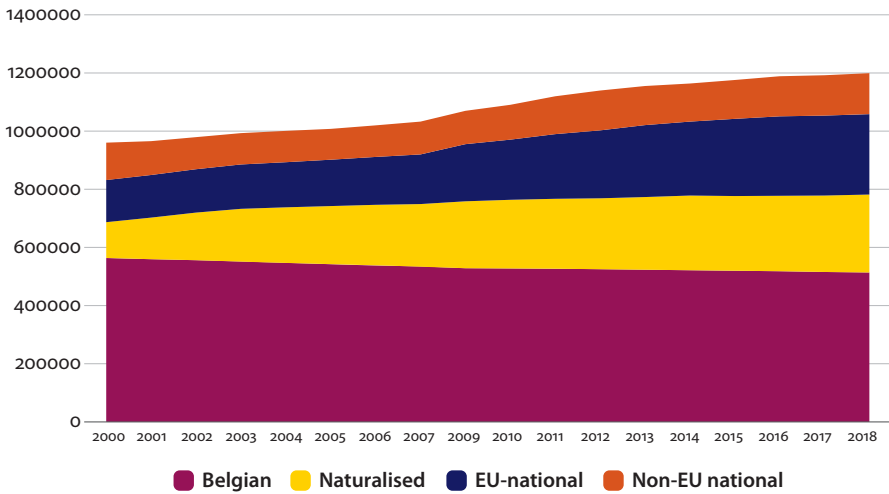
Figure 6.1 Evolution of Brussels' population by nationality[2]

A first important development is that although Brussels' population has increased by 25%, the number of inhabitants born with Belgian nationality is declining, both proportionally and in absolute numbers. Whereas in 2000 58.7% of the inhabitants of Brussels were born with Belgian nationality, by 2018 their share had fallen to 42.9%. This figure also includes the children of naturalised Belgians, a group that more than doubled in number during this period (and proportionally increased from 12.9% to 22.4% of the population). These naturalised Belgians are mainly of non-EU origin, primarily Moroccans, and residents with Turkish, Rwandan, Tunisian, Congolese and Algerian nationality. The main motives for naturalisation are easier access to the local labour market and social benefits (Hermia & Sieren, 2017). Among EU citizens, the number of naturalisations is limited, since their European citizenship guarantees most of the rights Belgians enjoy. One recent exception is the British. Since the announcement of Brexit, 3,902 Britons acquired Belgian nationality between June 2018 and September 2019, which is three times more than in the 10 years preceding the referendum.

A second important development concerns EU presence. While the share of non-EU citizens fell from 13.4% to 11.8% between 2000 and 2018, *inter alia* due to naturalisation, the number of EU citizens rose from 15.1% to 23.0%, almost doubling in absolute terms. Casier (2019) has linked this development to the influx of nationals from the new member states (mainly Poles, Romanians and Bulgarians), the strong increase of French nationals (the most represented foreign nationality) and the resumption of migration from southern European countries.

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2.   This figure is based on official governmental statistics provided by BISA, the Brussels Institute for Statistical Analysis. See https://bisa.brussels.

3.3   The impact of mobility on language use

The following sections focus on the impact of changes in mobility on the linguistic reality of Brussels. For this purpose, we use data from the BRIO Language Barometer surveys (LB), which enable us to map the evolution of language proficiency and language use and link it to of mobility.

Based on self-reporting in the most recent survey, the residents of Brussels claim to speak approximately one hundred home languages between them. Although Arabic is close to the 10% threshold, three languages were spoken by more than 10% of residents between 2000 and 2018: the official languages French and Dutch, and English. These three languages are referred to as contact languages since they are taught at school and their speakers have not necessarily acquired them as their home language, which is, for example, the case with Arabic.

The figures below refer to people who claim to speak a language well to excellently and who feel comfortable having a conversation in it. To analyse the impact of mobility, a distinction is made by place of birth between Brussels residents of Belgian nationality born in Brussels, Flanders or Wallonia, Brussels residents of EU nationality born in an EU country other than Belgium, and third-country nationals born outside the EU. Table 6.1 illustrates fluency in the two official languages and English.

Table 6.1 Language proficiency in contact languages by nationality

Language	Belgian born Brussels	Belgian born Flanders	Belgian born Wallonia	EU national	Non-EU national
French					
LB 2001	99.7%	97.4%	100%	92.1%	73.9%
LB 2018	97.9%	79.7%	99.1%	75.7%	75.6%
Dutch					
LB 2001	38.1%	81.1%	19.1%	14.6%	7.4%
LB 2018	18.0%	69.8%	6.9%	13.7%	14.8%
English					
LB 2001	32.3%	43.8%	26.5%	53.9%	12.1%
LB 2018	29.3%	50.0%	32.9%	48.9%	37.3%

Source: Janssens (2018)

French is the best-known language in Brussels, although in general the level of proficiency is decreasing. Despite its unchallenged dominant position, the decline between 2001 and 2018 is significant. Knowledge of the most prominent language dropped from 95.5% in 2001 to 87.1% in 2018. This is mainly due to Belgians born in Flanders and EU citizens. The changing profile of EU citizens is the basis of this significant decrease, as members from the new member states are less proficient in French.

Given the above evolution, not surprisingly, this is also the case with the minority language, Dutch. Knowledge of Dutch constantly decreased between 2001 and 2018. Remarkably, mobility is not to blame for this evolution. It was inhabitants born in Belgium, regardless of the region, that caused this decline. Especially, the problematic situation of language teaching in the French-medium school system explains this significant decline. The level of proficiency of EU citizens remains fairly constant over this period. Although no integration policy has been drafted for this group, a relatively large number of EU citizens take language courses. The economic reality in Belgium, with Flanders in a dominant position, makes knowledge of Dutch increasingly important in the labour market. A growing number of EU citizens from the new member states and third-country nationals have to remain competitive in the lower and middle segments of the Brussels labour market, where bi- or trilingualism is increasingly important.

English has a somewhat special position. While most inhabitants of Brussels fluent in French or Dutch also spoke this language in their family of origin, English is typically a school language. In both French and Dutch-medium education, knowledge of English is better than that of the second national language. Over the period under investigation, knowledge of English remained constant. Although, in the Brussels context, EU citizens are often considered as expatriates and associated with the use of English, they are more fluent in French.

The impact of mobility on both official languages is minimal. The reason for their significant decrease is primarily a Belgian issue due to the quality of language education. The EU presence has had a limited negative effect on French, and although EU citizens' knowledge of Dutch is limited, it remains constant. Migration from outside the EU has not had a significant impact either, although proficiency in Dutch increased significantly, and by 2018 such migrants' knowledge of the two languages was equal to that of EU citizens.

Mobility is the driving force behind linguistic diversity in Brussels. This diversity is reflected in language use in the private domain: parents pass on their language to the next generation, and most home languages are used with friends and on social media. To analyse the impact of this on local society, it is vital to examine the extent to which these languages are also spoken in the public domain. Our analysis therefore focuses on the use of languages in the neighbourhood, where one can freely choose which languages to use, and in the workplace, where it is in some cases regulated.

Table 6.2 presents an overview of the language used in conversations with neighbours. The table is restricted to the use of Dutch and French and their mutual combination or combination with other languages. In more than half of the cases, this 'other language' is English, but given the limited number of conversations in this language, it was not retained as a separate category. The table presents the figures for the first (LB1, 2001) and last (LB4, 2018) survey for the three citizenship categories.

Table 6.2 Language use with neighbours

	LB 2001 overall	Belg	EU	Non-EU	LB 2018 overall	Belg	EU	Non-EU
French	77.4%	80.6%	82.4%	47.5%	54.6%	55.8%	57.7%	43.9%
Dutch	1.5%	1.8%	0.4%	0.4%	0.2%	0.3%	–	0.3%
French/Dutch	11.2%	13.4%	4.6%	1.6%	15.9%	18.9%	8.7%	12.5%
French/other	7.0%	2.9%	9.2%	36.1%	20.0%	16.1%	24.5%	32.1%
French/Dutch/other	1.0%	1.1%	0.4%	0.8%	8.6%	8.7%	8.0%	9.0%
Other languages	1.9%	0.2%	3.1%	13.7%	0.7%	0.2%	1.1%	2.2%

Source: Janssens (2018); note that the combination Dutch/other is not mentioned in the source material.

The international population of Brussels is distributed unequally throughout its territory. In this respect, international mobility reinforces existing social segregation. Moreover, although the linguistic landscape of the city clearly defines the various segregated public spaces, this is less apparent from the languages spoken in the various neighbourhoods. With the exception of French, few residents speak only one language with their neighbours. In addition, sole use of French has dropped from almost 80% of conversations to 55%. This significant decrease already emerged from the 2013 survey, mainly due to the languages used by Belgians and EU citizens. Combining languages is becoming increasingly evident as a daily communication practice.

The slight increase in the combination of Dutch and French hides an important shift according to the background of the speakers. Specifically, in 2001, the combination was mainly used by citizens from monolingual Dutch-speaking families, whereas more recently its use has increased among residents from traditional bilingual families and citizens from monolingual French-speaking families. Unexpectedly, the combination also became more popular among non-Belgians.

The major differences lie in using a combination of French and another language, possibly supplemented by Dutch. For Belgians and EU citizens, this second language is in most cases English. English has developed into an important language able to bridge language differences between Belgians and non-Belgians, and even among Belgians themselves, although this is not the case with other languages. The impact of these other languages is limited, although they do provide some insight into the composition of the neighbourhood. In this respect, the role of Arabic is noteworthy. As a single local language, its reach is limited: 2% of residents born outside the EU speak Arabic with other neighbours; but in combination with French, Arabic is spoken in almost 20% of the cases within this category, followed by Spanish, Turkish, Italian, Lingala, German and Polish.

The Brussels labour market is the second area in which the use of languages is examined. Globalisation is having a twofold impact on the use of languages in the labour market. On the one hand, changes in the economic context imply that economic activity in a global context requires language skills and, on the other hand,

the mobility of individual workers generates local linguistic diversity. It is difficult to separate the two, but comparing the various nationality groups with each other provides insight into the extent to which they follow the same trends. To this end, in contrast to the previous analysis, English is also retained as a separate category given its importance in the economic context. Table 6.3 below provides a general picture of the languages used in the workplace by those officially resident in the city. This general picture does not consider the various employment positions and business sectors but rather aims to provide a general overview of the use of languages in the workplace, both in terms of the impact of mobility and the need for language teaching. The table compares the situation in 2001 and 2018.

The composition of the Brussels labour force itself clearly indicates the impact of mobility. The number of employees with Belgian nationality has proportionally decreased from 82.1% to 64.2%, while EU presence on the labour market has increased from 10.4% to 23.6% and that of non-EU employees has increased from 7.5% to 12.2%.

Table 6.3 Language use in the workplace

	LB 2001 overall	Belg	EU	Non-EU	LB 2018 overall	Belg	EU	Non-EU
French	60.4%	60.8%	46.2%	75.0%	31.3%	31.3%	32.4%	29.5%
French/other	2.3%	1.0%	7.0%	9.7%	1.8%	1.3%	3.0%	2.3%
Dutch	2.3%	2.4%	1.5%	1.4%	–	–	–	–
Dutch/other	0.1%	0.1%	–	–	–	–	–	–
English	1.5%	0.4%	10.6%	0.7%	0.4%	–	1.5%	0.4%
English/other	0.5%	0.2%	3.0%	0.7%	–	–	–	–
French/Dutch	21.1%	24.6%	7.5%	2.1%	17.2%	19.7%	9.5%	19.1%
French/Dutch/other	0.8%	0.8%	0.5%	1.4%	0.8%	0.9%	0.6%	0.6%
French/English	3.7%	3.2%	9.5%	1.4%	17.6%	14.4%	24.4%	21.4%
French/English/ other	0.6%	0.5%	2.0%	–	2.2%	0.3%	7.4%	1.7%
Dutch/English	0.1%	0.1%	–	–	–	–	–	–
French/Dutch/ English	4%	4.5%	3.0%	0.7%	26.3%	30.7%	18.0%	19.5%
French/Dutch/ English/other	1.7%	1.5%	2.5%	2.1%	2.3%	1.4%	3.0%	5.2%
Other languages	1.0%	–	6.5%	4.2%	–	–	–	–

Source: Janssens (2018)

A first important observation is the decline of the monolingual working environment. The number of employees who only speak French at work has been cut by half, to less than one third. The monolingual Dutch-speaking, English-speaking or other working environment has virtually disappeared. Nearly 70% of Brussels

employees work in a context in which they speak several languages. In 2001, multilingualism mainly meant the use of a combination of both official languages. The most recent survey illustrates that multilingualism refers primarily to French/Dutch/English trilingualism, followed by both traditional bilingualism and a combination of French and English.

Nevertheless, there are also a number of remarkable shifts between the different nationality groups. For employees with Belgian nationality, the emphasis shifted from a monolingual French-speaking environment to an equal division between such a monolingual context and a trilingual environment. The number of employees in a traditional bilingual workplace is falling, whereas a combination of French and English is becoming increasingly important. Among employees born in other EU countries, the number of people employed in a monolingual French-speaking environment is also decreasing, and by 2018, the option of a monolingual English-speaking environment, which in 2001 still accounted for 10%, had disappeared. The combination of French and English is increasing significantly and is the most important language environment if we also consolidate this combination with the use of a third language other than Dutch. Here, too, a trilingual and a traditional bilingual workplace is the norm. Finally, the group of employees from non-EU countries is shifting from a predominantly French-speaking working environment to one in which French is spoken in combination with Dutch, English or both. Multilingualism on Brussels workplaces has become the norm, as was already the case in the 2013 survey.

An important consequence of this shift to multilingualism is that all three contact languages in Brussels were spoken significantly more often in 2018 than in 2001. The largest shift is in the use of English, which has increased from 11.0% to 48.4%. Approximately half of Brussels employees use English at work. The change in the use of Dutch is also remarkable: from 30.1% to 46.6%. Moreover, even the use of French has risen to almost 100%. Only the use of other languages continues to fluctuate around 7%. These languages are Arabic (2.5%), Spanish (1.3%), Italian (0.8%), Portuguese (0.7%) and German (0.6%). Of those who speak Arabic or Portuguese, approximately half are self-employed, an indication of ethnic entrepreneurship.

3.4   The impact of mobility on attitudes towards multilingualism

This section examines the attitudes of the local population towards this growing diversity. To obtain a more nuanced picture of this impact on the local population, a distinction is made between inhabitants of Brussels who were born in Brussels itself and grew up surrounded by diversity, and those from elsewhere in Belgium with a more homogeneous linguistic and cultural background. The analyses are based on the language barometer surveys of 2013 and 2018. The results discussed here were

obtained via a multiple correspondence analysis. The analysis of attitudes towards multilingualism is based on attitudes with respect to three indicators: living together in a multilingual neighbourhood, the impact of linguistically diverse classes on children's learning experience and their belief in the stability of mixed-language partnerships.

In 2018, citizens born and raised in Brussels perceived living together in a diverse neighbourhood more negatively than in 2013. Those who have moved to Brussels from another Belgian municipality are less negative and non-Belgians are more positive. In 2013, nationality appears to be the most discriminant factor among all variables. In addition, knowledge of French plays an important role. Knowledge of French results in a more positive attitude, except among monolingual French-speaking families who experience a multilingual living environment as threatening. Finally, those who are active in the labour market are also more positive about it. In 2018, the differences were less pronounced and the only distinguishing variable was respondents' level of education. Regardless of nationality and language background, inhabitants of Brussels with a lower level of education experienced significantly more problems with contacts in the neighbourhood, which they found problematic because of language differences. Partly because of spatial segregation, more highly educated multilingual people were significantly more positive towards linguistic diversity in their neighbourhood.

Both Belgians born in Brussels and those born elsewhere in the country have a negative attitude towards linguistically diverse classrooms. The differences in comparison with Brussels residents of foreign nationality are significant, although their attitude in 2018 was also slightly less positive. In 2013, besides nationality, age introduced a significant difference: the younger the respondents, the more positive their attitudes. In 2018, people's level of education played a decisive role: the higher this level, the more positive people's attitude towards education in a diverse school context. Brussels residents proficient in several languages also showed a significantly more positive attitude. In addition, citizens from monolingual Dutch-speaking families were more convinced that classes in which children speak several languages have a negative effect on their children's educational level. Given the way in which education in Brussels is institutionalised by language group, it is comprehensible that the target population of the schools where the language of instruction is the minority language responds defensively. This is particularly the case because knowledge of Dutch among pupils in French-medium education is significantly decreasing, and children from a non-Dutch-speaking background already make up the majority within the Dutch-medium education system, a trend that is becoming more and more pronounced. Thus language teaching remains one of the main challenges.

Whereas cultural differences are perceived as problematic for some, the overall majority of Brussels residents are positive about mixed-language partnerships. In general, one may conclude that between 2013 and 2018 there was a significant shift in the attitudes of Brussels residents towards linguistic diversity. Whereas in 2013 it was mainly citizens' nationality that explained their differing attitudes (the local population was more negative towards such diversity than people of foreign nationality), in 2018 other explanatory variables were important. Level of education, language skills and age became much more significant, regardless of nationality. Youth, educational level and personal multilingualism encouraged a positive attitude towards multilingualism.

3.5 Language as a basis for an inclusive identity?

The relationship between language and identity is quite complex, especially because a notion such as identity is rather vague and too often used as a catch-all term in political discussions in which everyone has their own interpretation. In relation to language, it is often linked to ethnic origin, nationalism, unchangeability etc. and deemed one of the key criteria that determine group membership. Earlier in this chapter, the link between language and identity in Brussels was highlighted. Social and political discussions are dominated by the dichotomy between 'French-speakers' and 'Dutch-speakers', regardless of their background. Membership of one of the language communities is often an 'ascribed' identity depending on the stance of the persons involved in the discussion. In a political context, 'avowed' identity, in which individuals define their own identity, is rarely used to determine the relationship between language and identity. The figures in the table take this avowed identity as the basis for the analysis and illustrate the extent to which the inhabitants of Brussels consistently use local language-related concepts (French-speaking, Walloon, Flemish, Dutch-speaking), local language-neutral concepts (municipality, Brussels), being Belgian, being European, or none of these categories to identify themselves.

Table 6.4 Identification

Identification	LB 2007			LB 2018		
	Belgian	EU	Non-EU	Belgian	EU	Non-EU
Local language	27.7%	12.6%	11.0%	26.3%	20.2%	13.8%
Local Language-neutral	47.3%	36.0%	27.0%	64.2%	54.1%	56.6%
Belgium	66.1%	18.9%	34.0%	51.8%	19.3%	29.9%
Europe	28.1%	55.3%	19.0%	23.5%	60.1%	26.2%
Other	9.4%	12.9%	27.0%	4.3%	5.1%	13.3%

Source: Janssens (2018)

The Brussels part of the Belgian pacification model is based on the institutionalisation of the two traditional language communities. It is assumed that Belgian inhabitants of Brussels belong to one of the two imaginary communities and that those with another nationality integrate into one of them. This theoretical approach no longer corresponds to the day-to-day reality of Brussels. Just over 25% of Belgians used this bilingual model to identify themselves in the first or second instance, in both 2008 and 2013, whereas just over 10% of non-EU citizens considered themselves members of one of these communities. Among EU citizens, however, there was a significant increase in use of this dichotomous classification, which is entirely due to French nationals, who make up half of this group. The growing proportion of non-Belgians has led to an increase in the number of residents who identify with the local municipality or with Brussels. Identification with Europe mainly involves EU citizens. Besides nationality, people's level of education influences their attitude towards Europe: those with a higher level of education initially identify with Europe, whereas those with a lower level of education prefer a local identification. Concepts that are independent of language, but still refer to 'local' factors, have the greatest potential as an inclusive factor within a diverse Brussels society.

4.   Discussion and conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the relatively limited impact of mobility on language use in the public domain. However, one should avoid the pitfall of seeing the local population as a culturally homogeneous group. Dealing with this diversity is an ongoing challenge, and the population is already characterised by high diversity. Current mobility adds an extra layer to this. One may wonder to what extent having had to deal with diversity in the past determines a person's ability to deal with the current effects of mobility, and whether local tradition is more decisive than national policy.

Using a multitude of languages is mainly a private issue. In Brussels, the three contact languages dominate the public sphere. However, we do see a clear shift from the predominant use of French to a combination of these languages, a form of multilingualism that already emerged in 2013 and has continued since then. The result is that French retains its dominant position, but Dutch and particularly English are also more widely used than in 2001. Yet linguistic diversity is considered problematic in Dutch-medium education, where some parents fear that the diversity of home languages will hinder the learning process of the minority group. In other contexts, diversity blurs the differences between the traditional language groups. However, this does not go hand-in-hand with exclusion of the minority language.

Although proficiency in the official languages is decreasing, their use is increasing, indicating a changing way of dealing with languages in a more instrumental way.

The analysis demonstrates that it is not the use of language itself that causes major problems, but the cultural and social divide enhanced by current mobility. The younger, highly educated and multilingual inhabitants of the city who identify with Brussels or Europe feel at home in a diverse urban society. By contrast, people with a lower educational level, as well as the elderly, for whom Belgium or, to a lesser extent, traditional language groups are an important frame of reference, experience greater difficulties in this regard. Social and geographical segregation do play a role, but personal networks are crucial.

In an urban society marked by a high degree of international mobility, multilingualism rather than the dominant language cements the foundations of an inclusive society. In Brussels, anyone who speaks only one contact language faces exclusion, especially in the labour market. Whereas in 2001 French was a prerequisite, nowadays trilingualism is the norm. This implies that language learning for all, and not only the newcomers, is the key challenge for societies dealing with a high degree of mobility. Consequently, a traditional integration policy, as implemented in most countries and increasingly emphasised by policymakers, is not the appropriate response to this issue.

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The politics of inclusion, citizenship and multilingualism

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Our chapter deals with the emergence of new linguistic identities in connection with the dynamics of Europeanisation and transnationalisation. Against this background, we discuss whether and in what way the interplay of old and new patterns of linguistic diversity is affecting the trade-off between mobility and inclusion in multilingual societies. On the basis of a literature review, we first show how macro-historical processes of nation-building have affected modern identity-building by linking particular languages to particular collective (national) identities. In a second step, we focus on how the institutional monolingualism of nation states is challenged by complex diversity. In view of the changing linguistic profiles of European societies, political factors play a key role when it comes to acknowledging multilingualism as part of citizenship status and of the socio-cultural practices related to it. Third, we focus on Riga and Barcelona, which stand for specific types of complex diversity, to empirically illustrate the consequences that different institutional approaches to multilingual realities have in terms of creating more or less open identity frames for citizens. The chapter finally addresses tensions between the human potential to develop multilingual repertoires and the political attribution of unequal status to different languages. Multilingualism entails the possibility of tackling the trade-off between mobility and inclusion in a productive way; ultimately, however, political factors determine if linguistic diversity is regarded as a communicative resource or as a threat to established linguistic identities.

1.   Introduction

New forms of mobility[1] entail new manifestations of multilingualism. Countries whose position in the international economy implies that they are on the receiving end of migration flows and that take part in transnational trade have to engage with

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1.   We understand mobility both as the freedom of individuals to move and as social, geographical and virtual mobility options for persons, goods and ideas.

new forms of diversity: historically, Western nation states were composed of a majority population and autochthonous minorities exhibiting specific socio-cultural features vis-à-vis the majority. Today, these states are characterised by an increasing presence of immigrant languages on their territory, as well as by a growing importance of English as a tool of transnational communication, and, to some extent, an element of public life even where it is not a native language. What is the impact of new forms of linguistic diversity on identity-building? We will address this question by shedding light on the language-identity nexus established by prevalent strategies of civic inclusion at the level of nation states and by then contrasting these strategies with *de facto* social situations.

Politics in democratic nation states is based on communication. The linguistic dimension of a key democratic institution such as citizenship is obvious, as is the relevance of language and language competence for the electoral and voting process, for practices of collective will-formation and for decision-making. Modern polities thereby typically assign one or two languages official status, or make sure that public communication operates in one language, even if they do not mention this language in their constitution (as is the case with Germany, for instance). Historical political sociology shows that the vast majority of contemporary Western and Central European nation states are the result of a long dynamic of cultural homogenisation controlled by dominant groups. Creating and imposing a common linguistic standard was, on the one hand, an asset for achieving administrative effectiveness; on the other hand, the common language would strengthen social bonds between the members of a given community (Rokkan, 1999).

The range of languages used by state institutions rarely reflected the multilingual realities at work 'on the ground', at the societal level. Rather, institutional strategies differentiated hierarchically between discrete layers of diversity, represented by majorities and 'old' (autochthonous) minorities. After World War II, the cultural profile of Western-type societies underwent major changes as a result of the arrival of immigrants forming 'new' minorities.[2] In contrast with the traditional view of discrete and hierarchically arranged layers, the concept of complex diversity, as we use it in this chapter, is meant to grasp contexts in which not only new layers add to the old ones, but also the layers themselves become more fluid and internally differentiated, and ultimately intermingle (Kraus, 2012). In this chapter we want to explore how complex diversity affects the trade-off between mobility and inclusion; our starting assumption is that it does so in substantial ways, as it is

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2.   In this chapter we examine the political implications of heterogeneous linguistic identities in multilingual societies that deviate from less diverse patterns endorsed by state institutions. For this reason, we use the term 'minority' in a broad sociological sense, applying it both to 'historical' minority communities and to migrant groups.

rendering institutional strategies designed for supposedly homogeneous societies more and more obsolete.

We will approach our topic with a focus on the institutional framing of inclusion and mobility opportunities against the background of the identity politics articulated by hegemonic and non-hegemonic groups. Our perspective on language and identity is based on two main points. First, the institutional framing of a multilingual context has important implications for identity-building in diverse societies (Tully, 2008). Second, although identities may be very strongly linked to language (May, 2015a, 2015b), neither the specific relationships between an identity and a linguistic background nor the institutional framework that supports or restricts language-based identities are invariable (Eisenberg & Kymlicka, 2011). Language-related patterns of identity permeate institutional, public, as well as individual life spheres. The imprint language policies leave at the identity level becomes even more salient against the background of the increased mobility that goes hand in hand with transnationalisation and, more specifically, Europeanisation.

While discussing the implications of complex diversity for the trade-off between mobility and inclusion primarily from the perspective of epistemology and social theory, we will also draw on empirical evidence from two concrete cases, Barcelona and Riga. There are good reasons to take these cities as templates for our analysis. The rapid growth in population of different origins and the corresponding linguistic diversity seem especially relevant in larger urban environments (Carson & King, 2016: 2), yet these are in no way restricted to supposedly very diverse global cities. Multilingual cities face distinct challenges when it comes to language management and language policies, as urban life often implies the spatial concentration of different linguistic groups and specific structural and organisational patterns which affect language use and language contact (Boix-Fuster, 2015: 155). Moreover, the intertwining of language use and of political and social processes in urban settings can be interpreted as a symptom of changes on a larger scale (Kraus, 2011a: 26). Multiethnic and multilingual cities are sites of conflict and negotiation that reveal a particular dynamic of inter-group relations and identity politics. Understanding urban politics is therefore a crucial step for understanding the mechanisms of minority representation and the institutional framing of linguistic diversity in our societies (Cianetti, 2014: 982).

In the cases of Barcelona and Riga, diversity politics is largely connected to the interplay of the respectively 'own' or 'national' languages,[3] Catalan and Latvian, both revitalised after a long history of oppression, with languages linked in different

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3. According to the terms used in Catalonia's 1980 autonomy statute (1980), which calls Catalan the region's 'own' language, and the 2014 preamble of the Latvian constitution, which defines Latvian as the language of the nation.

ways to periods of authoritarian rule or occupation, Spanish and Russian respectively, which at the same time have a wide international communicative range. This entrenched – and conflictual – multilingual pattern[4] has become more complex in recent decades, as the presence of immigrant languages, which is particularly strong in the case of the Catalan metropolis, as well as the increasing use of English as a *lingua franca* in various domains of public life, have created a new layer of 'exogenous' linguistic diversity. In consequence, the language repertoires people use in their everyday communication have become more varied. At the same time, the specific sociolinguistic landscape and the patterns of mobility that characterise each city involve different types of challenge for social, cultural, political and economic inclusion in local society. At the end of our contribution, we discuss how the peculiarities of the interplay of 'endogenous' and 'exogenous' multilingualism observable in Riga and Barcelona should be taken into account for the purpose of easing the tension between mobility and inclusion.

2.   The mobility/inclusion trade-off in the light of old and new patterns of linguistic diversity

Complex diversity, as defined in the previous section, has implications for the trade-off between mobility and inclusion. From the perspective of political science, the 'mobility-plus-inclusion' package historically offered by the nation state is a key factor for assessing the changing relationship between socio-cultural complexity and the trade-off. Citizenship, a central element of the nation state, provides individuals with civil, political and social rights, thereby linking membership of a community with a generalised set of inclusion mechanisms (Marshall, 1950). As an institution familiarising us with the use of these mechanisms, the modern school system also creates the cognitive bases for our professional and geographical mobility within the state and its labour market – a mobility whose scope has, in principle, been massively expanded with the introduction of freedom of movement in the European Union.

Both socio-political inclusion and mobility are contingent upon the acquisition of a linguistic repertoire. Access to participatory opportunities and rights, such as voting, is linked to a variable minimum of linguistic competence. For migrants who want to be naturalised in their host country, becoming a citizen typically involves

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4.   In Catalonia we should rather speak of bilingualism, whereas Latvia's historical profile is more pronouncedly multilingual, with a significant role especially for German in the first period of independence. For sociolinguistic profiles of the two cases, see Branchadell, 2006 and Kibermane & Kļava, 2016.

passing a language test (Hogan-Brun, Mar-Molinero & Stevenson, 2009). This testing is grounded in the assumption that knowledge of public communication is necessary for citizens to take part in the democratic process and to be able, for instance, to follow debates between political representatives or understand the political information produced by the media. Language was a critical element in the making of modern democracy, and is a critical element for its functioning, as virtually all forms of political participation depend on linguistic competence, and what can be said with regard to the individual (and collective) exercise of political rights holds for civil and social rights as well. Even where there are no explicit legal provisions on the use of an official language, citizens and authorities have to rely on a specific language, or a limited set of specific languages, for their communication (Patten, 2001: 693).

The linking of citizenship and schooling to an official language therefore has to be considered a key feature of the modern state. As Ernest Gellner (1983) has argued, language standardisation largely reflected the functional imperatives of industrial societies, in which the acquisition of a common linguistic repertoire became a necessary component of citizens' cognitive and professional qualifications. Yet inclusion does not only obey functional imperatives; it also has a strong emotional component, creating attachments between people and their polity. With hindsight, it can be argued that the very effectiveness of the language policies adopted by European states depended on their being able to achieve a convergence of functional requirements, mobility opportunities and symbolic inclusion mechanisms in the process of constructing citizens' linguistic identity (Kraus, 2018: 95–96).

In the course of the 'rights revolution' (Ignatieff, 2000) that took place in North America and Western Europe in the course of the second half of the 20th century, a growing body of legislation came to acknowledge the central role of language for individual prospects of mobility and inclusion. By granting linguistic minority rights, what was normal for majority citizens should be made co-extensive, if only to some extent, to the members of non-dominant groups as well. The European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages may be considered the main piece of evidence of this trend so far.[5] It includes provisions concerning schooling in the minority language (Article 8) and access to information in one's own language (Article 11). By endorsing such rights, several European states have accepted that duality of language is relevant for any language group with historical roots on their territory. On the functional side, language is a key to information that will enable people,

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5. According to the Charter (Article 1), '"regional or minority languages" means languages that are: traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population, and different from the official language(s) of that State; it does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants ….'

irrespective of their linguistic background, to fully exercise their political rights. On the symbolic side, linguistic minority rights point to the need to preserve a language as heritage of a community and an identity marker for its members (Taylor, 1992). Regardless of the legal advances of the past decades, it has to be said that in many of the Western and Central European states language rights for minorities were only adopted after long historical periods of "cultural and linguistic homogeneity within nation-states and the attendant hierarchizing of languages" (May, 2012: 7). From this perspective, the introduction of minority languages in public media, schools and communication between citizens, political representatives and formal bodies faces the task of reorganising spheres that were originally supposed to comply with the presumed monolingual standard. Piecemeal introduction of language rights in discrete areas and a narrow definition of the criteria specifying who is entitled to such rights may not be sufficient to tackle situations where state institutions once designed to guarantee equal citizenship rights in supposedly homogeneous societies confront an increasingly diverse sociolinguistic reality.

As our societies become more and more diverse, and layers of diversity become more heterogeneous in their *internal* composition, we may expect the implementation of mobility-plus-inclusion packages designed for linguistically homogeneous societies to face severe challenges. The more heterogeneous a society, the higher the risk that people without a good mastery of the dominant language are actually denied effective exercise of their citizenship rights. Even if they hold full political rights, they may find themselves at a disadvantage when it comes to participating in collective decision-making because of their (non-majority) linguistic background. Ultimately, ignoring diversity will have a negative impact on levels of inclusion and mobility of a society as a whole. Against this background, we will take a closer look at the interplay of language and identity politics in settings of complex diversity. Before doing so, however, it seems useful to offer a brief discussion of our understanding of nation-building, identity politics and complex diversity.

3.   Nation-building, identity politics and complex diversity

The connection of citizenship and language is inextricably linked to the emergence of nation states, in particular in the European context. The empowerment of 'the people' in an extensive and inclusive sense has tended to go hand in hand with the spread of a common language. In Western Europe, this process has often reflected the strategies of political elites whose aim was to consolidate the structures of the states they had created by using language as a tool for integrating the subjects of rule into a common whole that was bound to become the nation. State-making – defined as the establishment of a centre, a uniform territorial administration and

clearly delineated state borders in the period of transition from feudal to absolutist dynastic rule – thus generally preceded nation-building.

The concept of the nation is not that closely related to 'objective' facts, but rather refers to a set of values that, first and foremost, include an expectable feeling of solidarity among members of a particular group in contrast to other groups (Weber, 1980: 528; see also Linz & Stepan, 1997: 20). Accordingly, the nation may or may not coincide with the population of a given state. State territories rarely overlap completely with the territories of communities historically tied by common linguistic bonds. In European history, the politics of nation-building has aimed at making political and cultural borders congruent. Nation-building has involved the consolidation of territorial units that, while standardised within their border, were culturally distinct from neighbouring territories in ways that would lay the foundations for a particular national consciousness among their populations (Rokkan, 1999: 283–284). Such common consciousness was not necessarily linked to a shared linguistic affiliation; it could equally be rooted in belief in a common ethnic origin, in shared religious affiliations, as well as in common historical experiences. Yet it was the linguistic bond that often was perceived to be the most immediate expression of a common national identity (Flora, 1981: 416). As described by Rokkan (1999: 170–190), the processes initiated by a dynastic centre aiming at enforcing its control over a territory and its population laid the foundations for singular political cultures with a standardised linguistic profile.

While state membership is regulated by citizenship laws, there are hardly any legally enforceable rules regulating national affiliation. A nation exists on the basis of how people identify with it subjectively; it has been defined as an 'imagined political community' (Anderson, 2016: 15). Its centrality in the universe of modern politics is associated, on the one hand, with the role it has played in the consolidation of established state structures, for referring to a common national identity has strong legitimising effects for rulers (Kraus, 2011b). On the other hand, nationalist mobilisations with a bottom-up rather than top-down character, which became especially virulent in eastern Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries, entailed the disintegration of empires, which were in most cases replaced by supposedly mononational states. Whereas in the West states tended to create 'their' nations, in the East it was typically nations that created 'their' states. However, irrespective of the prevailing logic of state-making and nation-building, the making of the whole of modern Europe was closely connected with a protracted push for ethnic and cultural homogeneity at the level of nation states, a trend that reached its peak around 1950 (Therborn, 1995).

Reflecting this situation, language – in most cases, indeed, one particular language – became a key indicator of social and political integration, an indicator of the complementary relationship between social and geographic mobility, on

the one hand, and political and cultural inclusion, on the other. This complementarity is enshrined in the institutions of the state, as well as the belief systems at the societal level, as becomes manifest, for example, in the link between language and citizenship. To exercise the rights associated with the status of being a citizen, people not only have to meet the requirements laid down in citizenship law; they also have to be able to act in accordance with the expectations other citizens have of them as fellow citizens. Rules and habits concerning the languages that are to be spoken in public contexts (e.g. in educational institutions, in the media, before local authorities) are 'common-sense' beliefs connecting these languages with a society's material and symbolic order and including a given linguistic repertoire in the list of the criteria those who want to belong to the society have to comply with (Blackledge, 2004: 69).

In the words of James Tully (2008: 149), '[t]hese rules of recognition as participants include types of knowledge, standard forms of conduct and relations of power that govern the negotiations between citizens and governors. These involve such things as who is included and excluded, the language used, cultural ways affirmed or disregarded, … genres of argumentation … and so on.' Being recognised as a citizen therefore requires having internalised the communicative rules at work in the political realm, rules that may have been codified, or may instead remain implicit.

To the extent that the language-identity connection is socially instituted, officially recognised and legally objectified, the connection becomes 'normalised', making for a continuous reinforcement of specific links between cultural performance and political power (Bourdieu, 2005; Young, 2007). Seen against this background, the rise of complex diversity has important consequences for the framing of the numerous attributes of civic identities that are language-based. Identities are not fixed, but subject to negotiations, and such negotiations take place in a changing overall environment (Kraus, 2012; Tully, 2008). In multilingual societies, identity-building cannot be properly understood in isolation from the institutional settings that assess the political relevance of a language on the basis of the assumed individual and collective identities of its speakers. Policies designed to foster societal cohesion and secure the prospects of full-fledged citizenship status for all society members are interwoven with identity attributions (Eisenberg & Kymlicka, 2011: 7). Such attributions may have a more or less rigid character, but in a democratic society they never can be fully fixed, which accentuates the impact of complex diversity on identity politics. Taking a closer look at two concrete cases, we will now further explore the implications of institutional frameworks for the articulation of linguistic diversity 'on the ground'.

4.   Diversity politics in complex linguistic settings

We now turn to the question of how the politics of language impact on identity-building in Barcelona and Riga. Each of the two cities stands for a complex multilingual microcosm. Its main axes are, respectively, the languages considered autochthonous – Catalan and Latvian – and the languages historically imposed under long periods of control by hegemonic centres – Castilian and Russian, which through the dynamic of imperial expansion attained the status of dominant world languages. In Catalonia as in Latvia, the history of bilingualism has largely been conflictual, as Spanish and Russian are linked to experiences of severe authoritarian rule or foreign occupation, experiences that to some extent explain the sociolinguistic pressures to which Catalan and Latvian continue to be exposed.[6] Finally, as in many other parts of Europe, the dynamics of Europeanisation and immigration[7] have strongly influenced the linguistic profile of both cities, as we show below on the basis of survey data. In our analysis, we ask how the articulation of collective (linguistic) identities 'on the ground' is affected by the identity frameworks offered in institutional discourse. It must be emphasised that we are not focusing on the views expressed by mobilised groups involved in identity-building; our assessment is rather based on different sets of statistical data. It is important to keep this in mind, as the language-identity nexus is not equally politicised in the two cities: while issues related to language and identity are highly conflictual in Riga, the linguistic cleavage is less salient in Barcelona's local politics.

  In Barcelona, Catalan is the first language of 26.5% of the population; the proportion of Spanish 'native' speakers is 56.0%; 3.3% indicate both Catalan and Spanish as their first languages; finally, there is a significant portion of people (12.5%,) who have another language as their first language (Institut d' Estadística de Catalunya, 2020: 30). When it comes to knowledge of both languages, 93.4% of the inhabitants of Barcelona report that they can understand Catalan, while 85.3% can also read it, 78.7% can speak it, and 60.6% can write it (Institut d' Estadística de Catalunya, 2020: 28). Knowledge of Spanish on the other hand is close to 100%, with 99.9% of respondents claiming to understand it, 99.7% to speak it, 99.0% to read it, and 98.5% to write it (Institut d' Estadística de Catalunya, 2019).

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6.   We are aware that this is an extremely rough sketch of the situation, and that the degrees of 'externality' and 'domination' have to be qualified for both Castilian/Spanish and Russian, depending on the historical period under scrutiny. Let us simply note that the language divide has much stronger connotations of being also a divide between two distinguishable 'ethnic' communities in the case of Latvia than it has in Catalonia.

7.   Immigration (both from within the EU and from non-EU countries) being quantitatively much more significant in Barcelona than in Riga.

Barcelona's language scene has profoundly diversified over the last 20 years. From 2001 to 2019, the number of residents born outside Spain increased from 74,019 (4.9% of the total population) to 433,846 (26.3%) (Departament d'Estadística, 2019: 108; Climent-Ferrando, 2013: 167). From the data on the immigrants' countries of origin one can further deduce that there has been a trend towards an ever more mixed variety of the languages spoken in the Catalan capital. Until 2012, about 35–40% of the population of foreign origin were from Central and South America (Departament d'Estadística, 2019: 10; Kraus, 2011a: 32), the most important countries of origin being Ecuador and Bolivia (Climent-Ferrando, 2013: 174; Departament d'Estadística, 2019: 16). Thus, a large part of the immigrants were Spanish native speakers, who thereby helped maintain the city's bilingual Spanish-Catalan profile. Recent statistics point to a significant change in this picture, making it less dual. Between 2014 and 2015, the number of Azerbaijani, Kazakhstani, Syrian and Egyptian nationals increased on average by 18.8%, whereas the number of immigrants from Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru and Colombia went down on average by 16.3% (Departament d'Estadística, 2015: 12). In the longer term, while the share of immigrants from Europe, the Middle East, Central Asia and South-East Asia has gone up continuously from 2006 to 2015, the share of immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries decreased until the year 2016 and has since been rising again (Departament d'Estadística, 2019: 10). We can therefore conclude that languages other than Catalan and Spanish are gaining importance in ever-larger segments of the urban population. Among other languages, Chinese, Arabic and Urdu have to be included in this count (Departament d'Estadística, 2019: 11; Kraus, 2011a: 32). All in all, the situation in Barcelona is characterised by unbroken dominance of Spanish. According to surveys from 2013 and 2018, the overall number of people living in Barcelona with knowledge of Catalan, as well as the number of people who regard Catalan or Catalan and Spanish as their first language(s), has slightly decreased, while the number of people with only Spanish as their first language has slightly gone up. (Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya, 2020: 28–29). In addition to this, as we have shown, in the recent past Barcelona has experienced a remarkable diversification of the language groups living in the city, making its cultural profile remarkably more complex.

The situation in Riga differs in several aspects from this picture. Census data in Latvia typically include the specification of respondents' nationality (not to be confused with citizenship), which can be disclosed voluntarily and is based on the parents' nationality. There is also a corresponding entry on the Latvian passport, which has been voluntary since 2013 (PMLP, 2013). The term nationality in Latvia's political discourse has some parallels to the concept of ethnicity, as it is based on an idea of common ancestry. In 2018, Riga had 637,971 inhabitants. Among those, 47% stated they were of Latvian nationality or ethnic Latvians, 36.8% categorised themselves as Russian, 3.7% as Belarusian, 3.4% as Ukrainian and another 9.1%

did not answer the question or indicated another nationality (Centrālā statistikas pārvalde, 2018). As in Barcelona, the number of countries of origin or ethnic affiliations of the inhabitants tends to be higher than the number of languages spoken in everyday life. The latest data on language use in Riga date from 2017 and show that 42.7% of Riga's inhabitants speak Latvian at home, while 56.1% use Russian with their family (Centrālā statistikas pārvalde, 2017). While members of those groups with a non-Latvian ethnic background predominantly use Russian in their everyday life, their Latvian language skills have become better over the past years. A comparison of data from 2000 and 2008 regarding Latvian language skills among Russian native speakers in Latvia shows how the level of language proficiency in Latvian in this group is improving. The overall trend shows an increase in the share of fluent Latvian speakers (48% of Russian native speakers, according to a survey from 2008), while the share of people with poor Latvian skills (8% of Russian native speakers, according to the same survey) has been going down continuously (Ernstsone, Kļava, & Motivāne, 2011: 22; Hogan-Brun, 2006: 316; Poriņa, 2009: 172). The 2008 survey also indicates that 76% of Latvian native speakers had a good command of Russian; 18% claimed to have moderate skills, a further 4.7% only basic knowledge. Only 2% declared knowing no Russian at all.

With regard to the emergence of English in Latvia, changes are primarily confined to the realm of higher education, where English as medium of instruction has become increasingly popular, with about 9% of all students enrolled in programmes taught in English. There has been constant demand for higher education in Russian (only possible at private universities), with around 7% of students enrolled in such programmes (Kibbermann, 2017: 101). Data on English-language skills show that 43% of Latvian native speakers do not speak any English or have just basic skills; the corresponding figure among Russian native speakers – 47% – is comparable. The share of people without English skills is, however, decreasing (Ernstsone et al., 2011: 21, see also Druviete, 2014). All in all, the data on the distribution of language skills in the Latvian population indicate that, on the one hand, Latvian language skills are increasing among Russian native speakers; on the other hand, Russian still has a strong standing and serves as a *lingua franca* in communication among older generations in particular.

To assess the general underlying trends, it is useful to take a closer look at immigration statistics. With regard to incoming mobility, migration from outside the EU is considerably more important than intra-EU migration: in 2017, 89% of foreign residents of Latvia with permanent or temporary residence permits came from Russia, Ukraine and Belarus (Djačkova, Zorgenfreia & Kursa-Garkakle, 2018: 6). Ongoing mobility to and from Russia and other countries where large segments of the population use Russian, such as Ukraine and Belarus, is an important reason for the predominant role of Russian in Riga, which is the main

destination of immigrants coming to Latvia (Kļava, Šūpule & Zepa, 2015: 18). While foreign students come from a variety of places and can rely on both English and Russian, entrance to the job market often depends on Latvian language skills. In a 2017 study, 52% of unemployed third-country nationals mentioned the lack of Latvian language skills as the most important reason for their being unemployed (Djačkova, Zorgenfreia & Kursa-Garkakle, 2018: 11). Only in some economic contexts, especially in the transport and manufacturing sectors, are companies still dominated by a largely Russian-speaking labour force. If one counts workers of Russian, Belarusian and Ukrainian nationality as Russian-speakers, the corresponding share was 63.3% in the subsector of tools and equipment production, and 66.4% in the water transport sector (Latvians held a share of 29.1% and 28.2%, respectively; nationalities represented in the workforce to a lesser extent included Poles and Lithuanians; figures for 2011, see Valdmanis, 2016: 78–79). The high number of Russian speakers in the groups of residence permit holders indicates that they have more possibilities and reasons to live and work in Latvia than foreigners without Russian skills. All in all, while the sociolinguistic landscape in Barcelona is characterised by a certain diversification from the once mainly Catalan-Spanish multilingualism, the basically bilingual, Latvian-Russian pattern of the language situation in Riga is still very much in place.

Depending on the interplay of sociolinguistic and political-institutional factors, a diverse city will show more or less openness towards multilingualism. In a first attempt at grasping how identities are constructed 'on the ground', we have drawn on recent survey data that indicate how much importance respondents assign to different languages for defining their individual identity and their attachment to a given political community. We then combine these subjective views with an analysis of how the link between language and identity is framed in 'official' approaches to a multilingual reality.

In Barcelona, people identify predominantly with Spanish or Catalan. In the last official census on language (Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya, 2019), 46.6% declared Spanish to be their language of identification, 36.3% indicated Catalan, 8.1% mentioned other languages, and 6.9% reported that they identify with both Catalan and Spanish. The main variable that explains the choice of one language over the other is the place of birth. For those who were born in Catalonia, the main language of identification is Catalan. Spanish predominates among those born in other parts of Spain or abroad (Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya, 2019).

In the case of local and regional politics, the use of Catalan has a pivotal role in the context of municipal policies, a role that ultimately reflects the relevance the autochthonous language has been assigned for achieving social inclusion in the whole of Catalonia (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2009; Departament de Benestar Social, 2014: 44). A large consensus both in civil society and among most political

parties has sustained this approach, which becomes manifest, for instance, in the policy guidelines promoting the development of full proficiency in Catalan for all pupils in Catalonia's school system through immersion, as well as language classes for immigrants. In the field of language policy – as in many other fields – the perspective of Catalan authorities tends to clash with the position of the Spanish state. This is exemplified by legislation that Spain's conservative government adopted in 2013 with the purpose of expanding the share of subjects taught in Spanish in primary and secondary education in Catalonia. Central governments run by the conservative and Spanish-nationalist *Partido Popular* (People's Party) have traditionally adopted an aggressive stance against linguistic immersion, often combined with legal steps against what can be considered the core of Catalan language policy since the reestablishment of autonomy in 1980. In a nutshell, the immersion approach was adopted to compensate for the structurally weaker position of Catalan vis-à-vis Spanish. The key element of the immersion approach is to make sure that Catalan is not only a compulsory subject in schools, as is Spanish, but that it is also used as vehicle of instruction in most subjects covered by Catalonia's educational curriculum (Kraus, 2015: 130, 133). While the political sphere is marked by a controversial stance toward language, the mainstream media discourse as well as qualitative survey studies in Catalonia reveal generally positive attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish bilingualism in particular, and linguistic diversity in general (Byrne, 2019: 5).

As for processes of identity-building among the residents of Riga, family and socio-spatial relations (especially being a resident of Riga, of a certain neighbourhood or of Latvia) rank higher than language as identity markers, irrespective of the (Latvian or Russian-speaking) background of respondents (SKDS, 2014a: 14, 2014b: 14). Among Russian speakers, feelings of belonging to Russia, Latvia and the city/town/village where one is living are not mutually exclusive, as shown by a study of national minorities in Latvia (Birka, 2015: 11–12; SKDS, 2014a: 10). With regard to Russian-speaking Latvians and non-citizens, Latvian language skills positively correlate with a preference for integration into Latvian society (Cheskin, 2012: 291). Survey data and results of focus group studies lead to the conclusion that among ethnic minorities, and especially among the younger generations, 'there is great potential for an integrated, yet culturally distinct, Latvian-Russian identity' (Cheskin, 2012: 309; see also Birka, 2015; Pisarenko, 2006; Zepa et al., 2005). However, there is still a considerable group of Russian speakers who prefer an all-Russian environment and who do not identify with the Latvian majority society (Birka, 2015: 11–13).

The literature on social integration in Latvia attributes this persisting (self-) exclusion by a substantial portion of Russian speakers from majority society to the dominant discourse on social integration in Latvian politics, on the one hand, and to the massive – and deliberately orchestrated – influence of Russia-run media

on Latvia's Russian-speaking public (Birka, 2015; Ijabs, 2016). The discourse accounting for the priorities of current integration policies refers to a distinct Latvian identity, which is generally based on ethno-national notions. The aims of integration policies, especially of those targeted at the integration of all Russian speakers into Latvian society, operate with an official definition of social integration which is tightly connected with Latvian culture, tradition and language (Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Latvia, 2012: 7). All education and integration policy programmes have been designed on the principle of protecting Latvian as the only official language of Latvia, and, by extension, as an official language of the European Union. The Guidelines for State Language Policy issued by the Latvian Ministry of Culture are meant to provide a consistent language policy covering judicial, educational and linguistic matters (Ministru kabinets, 2014). The Guidelines state that Latvian, as the only official language, holds a preeminent position at all state levels, although minority languages, including Russian, may be assigned a subsidiary role. As to media discourse, the most salient topics are conflicts over appropriate interpretation of history, which have a strong impact on identity formation. Moreover, media content varies substantially, depending on whether it has been produced in Latvia or in Russia. Recipients are thereby not only divided into a Russian-speaking and a Latvian-speaking camp, but also become addressees of two distinct national and geopolitical media discourses (Cheskin, 2016). In sum, the bilingual situation in Riga remains a highly contested topic in political debates and in the media. Overall, one can see a discrepancy between a one-dimensional representation of the Latvian vs. Russian societal split in media and politics, and the emergence of distinct Latvian-Russian identity articulations on the ground.

There have been substantial changes of language policy in Latvia and Catalonia since the end of the Soviet and Franco eras respectively, in order to foster the use of Latvian and Catalan. Both in Barcelona and in Riga, language issues have remained highly politicised. *De facto* (i.e. from the perspective of sociolinguistics), we are dealing with two cities which are bilingual; *de jure*, however, only Barcelona is bilingual, with Catalan and Spanish as official languages, while in Riga the only official language is Latvian, as it is in the whole of the Republic of Latvia. Language policies at the local level are implemented in accordance with national and regional legislation. Catalan/Spanish and Latvian legislation is passed at regional and/or state level and applied at city level. Although Catalonia is officially bilingual, whereas Latvia has created a system of monolingual public institutions, the two cases have one feature in common: their basic legislation stresses the symbolic importance of the historically autochthonous language. Nonetheless, in accordance with what the Spanish Constitution stipulates, the Catalan Statute of Autonomy assigns Catalan and Spanish equal official status, even if it calls Catalan Catalonia's "own" language (*llengua pròpia*). In contrast, Latvia is the Baltic Republic's only official language,

whereas Russian is legally considered a "foreign language", along with any other language spoken in Latvia except for the Liv language (Saeima, 1999, Section 5).

While political discourses focusing on Spanish-Catalan relations are connected to competing nation-building projects, which in turn frequently invoke language-based criteria of national affiliation, survey data do not point to the existence of a deep language conflict in Catalan society. In Barcelona, bilingualism seems to be fairly balanced. Even though knowledge of Catalan is weaker compared to the respective figures for Spanish, Catalan is accorded a remarkably positive symbolic value by a group that is significantly larger than the group of native speakers of Catalan. Although the city is confronted with an ever more complex linguistic diversity, the survey data suggest the possibility that the Catalan language can serve as a communicative bridge between people with different linguistic backgrounds without questioning the multiplicity of language-based affiliations that is observable in the urban population. To effectively address the challenge that the linguistic situation entails for the mobility/inclusion trade-off, it may be crucial for political discourses to remain aware of the symbolic importance which a large portion of the citizenry appears to assign to multilingualism.

In Latvia, the period under Soviet occupation, and with it the imposition of Russian to the detriment of Latvian, is still very present in social memory. Language policies aimed at the diminishing of the Russian language in the public sphere are closely connected to transitional justice (Wezel, 2011), which was entirely absent in the Catalan context, as Spain's controlled transition to democracy implied a high degree of continuity at the level of state structures and elites. It would be oversimplified to regard the primacy assigned to Latvian in political discourse as a mere symptom of nationalist rhetoric. From our data, we can deduce two views on the interlocking of language and identity in Latvian society (Ministru kabinets, 2014: 44). The first view sees the use of Latvian as the only means to unify a divided society. This attitude is dominant in the Latvian-speaking segments of the population. A second perspective on the relationship of language and identity, which finds the support of both Latvian and Russian native speakers, sees Latvian language skills as a necessary asset for overcoming discrimination and distrust among linguistic groups. This implies a multilingual conception of society. From this angle, support for Latvian is compatible with the use of Russian in education and other areas, because the aim of social cohesion can only be achieved on the basis of recognising the needs of all members of Latvian society.

In sum, our analysis indicates that new concepts of multilingualism are emerging in cases that seem highly relevant for understanding the identity politics at work in a context of salient socio-cultural complexity. Such coming to grips with a situation of complex linguistic diversity is matched in the adoption of a reflective approach towards individual and collective identity-building. In contrast, an

exclusionary political rhetoric, arguing that there is a direct and one-dimensional match between civic and linguistic identities, rather works as an obstacle to mitigating the trade-off between inclusion and mobility.

5.   The framing of multilingualism through politics

In the preceding paragraphs, we discussed how patterns of identity-building change in settings of complex diversity, and what implications this change has for the trade-off between mobility and inclusion. We tackled our topic with a focus on politics, thereby placing emphasis on how Europe's system of states is the result of state- and nation-building processes which made for a close coupling of the institutional framework of a sovereign polity with one particular language of communication. In consequence, an institution such as citizenship, with its massive implications for civic inclusion and social mobility, has a major linguistic dimension. Yet with the emergence of ever more complex forms of diversity in Europe, it seems increasingly difficult to tackle the challenges of mobility and inclusion by sticking to the monolingual orthodoxy associated with the period of expansion of the nation state, when the dominant political tendency consisted in establishing a direct connection between social integration and cultural standardisation.

By presenting brief case studies of Riga and Barcelona, we have taken a closer look at two settings in which old layers of diversity mix with new layers, thereby creating a complex interplay of autochthonous and allochthonous languages in the socio-linguistic landscape. Our analysis shows that urban contexts of this very kind provide important insights if we want to better understand how historically inherited, diverse language constellations interact with the dynamic of social and geographical mobility in a way that gives rise to a new and complex type of multilingualism. In light of the patterns observed in the two cities, we have found that, while identity-building processes on the ground bear potential for opening up monolingual conceptions of belonging to a civic community, the framing of multilingualism at the institutional level is more closely related to preserving a close link between public institutions and the 'autochthonous' language, although this link is created in a more systematic and uncompromising way in Latvia than it is in Catalonia.

How can the tensions between hitherto largely monolingual notions of social cohesion (as well as the corresponding institutional monolingual conditions of inclusion) on the one hand, and the prospects of increasingly high levels of transnational social and geographical mobility, which require competences in several languages on the other, be reduced? Individual multilingualism is closely intertwined with the linguistic constellation observable at the societal level, which in turn is shaped by the impact of institutional language policies. We have therefore

put forward the notion of 'auto-centred multilingualism'[8] to acknowledge that individual and societal dimensions need to be tackled jointly. Policies based on this principle attempt to strike a balance between the promotion of autochthonous languages, mastery of which continues to be a central prerequisite for social inclusion at the local, regional and, in some cases, national level, and the recognition of non-native languages. To be more precise, for future policies targeted at mitigating the mobility/inclusion trade-off in complex societies to be effective, it may be necessary to meet two background conditions: first, operating with a civic rather than with an ethnic conception of the link between language and identity – accordingly, the institutional approach to multilingualism should focus on the local vernacular(s) as an asset for public communication rather than as a symbol of cultural lineage; second, fostering a symmetrical relationship between the languages that creates an endogenous multilingual constellation rather than an asymmetrical or diglossic situation.

Considering the fluidity and openness of identity-building, much research is still needed to properly address the question of how the link between linguistic and national identities can change and evolve in positive ways that frame mobility and inclusion as compatible goals on the basis of an appreciation of linguistic diversity combining auto-centredness with respect for linguistic newcomers' background. We believe that, to this end, particular relevance should be given to the interplay between civic and ethnic notions of belonging,[9] as 'conscious identity construction, included in ongoing nation building processes, combines both ethnic and civic components, which at times compete with one another for primacy.' (Lagerspetz, 2007: 14–15) To conclude, settings of complex linguistic diversity will increasingly create obstacles for the survival of Europe's once so powerful 'mobility-plus-inclusion' package, if the package remains primarily based on a monolingual design. To accommodate complex linguistic diversity, policy programmes as well as research have to become more ambitious vis-à-vis the multilingual challenge.

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8.   We borrow the term from Rafael Castelló Cogollos (University of Valencia) but assign it a different meaning that goes beyond the context of higher education (see the concept of 'converging multilingualism' in Kraus, 2008: 176–179).

9.   We understand the distinction between civic and ethnic conceptions of belonging as a continuum rather than a dichotomy; see Brubaker, 1999.

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Urban multilingualism

Place-making, mobility
and sense of belonging in European cities

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This chapter deals with urban multilingualism from a geographical perspective considering the trade-off between mobility, inclusion, and place-making. Place-making in multilingual cities is influenced by the linguistic diversity among their inhabitants, and the sense of place and sense of belonging fostered at the level of the city as a whole and/or in specific neighbourhoods and public spaces shape the individual's perceptions of linguistic diversity and multilingualism. The chapter introduces key geographical concepts and approaches before examining the new forms of linguistic diversity in European cities fostered by globalisation, Europeanisation, transnational migration and digitalisation. It presents diverse geographical approaches and methodologies relevant to the study of multilingualism and place-making and focuses on two perspectives. First a humanistic geography of urban multilingualism foregrounds the perceptions and representations of languages in relation to a sense of place and a sense of belonging. One empirical study examines linguistic practices and ideologies in Madrid and Amsterdam among residents with a French or German background, another focused on walks through the linguistic landscape and soundscape of the inner-city of Amsterdam. Second a political geography of urban multilingualism explores local policies and city networks regarding the management of linguistic diversity and the trade-off between mobility and inclusion. It examines in turn local policies focusing on mobility and migration, on social cohesion and on multilingualism. Based on both types of geographical research the chapter underlines the importance of raising awareness of the specificity of the local diversity of linguistic trajectories and repertoires and of the coordination between policies articulated and implemented at different scale levels (European, national, local).

1.   Introduction

This chapter addresses multilingualism in European cities from a geographical perspective. It considers the role of place-making in the trade-off between mobility and inclusion, and introduces key geographical concepts. The chapter then presents geographical approaches to linguistic diversity and social cohesion, geographical methods and insights regarding individual strategies and local policies to cope with urban multilingualism. The discussion draws some policy lessons, and the conclusion suggests further avenues for geographical research on urban multilingualism.

2.   The trade-off between mobility and inclusion, and place-making

The co-constitution of language and place is key to the production and reproduction of identities. Places can foster identification or hinder it. They can facilitate mobility or not (for example through formal and informal barriers to access to work and housing, or through support to potential emigrants or arriving immigrants). They can facilitate the inclusion and integration of old and new residents and visitors to the place, or they may fail to do so (for example through formal and informal barriers to identification, material or symbolic). Arguably, if the identity of a place conveys the notion that diversity is characteristic of that place, it may be easier for newcomers to feel part of it, whereas if the identity of a place relies on place-based genealogies, newcomers may feel out of place and have difficulty in really belonging, because they are not 'from here'. In addition, as pointed out by Duyvendak and Wekker (2016), the very expectation that everybody needs to feel 'at home' and belong in a city or a country may become a problem in itself, for both natives and immigrants, as well as for stayers and emigrants, when it is emphasised time and again in the dominant political discourse, because it problematises less strong feelings of attachment to the place and exclude people lacking such feelings.

   The disciplinary focus in this chapter draws attention to socio-spatial processes at work in both mobility and inclusion, and the trade-off between them.

   Length of stay in a neighbourhood (or even a small unit in a housing block) is often seen as an indicator of social cohesion, both because it shows people do not move out and because lasting ties are expected to foster feelings of identification. Nevertheless, they are many other reasons for lack of mobility out of a neighbourhood, and proximity does not necessarily reflect cordial relations – not even after a long time. The geographical approach underlines the multi-scale aspects of these processes, as they have effects at local, national and global level simultaneously. At the local level, we also need to distinguish between the city and its neighbourhoods, and possibly even smaller units like housing estates, squares or street sections. Whereas the city stands for diversity, multiculturalism and multilingualism, cosmopolitanism

and encounters with strangers, the neighbourhood (or the housing estate) may become a place claimed by one group at the expense of others, as a result of residential segregation, concentration of ethnic shops and services, and predominance of certain languages in the public space (at least in the linguistic landscape).

Moreover, social cohesion takes place on different scale levels (Blanc & Beaumont, 2005; Pahl, 1991): a high level of social cohesion in the neighbourhood may actually coexist with a low level of social cohesion on the scale of the whole city:

> A city can consist of socially cohesive but increasingly divided neighbourhoods. The stronger the ties which bind local communities, the greater may be the social, racial or religious conflict between them. The point is that social cohesion at the neighbourhood level is by no means unambiguously a good thing.
>
> (Kearns & Forrest, 2000: 1013)

Mobility impacts on cities as the influx of new and/or temporary residents from rural areas, from other parts of the country, from other member states and from outside the EU affects the composition of the urban population. At the same time, the selective outflow of urban population (towards its suburbs or to other cities that are more attractive in terms of job opportunities or quality of life) may deprive the city of its most dynamic citizens. Besides social mobility and migration, physical mobility on a day-to-day basis is also relevant on the local scale. Access to public transport and access to public space are key to this micro mobility, while residential segregation hampers it. Lack of physical mobility within the city may prevent identification with the city as a whole and inclusion in the urban fabric, and obstruct solidarity between neighbourhoods and citywide social cohesion.

The relationship between mobility inclusion and social cohesion is multidimensional. Mobility may undermine inclusion and cohesion when turnover in a city or neighbourhood is high. Because most people feel 'in transit', they do not feel responsible for the public realm or the area. Inclusion may undermine mobility when residents stick to their city or neighbourhood and newcomers feel unwelcome. Exclusion generally undermines both mobility and cohesion. Social policies to promote cohesion may undermine mobility when length of residence is decisive for entitlements: people may be deterred from moving for fear of losing their safety net. National policies to promote cohesion and national identity often negate the cultural diversity of the city. National requirements regarding (national) language skills may generate exclusion. Confrontation with unfamiliar languages (or languages one does not master) in the public space may generate feelings of exclusion and affect daily access to workplaces, services, shops, sport facilities and cultural amenities, and the use of public space.

Key processes explaining the non-convergence of mobility and inclusion are those that pit city-dwellers against each other, especially migrants vs. natives, by framing mobility as a liability. They lead to forms of social and economic exclusion, and urban geographies with residential segregation of sociocultural or socioeconomic

groups, suburbanisation of specific groups, gentrification, ethnic enclaves, gated communities, as well as suburbs, ghettos, and no-go areas. Linguistic and other differences are instrumentalised by national and/or local political discourses. Certain groups are 'othered', i.e. marginalised and dehumanised (see Guma & Jones, 2019), sometimes invoking nativism (protecting the claims of established residents against those of newcomers, see Cianetti, 2019) and/or revanchism (taking back territories lost to another group, see Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2008). In addition, individual strategies of territorial avoidance, often based on stereotypical thinking about other groups and less familiar places in the city, may strengthen these processes.

In contrast, synergy between mobility and inclusion is possible when urban cosmopolitanism is celebrated and when the added value of social and cultural diversity is emphasised. In that case a virtuous circle of urban diversity and dynamism may emerge between collective and individual decisions. Support for individual and collective linguistic mediation for newcomers facilitates inclusion. Support for the development of individual (and collective) linguistic skills facilitates mobility. In such a context, diverse linguistic landscapes (and soundscapes) may be both an expression of the linguistic diversity in the city and an instrument to foster inclusion and cohesiveness.

3.   Geographical concepts and urban multilingualism

Several geographical concepts, especially territory and place, can help grasp the complex relationship between territorial and linguistic identities, and between multilingualism, mobility and inclusion. We introduce here four key dimensions of socio-spatial relations distinguished by Jessop et al. (2008) (territory, place, scale, network) and associated processes of territorialisation, place-making, scaling and networking (Jessop et al., 2008: 393; see also Jessop, 2016). They present a matrix using each of the four socio-spatial dimensions as both entry point and field (Jessop et al., 2008: 395). In this matrix, each row represents spatial processes or structuring principles (such as place-making) and each column the spatial form or structured field (such as place). As a result, place can be explored:

–   in itself, as a product of place-making strategies (place → place);
–   as a structuring principle (or causal mechanism) shaping other fields of socio-spatial relations (reading the matrix horizontally, hence: place → territory; place → scale; place → network); and
–   as a structured field, produced in part through the impact of other socio-spatial structuring principles on territorial dynamics (now reading the matrix vertically, focusing on the 'place' column: → place; scale → place; and network → place).
                                                                    (Jessop et al. 2008: 396).

Although the work of Jessop and his co-authors pertains to the transition from Fordism to post-Fordism and the rescaling of the state in that political economy, their matrix can be useful in discussing urban multilingualism, incorporating processes such as territorialisation, bordering, scale jumping and transnational networking, besides place-making processes into a geographical perspective on language policies.

Unpacking the matrix offered by Jessop et al. (2008) to apply it systematically to the study of urban multilingualism social cohesion and/or place-making goes way beyond the scope of this chapter; but a succinct application of their four key concepts (territory, place, scale and network) can help develop a geographical perspective on urban multilingualism.

Both place and territory refer to portions of space that have been given meaning by human action: place primarily refers to a sense of belonging, appropriation and identification with a locality, and the associated bordering practices, while territory primarily denotes power relationships involved in control of the area. In other words, a territory is necessarily a place, but a place may not be a territory. The use of a specific language is often closely associated with place-making. Sharing a common language may contribute to a sense of place and belonging, or on the contrary one may be excluded or feel out of place when one does not understand the language spoken in a place. The implementation of language policies in an area necessarily has a territorial dimension, as it requires the ability to project power in a specific area to regulate the linguistic interactions in that territory.

'Scale' is a useful lens to characterise the scalar dimensions of social action. Examples include the framing of scales as meaningful geopolitical representations, scale jumping as a strategy, and unintended scalar effects. The first example pertains to geographical imaginations at work in the representations of the spatial characteristics of a language group, placing it in a specific place and territory, but also scaling it as a local, regional, national, cross border regional or supranational/pan-national (involving the territory of several states) phenomenon. Scale jumping refers to the strategic choice of a scale in order to advance political claims, such as defending the rights of a language group or to advocate new language policies (for example, invoking a European or an international legal framework to gain leverage in the local or national political arena). Finally, (unintended) scalar effects pertain to the need to analyse the effects of mobilisation or policies at a different level than the one on which they are articulated. National policies may have different impacts in different localities, while local developments in specific places (especially those in the capital city and in border regions) may have a disproportional impact on the national level because they are imbued with special significance in the national arena and in representations of the national community and the national territory. Scale is also useful to reveal complexities in geopolitical representations of multilingualism:

such as the combination in Switzerland of the celebration of a multilingual national identity with monolingual identities and practices in most Swiss cantons.

Finally, networks are an important complement to the geographical discussion of belonging, because they emphasise topological relationships in addition to the topographic logic of territories and places. Networks are particularly relevant to language maintenance among migrants, and direct our attention towards the role of certain places as nodes in a network (instead of inward-looking bounded areas). New information and communication technologies allow intense transnational, translocal networks over long distances.

4.   Geographies of multilingualism and place-making

Having introduced these four geographical key concepts (territory, place, scale and network) we now turn to geographical approaches and methods before discussing a selection of subprojects carried out by the team of geographers at the University of Amsterdam for the MIME project.

4.1   Geographical approaches

Geography is a particularly diverse discipline in terms of topics, epistemologies and methodologies (Aitken & Valentine, 2015). Geographies of languages are similarly diverse. In spatial analysis geographers have studied the dispersion of languages and their speakers and the diffusion of linguistic elements (Breton, 1976). Humanistic approaches in geography have long demonstrated the importance of place in fostering a common identity (Tuan, 1974, 1977, 1991; Pred, 1984, 1990). The role of languages in processes of social spatialization and spatial socialization (Paasi, 1996) have been studied in cultural geography. Political geographers have analysed languages and ethno-national mobilisations (Williams, 1988, 1991, 2008; Murphy, 1988) and have also explored the co-constitution of language and place on various scales to investigate the contingencies and the power relations involved in the relationship between language(s) and territory(-ies) (Raffestin, 1978, 1981, 1995; Williams & Van der Merve, 1996; Qian et al., 2012). Feminist geographers have foregrounded the interaction between languages, identities, place and everyday life (McDowell, 1999; Valentine et al., 2008) and more-than-representational geographies have examined assemblages of places, languages and policies (Jones & Lewis, 2019).

A much larger body of geographical research deals with mobility and/or cohesion, although rarely taking multilingualism explicitly into account. The growing diversity of languages has fuelled a debate about social cohesion. In many European countries some people are increasingly worried about communities living parallel

lives (e.g. Harrison et al., 2005) due to linguistic differences. Languages that are heard in the public space may foster feelings of inclusion or exclusion because language is deeply intertwined with the production of place (Tuan, 1991). Place-based feelings of belonging need to consider the physical and the linguistic characteristics of a place, as well as the symbolic functions that languages perform there. To ensure a certain amount of social cohesion in a place, some have argued that the use of the majority language should be made compulsory and the use of other languages discouraged in public spaces (especially in schools, as was the case in Flanders until 2017) as an incentive to learn and practise the majority language and a way to remove communication barriers between groups. Such interventions are highly problematic because they impede the freedom of individuals and force them to assimilate linguistically, whereas they do not necessarily advance individual skills in the national language or foster understanding between groups.

Urban policies have increasingly been concerned with 'mixing' and creating social cohesion (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2013). They rarely address linguistic diversity. Scholars have also examined how different cities in the same country may differ in their local cohesion policies, by analysing how they either underwrite or challenge national discourses of diversity management. Comparing Amsterdam and The Hague, Hoekstra (2015) investigates two important strategies that cities may deploy to replace national definitions and their problematisation of diversity: 'diversity as a constitutive element of and (potential) asset for urban societies, and recasting exclusive national definitions of citizenship to make them more localised and inhabitant-centric' (p. 1798). Her study shows how diversity is often an attractive concept for policymakers since it uses an individualist approach to social inclusion (as opposed to more community-based 'multiculturalist' approaches) (Hoekstra, 2015; see also Faist, 2000), while at the same time using diversity as a competitive asset for diverse cities justifies expenditure on social policies (Musterd & Murie, 2010). The number of languages spoken in one's city is in this context often announced proudly as proof of diversity (and competitiveness), but linguistic aspects are not addressed.

Some scholars argue however that increasing social diversification (of which language is often seen as the first indication) leads individuals to segregate themselves from people who belong to a different class, ethnic group or lifestyle. This results in the creation of groups living in close physical proximity without socially interacting or integrating, and makes it more difficult to foster a sense of belonging in the city as a whole (it may, however, increase neighbourhood cohesion and individual feelings of belonging to their segregated neighbourhood). In contrast, other scholars such as Noble (2009) argue that coping with everyday diversity, of which linguistic diversity is a significant part, does not need to be followed by social withdrawal and segregation, but individuals may actually appreciate or at least be

respectful towards other cultures, which falls in line with what he has termed 'unpanicking multiculturalism', meaning the unproblematic ways in which individuals view everyday diversity. Strikingly, even though much contemporary research in geography deals with concepts and studies relating to everyday diversity, conviviality, everyday multiculturalism etc. (Wessendorf, 2013, 2014; Lapina, 2016), there is a dearth of analyses of how individuals cope with everyday linguistic diversity.

4.2   Methods

Geographical approaches are characterised by the use of a wide array of methods (Clifford et al., 2016). Although mapping and geographical information systems (GIS) are seen by some outsiders as typical of the discipline, geographers are rather eclectic in the type of materials they collect and the type of analyses they develop, frequently combining different epistemologies, different types of data and different types of methodologies. When it comes to urban multilingualism, cohesion and place-making, these mixed methods (both quantitative and qualitative) may range from surveys to in-depth interviews and focus groups, from diaries to participant observations, from statistical or (geo-)statistical analysis of available register or census data to visual analysis of pictures of the linguistic landscapes, as well as discourse analysis of popular culture and media reports and policy analysis and evaluation. In other words, geographies of urban multilingualism may discuss perceptions and/or behaviours, representations and/or strategies, outcomes and/or unintended effects. However, what these approaches have in common is the geographical perspective: sensitivity to specific local factors, path dependencies and contingencies, as well as interconnectedness with events unfolding in other places and on other scales. As illustrations, we discuss below a selection of subprojects carried out by geographers for the MIME project. We first look at individual coping strategies and place-making, and second at local-government policies and management of linguistic diversity.

4.3   Illustration 1: Individual strategies to cope with linguistic diversity in the city

In a master's thesis written under supervision of the MIME team at the University of Amsterdam in 2016, Carmen Pérez del Pulgar (2016) was concerned with understanding the relationship between language, space and identity and aimed to shed light on the complex set of conditions that influence linguistic practices and ideologies in contemporary European cities.

Language ideologies refer to

> cultural presuppositions and metalinguistic notions that name, frame and evaluate linguistic practices, linking them to the political, moral and aesthetic positions of the speakers, and to the institutions that support those positions and practices.
>
> (Gal, 2006)

These language ideologies have their basis in the traditionally assumed Western-imagined landscape of the nation state that presupposes a discrete monolingual, mono-cultural political spatial unit, under the motto 'one state, one nation, one community, one territory, one language'. These language ideologies serve to determine what language (or varieties) are supposed to be spoken where, and thus which languages are seen as 'naturally' belonging to a place, and which ones are not – they are at the core of our fundamental geographical imaginaries, social institutions and notions of belonging and identity. As a result, individual language practices are not only determined by individual linguistic skills, but also subjected to linguistic ideologies.

Individual language practices and ideologies proved to be very much influenced by the morphology of the space in which their linguistic practices took place and by limits with regard to what was possible in terms of linguistic performance within its borders. The concept of 'porosity of multilingual spaces' was introduced to describe the different morphologies of the spaces navigated daily by multilinguals. The level of porosity refers to the extent to which alternative language uses and meanings (e.g. multilingualism, code-switching, hybrid identities, etc.) are accepted and deployed within specific spaces across scales (e.g. micro-spaces, the city, the state), with a non-porous space referring to a monolingual (one language = one space) normative hegemony. For instance, Madrid was experienced as a non-porous space, which means that individuals with alternative linguistic codes had to be at very specific places throughout the city in order to use languages other than Castilian. By contrast, Amsterdam was an example of a rather porous space with greater tolerance of diverse linguistic practices. These differences echo different national language ideologies: the centrifugal forces in Spain and the contested position of Castilian as the main national language versus the established position of Dutch as the national language in the Netherlands (although it is increasingly displaced by the ever- growing use of English in higher education, arts and public debates).

Pérez del Pulgar (2016) also paid attention to the language ideologies in the country of origin and how these have shaped respondents' thoughts about their linguistic practices in their new place of residence. It is through socialisation that individuals learn to conform to dominant language ideologies and create a personal language ideology. The study showed that such socialisation affected the reported language practices differently between German- and French-speaking respondents, including different conceptions of the relationship between language (varieties),

culture and belonging. Respondents with a French background more often emphasised (in both cities) how they saw code-switching or code-mixing practices as invalid and how throughout their socialisation they had learned that there was 'a strong separation between languages as different systems, belonging to diverse cultures and distinctive ways of thinking' (Pérez del Pulgar, 2016: 123).

Another project conducted by Nesrin El Ayadi focused on how residents of Amsterdam perceive public spaces while walking through the linguistic landscape and soundscape of the inner city (El Ayadi 2021). Walking creates ample possibilities for pedestrians to sense the physical and social environment, giving them a full 'experience of place' (Middleton, 2010; Matos Wunderlich, 2008). Individuals can 'read the city like a textured surface' (Te Brömmelstroet et al., 2017). Through these 'sensescapes' individuals develop 'distinctive memories and attributes for certain places that he/she traversed' (Te Brömmelstroet et al., 2017). In this way, over time, these experiences may lead to deep and detailed territorial ideas and recognitions of places (Ferreira et al., 2012).

In total, 29 participants have taken part in 'linguistic sound walks': guided walks through the city to listen to and reflect on street-level urban multilingualism. While walking through the inner city of Amsterdam, many participants reflected on their perceptions of the inner city and the languages tied to it. Especially, they regarded urban tourism as a cause of the city's increasing anglicisation. The city has indeed experienced increasing amounts of tourists over the last few decades, and many inner-city residents resent sharing their neighbourhood with these visitors (Pinkster & Boterman, 2017), but participants noted that some parts of the inner city actually sounded 'more Dutch' then they had expected. This shows that linguistic perceptions of places and first-hand soundscape studies do not necessarily have to coincide, and this opens up ways to discuss and reflect on both the origins of these perceptions as well as the embodied experiences of linguistic diversity 'on the street'.

Since almost half of the linguistic sound walks were conducted with non-Dutch speakers in English, it also opened up ways to discuss how individual linguistic skills either help or impede feelings of belonging to the city. Most 'English-speakers' (those who do not speak Dutch and use English as their language of communication throughout the city, but have skills in other languages as well) noted that they can easily get by in English in the inner city (while this is somewhat less straightforward in the peripheral neighbourhoods where they live) and that they saw their freedom to use the English language without much fuss as an element of the tolerant character that Amsterdam is known for – which is in line with the assessment by Pérez del Pulgar (2016) that Amsterdam is a porous space. Yet some Dutch-speakers noted that, although the use of English has become very much entangled with all facets of their life (work, study, friends, leisure), they found the way use of English was

taken for granted more and more problematic. In other words, use of English by others made them feel less part of a local community but also (and that was often stressed as a positive effect) more part of a global one. Arguably this might facilitate mobility in the future.

In conclusion, these analyses of individual strategies of place-making and coping with urban multilingualism have shown the diversity of individual responses to linguistic diversity as well as the interactions between individuals and their (urban) environment (past and present) that shape individual perceptions and representations of urban multilingualism.

4.4   Illustration 2: Local authorities and the management of linguistic diversity

Another series of studies for the MIME project was concerned with local policies. Virginie Mamadouh analysed primary and second sources regarding the engagement of local authorities with linguistic diversity. A primary focus was the role of cities in (European) policy networks, more specifically city networks, while policies of individual cities such as Amsterdam have also been scrutinised (see also Boix-Fuster, 2015 and King & Carson, 2016 for comparative assessment of the policies of individual cities).

Local authorities have become more visible as actors adopting and implementing integration policies and contributing to the multi-level governance of migration and integration. This is part of a general trend in which the potential of local authorities to tackle contemporary problems has been acknowledged, both academically (Barber, 2013; Mamadouh, 2018) and politically, with the establishment in 2016 of the Global Parliament of Mayors, the New Urban Agenda of the United Nations, the Pact of Amsterdam and the Urban Agenda for the European Union. By so doing, cities are increasingly policymakers, and not only policy takers (Schultze, 2003). They do not just implement national and European policies, but develop their own policies (because in most European states local authorities have been given more competencies regarding social policies in the past decades) and they contribute to policymaking in multiscalar policy networks. They often do so collectively, as they are organised in city networks and they cooperate in joint projects.

Local policies regarding mobility and migration, and linguistic aspects
Local authorities do not make policies directly regarding migration and/or asylum. They cannot decide to close their territory to migrants, but they do have to cope with the arrival of newcomers as a result of national policies, or sometimes in spite of these policies (when foreigners enter the state territory without permission or

overstay their visas, or when rejected asylum seekers do not leave the). They also play a large role in the implementation of EU and national policies regarding migration and mobility, but increasingly they have also become visible as actors on their own right and their role has become acknowledged.

In response to the 2015 refugee crisis, EUROCITIES – the political platform for major European cities towards EU institutions – published a report about these local responses: *Refugee reception and integration in cities*, based on a survey among 34 cities. One of the recommendations is that "dedicated and adequate financial support should be available to cities to offer asylum seekers fast and effective access to language training" (p. 16). The engagement of EUROCITIES with migration was not new. EUROCITIES has long lobbied to make sure that 'the role of cities as first points of arrival, transit hubs and ultimate destinations' is widely acknowledged 'by institutions and stakeholders at national and European level'.[1] In 2010 EUROCITIES adopted the *Eurocities Integrating Cities Charter*. Under the Charter, cities commit to 'integrating migrants and migrant communities in European cities' in their roles as policymakers, as service providers, as employers and as buyers of goods and services. Notably they commit to ensuring equal access to 'language learning'. EUROCITIES has meanwhile produced Integrating Cities toolkits[2] and published reports (2013 and 2015) monitoring progress towards the implementation of the Charter. Although linguistic diversity and multilingualism were not acknowledged explicitly, language courses and language skills were frequently mentioned (for migrants and sometimes for civil servants).

Another important initiative is the Urban Agenda for the European Union's Partnership on the inclusion of migrants and refugees. The *Report on the working conference on reception and housing of migrants and refugees* (November 2016) identified bottlenecks pertaining to European policies, hard and soft law, European funding opportunities and data and knowledge tools. One of the bottlenecks is the policy and legal gap regarding early integration: early language training, orientation, knowledge, local registration or access to public services. A few years later, the European Migrant Advisory Board established by this partnership concluded its *Ask the people* consultation with similar demands for better language services for newcomers and better language learning opportunities (EMAB, 2019). However, multilingualism as such (i.e. urban multilingualism as a cultural feature of the city) and the development of individual metalinguistic skills were again overlooked.

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1.   https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/sites/futurium/files/eurocities-refugees-report.pdf (last accessed 30 October 2020).

2.   http://www.eurocities.eu/media/fbook/languagetoolkit/index.html (last accessed 30 October 2020).

Other relevant city networks and city projects were often directly supported by the European Union. Several European projects dealt with local experiences of EU mobility (i.e. migration between EU member states), for example the *Handbook of Urban Governance of Free Movement in the EU: Facts, implications and policies*, published in 2016 by EUKN.[3] Although Language and Education was one of the fields under study, linguistic diversity and multilingualism were not mentioned explicitly. The study did, however, signal a lack of language skills, limited proficiency in 'the language of the region of reception' and poor access to language courses (p. 44) (as in many member states, language courses target mainly immigrants from outside the EU). Another project, *Welcome Europe*, a project funded by the Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Programme of the European Union, analysed local Welcome Policies in six north-western cities (Amsterdam, Brussels, Copenhagen, Dublin, Gothenburg and Hamburg).[4] Language emerged as an important challenge to mobility and/or inclusion for both EU citizens, local authorities and civil society. This project questions the very category of EU mobile citizens, showing that it is far from a homogeneous category and that some of them have more in common with third-country nationals, which the Commission sees as migrants. The findings in the six cities show strong differentiation between groups of EU mobile citizens (high versus low income, high versus low cultural and economic capital, transitory versus permanent settlement). Certain groups of EU mobile citizens have problems very similar to those of more traditional categories of immigrants and migrants from outside the EU, especially vulnerable groups. The most important challenges concerned access to information and protection against swindling and abuse by predatory informal mediators, as mobile EU citizens have limited access to both local (official) languages and English. Awareness among civil servants was seen as crucial, as well as access to language courses. Emphasis was placed on a flexible front-desk language policy, where local civil servants are allowed to use their full language repertoire to ease communication, the need to ensure access to adequate and correct information, one-stop shops (for information) and welcoming fairs/events. One challenge mentioned specifically was the need to negotiate national regulations, when language courses and tests were not provided (or only for non-EU migrants). Local authorities needed to find additional resources to offer complementary options, for example to EU mobile citizens, and to facilitate matching with residents willing to act as 'language buddies'. In the longer term, key (linguistic) issues for

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3.   https://www.eukn.eu/fileadmin/Files/Publications/2016_IMAGINATION__Handbook_of_ Urban_Governance_of_Free_Movement_in_the_EU_Facts__implications_and_policies/report. pdf (last accessed 30 October 2020).

4.   http://www.miramedia.nl/projecten/local-welcoming-policies-for-eu-mobile-citizens.htm (last accessed 6 February 2021).

integration listed in this project were appropriate schooling opportunities for the children of EU mobile citizens, civic participation (to make use of their voting rights) and access to local media. In all the cities, despite the variegated situations, similar lessons were drawn regarding the role of English (not enough to cater to the needs of EU mobile citizens) and the need for policies tailored to different groups, especially the most vulnerable ones.

Local policies regarding cohesion, and linguistic aspects
City projects promoting social cohesion are also numerous, many of them sponsored by URBACT, the European Territorial Cooperation programme aiming to foster sustainable integrated urban development in cities across Europe for over fifteen years. URBACT III develops three types of interventions (transnational exchanges, capacity building, and capitalisation and dissemination), and inclusion is one of the main themes addressed. Few projects mention multilingualism explicitly. One that does is the Welcome Class Project[5] developed by Amadora, Portugal – the lead partner in the Arrival Cities Network (2016–2018), aimed at 'managing global flows at local level'.

The DIVERCITIES research project funded by the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme[6] is an example of diversity celebration. Altogether, the project studied 147 initiatives in deprived and diverse neighbourhoods in 14 cities, but strikingly no attention is explicitly paid to linguistic diversity despite the importance given to the improvement of inter-cultural communication and communication between policymakers and socially diverse residents. Whether this is because the linguistic component is indeed negligible or because it is often overlooked by social researchers remains open for further inquiry. Similarly, in her assessment of the shifting inclusion agendas of city networks sponsored by the EU, Cianetti (2019) does not mention languages or multilingualism explicitly.

Local policies regarding multilingualism, and mobility and inclusion
In contrast to the wealth of initiatives regarding migration and social cohesion, local authorities rarely articulate explicit language policies. To our knowledge, Sheffield is the only city in Europe with a *Language Education policy profile* (although the Council of Europe offers this possibility to regional and local authorities, alongside member states).[7]

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5.   https://urbact.eu/welcome-class-project (last accessed 6 February 2021).

6.   https://www.urbandivercities.eu/ (last accessed 30 October 2020).

7.   https://www.coe.int/en/web/language-policy/list-of-language-education-policy-profiles (last accessed 30 October 2020).

A single European network of cities focusing specifically on multilingualism has been identified: the LUCIDE network (Languages in Urban Communities – Integration and Diversity for Europe) was funded by the Lifelong Learning programme of the European Commission. The project focused on linguistic aspects, although integration (and hence cohesion) was mentioned explicitly as a policy goal. In contrast, mobility was taken as a given, and the trade-off is not addressed. The 18 city portraits LUCIDE brought together confirm that, despite common challenges, the experiences of cities widely differ and demonstrate the diversity of urban linguistic diversity, its origins and its expressions.[8] More thematic analyses of these multilingual cities were published in an edited volume (King & Carson, 2016), stressing the vitality of urban multilingualism, i.e. bottom-up multilingualism in cities, as opposed to negative national discourses and restrictive national policies (with the exception of a few recognised linguistic minorities). In this context, the politics of urban multilingualism stressing the inclusion of all residents – regardless of their linguistic background and legal status – is seen as resistance to negative and exclusionary national political discourses. Best practices of local policies range from the use of languages other than the dominant one, including public service interpreting and translation, organisation and funding of language learning (both acquisition of the official majority language and maintenance of other languages), funding of cultural events celebrating the presence of particular languages and cultures and of multilingualism, and supply of cultural products (such as books in other languages in public libraries), to strategies to support local diversity and integration in education.

In conclusion, our exploration of relevant city networks and projects shows that urban multilingualism is rarely addressed explicitly in urban initiatives aiming at promoting mobility, inclusion and/or social cohesion. While LUCIDE, the only exception focusing on urban multilingualism, does not address the trade-off that structures the MIME analytical framework, it highlights the role of local policies for the vitality of urban multilingualism and the mismatch (if not clash) between local and national policies regarding linguistic diversity. However, it should be noted that Cianetti (2019), dealing with the governance of the multicultural city (but not specifically with languages and linguistic diversity), warns against a simplistic portrayal of cities as sites of resistance to nativism in multiscalar policy networks.

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8.   https://www.languagescompany.com/projects/lucide/ (last accessed 6 February 2021).

5.   Discussion

Based on the two types of geographic research carried out by the MIME geography team (humanistic geographical approaches centred on individual perceptions of urban linguistic diversity on the one hand, and political geographical approaches of local policies and city networks on the other hand), this section draws some conclusions on the trade-off between mobility and inclusion regarding urban multilingualism from the point of view of local actors and the conditions for effective strategies to tackle it.

Awareness and knowledge

The diversity of local configurations of (linguistic) diversity is now well established. A necessary condition for effective strategies to tackle the trade-off is therefore to make sure that local actors (both institutional and individual) are knowledgeable about the local situation. National statistics are not sufficiently fine-grained to provide valuable information. Population censuses (if they exist) typically include questions about the *main* language, the *home* language or the *mother tongue*, without describing or defining what exactly these terms mean. In addition, they increasingly acknowledge that not all residents are speakers of the national language, and include questions about language skills in that particular language. Although monitoring the proficiency of the population in the main language of communication corresponds to a societal need, it does not do justice to the complexity of individual linguistic biographies and repertoires, and it conceals multilingualism.

Alternative initiatives have been developed to raise awareness of the diversity of linguistic trajectories and linguistic repertoires in localities. *Multilingual Graz*, for example, is a research project by the University of Graz (Austria) led by Dieter Halbwachs, which since 2012 has documented the languages spoken by the inhabitants of the city. It aims at complementing the administrative knowledge of the city's cultural diversity based on the *nationalities* of its residents. The website presents the languages observed in Graz, and provides background information about each language: its name, speakers, status and area of origin, the written form and translation of standard greetings, sound fragments (with transcription and translation into German) and language biographies and language use profiles of residents of Graz speaking that language.[9] Such a rich portrayal of local diversity brings to light individual biographies and trajectories, multilingual and metalinguistic skills and intercultural communication.

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9.   http://multilingual.uni-graz.at/ (last accessed 30 October 2020).

Coordination between levels

The second condition is that of compatibility between policies articulated and implemented at different scale levels. National and EU legislation and policies need to allow (if not foster) the empowerment of local actors. There must be room for individual and local strategies to adapt to local circumstances and the local linguistic configuration. More often than not, national policies and national language ideologies may be constraining, especially in the member states where the state language is (or has been) a particularly strong marker of national identity. Celebrating linguistic diversity at the EU level and at the local level (while proudly counting the number of languages spoken locally as a token of global interconnectedness) does not suffice to disrupt the monolingual habitus of many European nation states. Moreover, European policies in different domains are not always coherent, and these contradictions may not become visible until they are implemented locally. In this context, it is particularly important to notice that the Urban Agenda for the EU can be a useful tool to identify a potential incompatibility earlier in the policy making process. The three main aims of the 12 (now 14) partnerships between member states, municipalities and EU actors (European Commission, EU agencies, pan-European associations of stakeholders) are (1) 'urban proofing' or 'urban mainstreaming' of European policies through impact assessments, (2) improving access to European funding for municipalities, and (3) exchanging knowledge. As discussed above, one of the original 12 partnerships focuses on the integration of migrants and refugees, but so far it has only marginally mentioned multilingualism. Three other partnerships have linguistic implications: urban poverty, housing, jobs and skills in the local economy that are not explicitly addressed. Perhaps multilingualism (and lifelong education?) could also be a candidate for a new partnership, if this new vehicle of multi-level governance is to identify needs and institutional constraints for better local policies regarding linguistic diversity in the EU.

6. Conclusion

This wide diversity of local experiences (individual or collective) needs to be acknowledged in order to tackle the trade-off between mobility and inclusion. Raising awareness of the specific configuration of local linguistic diversity is therefore key, while coordination between different levels of governance (including the local, the national and the European levels) is another important background condition. National linguistic ideologies may be particularly strong brakes on the acceptation and celebration of linguistic diversity at the EU and/or local levels.

Further geographical research should in particular develop comparative analyses of individual and collective experiences, coping strategies and language policies in various places and times to develop broader awareness of the tools available to resolve tensions between mobility and inclusion and make multilingualism an enabler, both individually and collectively. Validating multilingualism through positive language ideologies about linguistic diversity could greatly contribute to inclusive place-making and social cohesion while facilitating mobility.

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Education

CHAPTER 9

Metalinguistic awareness in education as a tool for enhancing social inclusion

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The gap between individual linguistic repertoires and generally acknowledged societal ones is one of the principal factors that hamper social and linguistic inclusion. The development of a clear metalinguistic awareness – in school as well as in society as a whole – is a sound tool for achieving inclusion, in particular of mobile people into host societies. Building on the data collected for the MIME project, the chapter analyses the correlation between various profiles of mobility and sociolinguistic conditions in the host society to identify points of linguistic friction. The notion of 'linguistic unease' (a technical term to depict discomfort in sociolinguistic relations) is pivotal to understanding and tackling the complex linguistic diversity in school as well as in society. Teacher training focused on recognition and careful reduction of this discomfort, through clear understanding of the social and linguistic dynamics in school, can then be a strategy to alleviate friction and therefore foster inclusion of people whose linguistic repertoire is different from that of the majority, in particular mobile people. At the same time, this strategy is beneficial to all parties involved, as it also implies active endorsement by the host society of new kinds of multilingualism brought in by mobile people, enhancing the community's growth potential.

1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on inclusion achievable by (meta)linguistic means: namely, it analyses the linguistic factors that may trigger or hamper inclusion both in everyday communicative situations and in socio-linguistic ideologies. It discusses how a good metalinguistic knowledge and command of these factors – seen as part of educational strategies to foster inclusion – can lead to better management of the relationships between the core of host societies and mobile people. The cornerstone of this analysis of linguistic inclusion is careful consideration of possible gaps between the linguistic repertoires of individuals and the generally acknowledged

societal one. Starting with a discussion of a number of clear-cut parameters, the chapter shows how these gaps can lead to situations of 'linguistic unease', which occur when a person's actual linguistic and socio-linguistic competence do not meet the communicative requirements of a given situation. It should be emphasised that the point of view presented here is that of the sociolinguist rather than that of the educator or the headteacher. Therefore, real-world solutions for educational practice are not proposed here. Instead, we aim to offer reflections for the development of such solutions.

The notion of 'linguistic unease' has some points of contact with the parallel one of 'linguistic insecurity' (Labov, 1972; Bretegnier & Ledegen, 2002). Linguistic insecurity, however, mainly has an *intralinguistic* (that is, diaphasic) scope as it refers to the speakers' belief that the best variety they have available for a given communicative situation is inadequate vis-à-vis a desired standard norm (*variety* should be understood here as any distinguishable form of a language with its own norm). Linguistic unease, in turn, is a more relational and situational notion and concerns several communicative codes at the same time: in other words, it often has an *interlinguistic* scope. Linguistic unease is therefore the awareness that one's repertoire as a whole is inadequate for given communication needs (see Iannàccaro, Gobbo & Dell'Aquila, 2018: 367).

Essentially, every person is in contact with a number of situations in which they experience some degree of linguistic unease; people in mobility, however, may be confronted with situations of high unease on a much more frequent basis. In many such contexts, they do not adequately evaluate their language skills or the inclusion potential of a particular variety – they may also choose to avoid situations of linguistic unease, even if this entails substantial opportunity costs and a lower degree of social inclusion. On the other hand, host societies should be aware that the social pact already governing the (perceived) peaceful coexistence of their various bodies is not endangered by new kinds of multilingualism brought in by mobile people – and that its growth potential is certainly enhanced by the inclusion of newcomers. Promoting a higher level of metalinguistic awareness both in the host society and in individual speakers is then a rewarding strategy to enhance inclusion: the chapter argues that a clear-cut definition of possible points of friction may lead to more targeted interventions – in schools and social bodies in general.

2.   Language variation, school and mobility

The linguistic landscape of Europe shows a great degree of variation due to historical, political, social and economic circumstances – not only from one country to another, but also within countries. This makes the design of inclusion policies more challenging, since it is necessary to consider not only the political and cultural traditions of

the country as a whole (macro level), but also local and regional differences, as well as ongoing developments due to different patterns of both migration to and from an area. Only policies that take account of such variability will have a reasonable chance of acceptance and implementation at the micro (i.e. classroom dynamics in individual schools) and meso (application of the policy in the school system) levels (for micro/meso/macro levels in education, see Chapter 10 of this volume).

This intertwining of historically rooted 'endogenous' multilingualism and more recent contributions from a new 'exogenous' linguistic diversity is well expressed in the notion of 'complex diversity' (Kraus, 2011, 2012), which accounts for structural changes in European societies affected by migration and mobility. This label is preferred here to other, perhaps more up-to-date, albeit epistemologically less sharp ones, such as that of 'super-diversity' (Vertovec, 2007; Arnaut & Blommaert, 2015), as it emphasises the notion of complexity in itself (involving established linguistic varieties), rather than the concept of language as a fluid cognitive resource. Kraus (2011: 10; see also Kraus, 2012 and Chapter 7 of this volume) stresses that this complex diverse linguistic environment poses a challenge to the traditional view of separate communication spaces, which now appear arranged in different ways: overlapping, parallel, consecutive, or juxtaposed. Since this complexity is present at all levels and very likely to trigger linguistic unease, which in turn may hamper inclusion, it is not enough to adopt impose country-level policies. Linguistic inclusion in society through education (at the micro and meso levels) is therefore to be regarded as a powerful means of reducing potential for social conflict between mobile people and host societies.

Education systems across Europe in general still take for granted the monolingual model of nation states, even if the actual situation is clearly different, due to the presence both of non-standard local varieties and of languages of migrant populations. Educational language management is a key sign of a broader exclusionary language regime. Languages excluded from school are most often excluded from public services, communication media and the labour market as well. This is true not only of the languages of mobile people or migrants, but also of varieties that are normally used by the community as a whole, or even constitute heritage languages of the territory. The ill-considered status of language variety in school systems and ideologically biased decisions about which varieties should be considered as the 'right' ones for society fosters socio-linguistic uncertainties. Arguably, reducing such uncertainties (in the linguistic performance of both native populations and mobile people) leads to a greater degree of inclusiveness in the target society.

3.   Linguistic repertoires and patterns in mobility[1]

The complex diverse linguistic landscape of Europe includes individual and societal use of a number of varieties. Individual multilingualism involves the use of two or more languages by a speaker, not necessarily at an equal level of proficiency. The term 'societal multilingualism' in turn denotes a situation when two or more languages are widely used in a community, not necessarily implying official status of the languages – though of course each language ought to have its functional distribution in the repertoire. In fact, in many parts of Europe (and as a norm throughout the world) society is marked by the use of more than one variety, and these varieties may display functional specialisations, which is broadly known as 'diglossia' – for the purposes of this chapter we use the notion in a very broad sense, not taking into consideration the rather important differences between diglossia proper and other situations such as dilalia – see Berruto (1987, 1995; Dell'Aquila & Iannàccaro, 2004). Diglossia situations imply a 'high' code (used in formal or written situations) and (at least) one 'low' code (informal situations, peer group, family).

Likewise, a distinction will be made throughout the chapter between 'individual repertoire' and 'societal repertoire'. We define 'linguistic repertoire' as 'the set of language varieties used in the speaking and writing practices of an individual or a speech community, as well as the social norms that govern the use of these codes'. It is crucial to consider that repertoires are complex bodies responsive to complex diversity. The importance that speakers attach to the varieties in and outside their repertoire is inextricably connected to their personal and societal ideologies. The speakers position themselves in relation to both linguistic and social rules. This complexity may be difficult to cope with and hinder he speaker's full social and communicative freedom in a given social interaction involving the use of language(s), for example in various communicative situations such as chatting with friends in a bar, talking with teachers during lessons or in front of an official (Iannàccaro & Dell'Aquila, 2016: 49).

It can thus cause 'linguistic unease'. This happens whenever there is a gap between the individual repertoire of the speaker and the collective repertoire of the speech community. A situation of linguistic unease, then, is a situation in which speakers feel that their actual linguistic competence does not meet the communicative requirements of the linguistic act they are about to perform – or even that the

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1.   As a rule, and after close consideration, we refer to the main sociolinguistic concepts as they are presented in the mainstream of classic European sociolinguistics; definitions and discussions may be found in Ammon & Dittmar & Matthaier, Trudgill, 2006/2008 and Goebl, Nelde, Starý & Wölck, 1997/1998. A new and completely revised edition of the latter is being compiled by Darquennes, Salmons & Vandenbussche (2019, first volume).

symbolic value of their speech acts is perceived or understood as misplaced. The communicative failures it triggers are instead at the communicative level rather than identity- or aspiration-related – and therefore has much to do with linguistic justice.

We will limit our discussion to the communicative unease caused by language and exclude all other situations of unease caused by other factors, such as economic, cultural or racial discrepancies. Of course, we are fully aware that all these aspects are inextricably intermingled with linguistic ones and that socioeconomic factors are in many cases more influential – or at least more evident – than linguistic ones, but the use of certain linguistic varieties symbolises the speaker's membership of a particular socioeconomic group.

In a discussion provided in Dell'Aquila & Iannàccaro (2011 – a previous version of the scheme was presented in Dal Negro & Iannàccaro, 2004; Iannàccaro, Dell'Aquila & Gobbo, 2018; Iannàccaro, 2018) various patterns of linguistic unease have been taxonomised through a set of paradigmatic situations arising from three main socio-linguistic dimensions: (1) structure of community repertoires (individual and societal); (2) degree of vitality of the codes in contact; (3) specific communicative situations, both standardised (use of the written language, school, job) and non-standardised (spoken language situations, chatting, communication within the peer group). We can mention here a couple of examples of discomforting situations: in a given sociolinguistic setting, a speaker's particular position may lead to a specific unease situation.

> SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING: diglossia > INDIVIDUAL SPEAKER'S POSITION: does not know the Low code(s) > TYPE OF UNEASE: in informal situations, everyday social interaction, possible non-integration within the peer group || CONSEQUENCES FOR SOCIETY: loss of social cohesion.

> SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING: the code has a written standard variety > INDIVIDUAL SPEAKER'S POSITION: does not master orthography or written rhetorical norms > TYPE OF UNEASE: in formal situations, in contact with institutions, in educational settings || CONSEQUENCES FOR SOCIETY: waste of possible skills, gap between administration and citizens, school dropouts.

The examples show clearly that linguistic unease may be individual or societal, in both cases resulting in loss of human resources. The consequences in a school setting will be further clarified.

In order to properly analyse various situations of unease in relation to mobility and in particular their effects in educational settings, we propose a framework for the taxonomisation of linguistic and socioeconomic parameters in mobility settings. The framework has been prepared to serve as a background for our MIME field research. Combined with the unease potential of specific sociolinguistic situations pointed out in Iannàccaro, Dell'Aquila & Gobbo, 2018, Iannàccaro, 2018, it

allows us to determine the main points of friction in these gaps between individual and societal repertoires, which depend on mobility conditions and recipient-society conditions. In fact, the multilingual settings of complex diversity and their implications for individuals and societies can be better handled if interpreted from the viewpoints of both parties – mobile people and the autochthonous population – involved in the inclusion process.

4.   Individual and societal repertoires: Gaps, inconsistencies, awareness

The conditions in which mobility takes place are crucial for understanding its linguistic specificities and for identifying the potential points of friction they may give rise to. The framework is based on a comparison between theoretical assumptions and actual findings from field research and school/societal situations in various European settings as found in the literature.[2]

Our starting point was the inclusion (or non-inclusion) capacity of some social and linguistic dimensions, since inclusion appears as multi-faceted as mobility, both being conditioned by some common variables.

Table 9.1 presents the dimensions considered: (*wrk*) work and working conditions; (*dir*) direction of mobility (within the European Union or from outside); (*lr*) linguistic repertoire of mobile people at the beginning of their mobility process, as well as (*ra*) linguistic repertoire of the hosting area; (*scl*) socio-linguistic condition in the target community; and finally (*lv*) a set of variables strictly connected to language learning, such as language attitudes, educational background and learning activities already undertaken after arrival in the hosting area. An additional dimension (*out*) represents the outcomes of the examined process, resulting from the combination of the observed variables. These dimensions are detailed in a set of subclasses.

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2.   With guidance from the framework, a number of MIME specific field studies have been carried out: (1) Migrants from the former Yugoslavia in South Tyrol: from the highly plurilingual contexts of Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro to bilingualism with diglossia in Bolzano/Bozen, Merano/Meran and Bressanone/Brixen (see also Lupica, 2015); (2) Portuguese residents (generally monolingual at the time of migration) in Andorra: Catalan, Spanish, French and Portuguese in conditions of receptive multilingualism (see also Mazzoli, 2017); (3) Highly specialised workers from various European countries in multinational companies with a predominantly English working language based in Vaasa / Vasa (Finland), which is an officially bilingual Finnish/Swedish town; (4) Spontaneous negotiation of languages on formal and informal occasions between European young people belonging to an international student association (Association des Etats Généraux des Étudiants de l'Europe) and their linguistic autobiographies.

Table 9.1 Dimensions of mobility

1. Working conditions related to age			
Students	Mobility caused by family movement		wrk 11
	Mobility for educational purposes	Short-term	wrk 121
		Long-term	wrk 122
	Mobility to reach (attain) a desired job		wrk 13
Working-age persons	Type of migration: executives, basic workers, job search, ideological reasons or perception of society		wrk 2
Retired	Mobility for pleasure (possible variable: coming from strong/weak economy)		wrk 31
	Moving back to homeland		wrk 32

2. Direction of mobility throughout Europe		
*EU → *EU	Between economically balanced countries	dir 11
	Between economically unbalanced countries	dir 12
¬ *EU → *EU	From economically strong countries	dir 21
	From economically weak countries	dir 22
¬ *EU → *EU → *EU…	*flux migration*	dir 3
*EU → ¬ *EU	(possible, but beyond the scope of the MIME project)	dir 4
¬ *EU → ¬ *EU	(possible, but beyond the scope of the MIME project)	dir 5

3. Linguistic repertoire at the beginning of the mobility project		
Monolingual	Strong language	lr 11
	Weak language	lr 12
Good L2 competence	Strong language	lr 21
	Weak language	lr 22
Bilingual	Two strong languages	lr 31
	Strong language(s), weak language(s)	lr 32
Diglossic	Internal diglossia	lr 41
	External diglossia	lr 42

4. Sociolinguistic typology of the recipient area		
Nearly/approximately monolingual		ra 1
Nearly/approximately diglossic		ra 2
Nearly/approximately multilingual	Two or more strong languages	ra 31
	Strong language(s), weak language(s)	ra 32

5. Sociolinguistic conditions in the recipient area

Typological distance between languages	Mutual understanding or *lingua receptiva* impossible		scl 11
	Mutual understanding or *lingua receptiva* possible		scl 12
Presence of a *lingua franca*	Used extensively in the recipient area		scl 21
	Known by the migrant		scl 22
Social Network	None / weak		scl 31
	Dense, multiplex	Open towards host society	scl 321
		Closed towards host society	scl 322
Communities of practice	Open to host society		scl 41
	Excluding host society		scl 42

6. Learning/acquisition variables

Attitudes	Towards integration within the recipient area		lv 11
	Instrumental (e.g. strictly related to work or study needs)		lv 12
Educational background	Spontaneous		lv 21
	Formal		lv 22
Language learning after arrival	Spontaneous	Goal: 'Survival only' language skills — Willingly	lv 3111
		Goal: 'Survival only' language skills — Unwillingly	lv 3112
		Goal: 'Enriching or improving language skills'	lv 312
	Formal	At school	lv 321
		Lifelong learning — Institutional	lv 3221
		Lifelong learning — Private	lv 3222

7. Outcomes

	Complete maintenance		out 11
Consequences for the original repertoire	Loss of one or more varieties	Originally bilingual contexts	out 121
		Originally diglossic contexts — Loss of the High variety	out 1221
		Originally diglossic contexts — Loss of the Medium/ Low variety	out 1222
	Difficulties for both the original and arrival repertoires	Also oral	out 21
		Written only	out 22
Compared with host community repertoire	Acquired bilingualism		out 31
	Good L2 competence		out 32
	Incomplete acquisition	Caused by external factors (by necessity)	out 331
		Caused by insufficient evaluation of the need for acquisition — Passive command suffices	out 3321
		Caused by insufficient evaluation of the need for acquisition — Mutual understanding between the languages	out 3322
		Caused by unwillingness to integrate	out 333

The first dimension concerns the mobile person's stage of life at the time of migration (*wrk*); this is closely connected to the main motivation for mobility (study, job, retirement, family reunification), which in turn stems from more general causes of migration. It might concern groups instead of single persons (e.g. war, economic crisis, persecution in the country of origin). The second crucial aspect is the length of the mobility period, or more precisely the specific life plans of people in mobility: their intention to stay for a short or long period, to return to their countries of origin, etc. We have long discussed whether different levels of willingness with regard to mobility should be included as an initial factor, considering that the situation of a refugee and an Erasmus student is markedly different. Nonetheless, we have decided not to include such a condition, as the types of mobility proposed here already entail the various possibilities of linguistic and social contact, regardless of the intrinsic conditions which gave rise to them. This is also the reason why we do not explicitly mention such sociocultural markers as the refugees' and hosts' respective religions: it is necessary to operate at the surface of conditions of contact rather than focus on the intrinsic reasons for a certain event, condition or attitude towards language. In contrast, an implicit age parameter is present in the migrant's working situation, since age at the time of mobility is crucial to any linguistic acquisition or learning process. First- and second-generation migrants display a remarkable discrepancy in their intentions regarding inclusion and development of language skills, with second-generation migrants usually more interested in greater integration into the hosting area, whether or not this may mean abandoning their own language and culture.

As for the 'Direction of mobility' (*dir*), it is clear that the perceived socioeconomic value of the languages mastered by the mobile person is more important than the nature of the languages themselves. With the partial exception of persons moving through countries with mutually comprehensible languages, every person who moves from one country to another in Europe is in the same situation: namely, moving from a native linguistic system to a different one, whatever language may be involved. In theory – but the actual language that the migrant carries is often, stereotypically, a sign of a different economic and social position. In this respect, speaking Swedish is different from speaking Albanian; since the host society's perception of the migrant varies greatly depending on the perceived economic and social wealth of the migrant's country of origin, this influences the perceived conditions of and for mobility and crucially changes the linguistic contact experience between the migrant and the population. Of course, a particular benefit is enjoyed by fluent English-speakers (be it as a mother tongue or as a second language [L2]) coming from perceived rich countries.

We should also consider the structure of linguistic repertoires in both the countries of origin and the hosting area, which may facilitate or hinder inclusion owing to specific favourable or unfavourable conditions. On a personal level, the dimensions (*lr*) describe the mobile person's linguistic formation; they must allow for the possibility of migrants with highly multilingual repertoires. Obvious though it may seem, this factor is often overlooked by school systems, administration and society. Another point that needs to be considered is the migrant's competence in L2: other markers aside, a Senegalese entering Europe with French as an L2 finds himself in an almost homolinguistic situation, apart than having a certain ease in learning other Romance languages (see scl1). Whereas French as an L2 is sociolinguistically strong, a migrant from, say, Bar to Germany with Albanian mother tongue and a good L2 knowledge of Serbian/Montenegrin will find himself in a very different situation. The (*lr 4*) 'diglossic' parameter is worth mentioning, since it describes a speaker that can alternate between different codes depending on the communicative situation. But it is centred on the original societal repertoire, rather than that of the single migrant; in fact, even a monolingual migrant from a multilingual setting and moving to a multilingual society comes from an environment that is aware of the functional distinction between languages. This is what interests us most if we correlate this parameter with the parallel (*ra 2*): previous understanding of the mechanisms of functional alternation among languages can help a speaker to identify similar existing rules in the host society, which in turn can advance linguistic inclusion.

In parallel, contact conditions may vary greatly, depending among other things on the host community's sociolinguistic rules (parameters *ra*), with multilingual areas displaying a more variable and multifaceted context, probably more suitable or giving more opportunities to certain types of mobility. An existing state or regional tradition of multilingualism is an important factor in influencing residents' attitudes towards code-mixing and acquisition of the region's languages (Iannàccaro, 2010), as well as mobile people's relationships with their original and newly acquired repertoires. Whereas diglossic or multilingual societies may have a higher number of codes which need to be mastered to achieve integration, such societies are generally more open to linguistic variation. In such cases, mastering the everyday spoken language can be a winning integrating strategy for the migrant (as exemplified by, among others, Guerini, 2006). Moreover, monolingual communities are less equipped to accommodate disturbances to the linguistic status quo. At the same time, the different demographic composition of urban and rural settings (including detailed local settlement patterns, e.g. concentration of migrants in particular neighbourhoods) plays a major role in linguistic integration.

The *scl* parameters describe various conditions that influence linguistic contact and communication between migrants and host societies in different ways. Firstly, the typological distance (both real and perceived) between the languages in contact

plays an important role in processes of inclusion and learning. If this distance is considered small enough, receptive multilingualism strategies may emerge, in which mobile people speak their mother tongue in interactions with local people, without the help of an additional third language (Ten Thije & Zeevaert, 2007; Rehbein, Ten Thije & Verschik, 2011 and Chapter 15 of this volume) and without learning the host variety. Such strategies, while at first enhancing practical communication, may lead to phenomena of linguistic fossilisation that hinder deeper inclusion in the host society and may point to non-inclusive attitudes. The interlinguistic distance may also be orthographic: different alphabets or particularly complex orthographies (such as the French one among the languages using Latin alphabet or the Russian one among those using Cyrillic alphabet) may also be major barriers to the insertion process, particularly in a scholastic context. Further parameters account for mobile persons' individual/collective relationship with the host society. The cases in which they are completely isolated in the hosting area are rather rare and often limited to people in short-term mobility and determined mainly by rather specialised work factors; in these cases there is a tendency to recreate 'expat' communities. The position of the speaker within the original groups they belong to and their relationships with the settled communities have a profound influence on the linguistic experience of migration. This is reflected in the creation and maintenance of specific social networks (in terms of 'network' and 'community of practice'), which may or may not be open to other communities, influencing both general societal inclusion and school performance.

The table also considers three parameters that appear to be relevant for the purposes of this chapter: the type of motivation for learning, the modes, and the duration of learning (*lv*). It is known (e.g. from Gardner & Lambert, 1972) that motivations for learning represent a linguistic factor which may deeply influence language acquisition. Instrumental motivations lend a purely practical value to the language, ancillary to reaching direct objectives (for instance, accessing job opportunities), whereas integrative motivations look at language as the key to inclusion in the community and consequently to mastering its linguistic repertoire. Naturally, motivation intensity may vary: stronger motivations may point to life projects with a higher chance of coming to fruition in the future. The abundant literature on this topic shows how inclusive motivation is generally stronger and has a greater and more lasting impact on language acquisition. Here we would like to propose a distinction between three – rather than two – orientation profiles or 'degrees' of (or motivations for) inclusion. We think it worthwhile distinguishing, at least in mobility contexts, between (1) purely instrumental motivation towards integration, solely oriented towards the labour market; (2) motivation for interactional inclusion, geared towards general contact with the host society; and (3) motivation for truly integrative inclusion in the hosting society. These distinctions take into

consideration elements of linguistic unease, which may vary depending on the migrant's will, aims, needs, perceived interests and demand for language education.

The dimensions make up a set of Outcomes (*out*). We should first consider the impact on the migrant's original repertoire: this may be completely maintained or, more commonly, one (or more) of the original codes may be lost, especially if the original context was diglossic. It is important to notice that any correct integration process should be conceived as additive, not substitutive, and this for practical, result-oriented reasons rather than theoretical ones. In the case of languages, this means that maintaining the original repertoire is important not only for ideological and identity-related reasons, but also because it forms a basis for building skills in the languages and competence in the sociolinguistic situations of the recipient area – according to the seminal research by Basil Bernstein (1971). Attention should therefore be paid to the acquisition of the repertoire of the host society: the new codes can be acquired (*out 31*) so that the person is considered a mother tongue speaker (this almost only happens in second generations); or (*out 32*) the codes can be acquired as an L2, i.e. the migrant speaker's pragmatic competence may be very high, but some interference from the language of origin remains; or (*out 33*) language acquisition is incomplete in various aspects. In the worst-case scenario, the socioeconomic circumstances that have led to migration as well as the education policy of the recipient country may lead to a situation of complete unease in both the original and the target language(s). This means that the speaker's linguistic competence does not meet the communicative requirements of the linguistic act they are about to perform, whether in the language of origin or the language(s) of the society in which they live. At the same time, the symbolic value of their speech acts – if this linguistic uncertainty is not related only to the written language – is always perceived as misplaced. The last possible outcomes lead to various kinds of severe linguistic unease – societies and schools should take particular care to avoid them.

5.   Discussion: From unease to education

One way of thinking about linguistic inclusion, therefore, is in terms of reducing linguistic unease whenever possible. Generally speaking, every person is in contact with situations in which linguistic unease is present (however low it may be), but people in mobility may fairly often be confronted with situations of high unease. Societies may display various spontaneous ways to reduce individual and societal unease; the main resource available to institutions is, however, schooling. In fact, the way newcomers want to be included may vary greatly depending, as we have

seen, on age at the moment of migration, causes of mobility, different attitudes and future life plans. In a significant number of cases, this points to the need for various types of inclusive education.[3]

Since we will be dealing with the school system, we can recall here the crucial definitions of formal, non-formal and informal education, as established by the European Commission (2001). Formal learning is a context of language learning typically provided by an education or training institution, structured (in terms of learning objectives, learning time or learning support) and leading to certification; non-formal learning is a learning context not provided by an education or training institution and typically does not lead to certification, but it is structured; informal learning is a type of learning resulting from daily-life activities related to work, family or leisure, it is not structured and typically does not lead to certification. Moreover, formal and non-formal learning are intentional from the learner's perspective, while informal learning is mostly non-intentional or incidental.

In order for the education to be rightly focused, in our view the careful consideration of various types of specific linguistic unease is pivotal. As stated, unease may occur in any situation in which a speaker's speech performance does not match the expected sociolinguistic norm of the community. We shall now present a few common situations in which the school itself produces unease in students. It must be remembered, of course, that a person's harmonious linguistic life should be considered holistically – along with those listed below, other conditions for unease aggravate the general feeling of 'not being in the right place'. The schemes are organised as follows, in parallel to the ones presented in 3.: SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING describes the social constraints ruling code alternation in the community; INDIVIDUAL SPEAKER POSITION focuses on the speaker's position within the rules; it is noteworthy that the CONSEQUENCES of the unease may be either INDIVIDUAL (labelled TYPE OF UNEASE), i.e. pertaining to the person that experiences the unease, or SOCIETAL, i.e. the hindrances expected in a society if a number of its members experience that particular unease.

A. SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING: The code is a vehicular language at school (possibly among others) > INDIVIDUAL SPEAKER POSITION: does not master the vehicular language(s) > TYPE OF UNEASE: severe unease, even leading to cognitive disease, if no vehicular language is known; unease with peers, but transient if remedied, at least if one vehicular language is known || CONSEQUENCES FOR SOCIETY: loose societal ties; early school dropouts; less economic competitiveness; possible loss of high- skilled professionals

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3. See Grin et al. (Eds.) (2018) and Chapter 10 of this volume.

B.   SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING: The code is an established written medium of instruction > INDIVIDUAL SPEAKER POSITION: does not master written medium of instruction > TYPE OF UNEASE: severe unease, leading to cognitive unease and disadvantaged professional position || CONSEQUENCES FOR SOCIETY: early school dropouts; less economic competitiveness; loss of high-skilled professionals

C.   SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING: the territory has more than one official or school language and the state compels citizens to learn all of them > INDIVIDUAL SPEAKER POSITION: does not master the official language(s) not belonging to the community > TYPE OF UNEASE: specific communicative unease in out-group communication; professional unease depending on the official language policy || CONSEQUENCES FOR SOCIETY: less intra-state cohesion; may lead to some schooling deficit in particular multilingual contexts

D.   SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING: in the school system an international language is compulsory as a subject > INDIVIDUAL SPEAKER POSITION: no major command of the international language acquired (in most cases, poor command suffices) > TYPE OF UNEASE: Professional unease in highly specialised jobs or at academic level; possible occasional unease in international professional settings; specific unease in tourist settings. || CONSEQUENCES FOR SOCIETY: possible costs for the family; less economic competitiveness; loss of high-skilled professionals

E.   SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING: in school classes with mobile people some codes are stigmatised > INDIVIDUAL SPEAKER POSITION: uses the stigmatised language > TYPE OF UNEASE: may lead to exclusion from the group || CONSEQUENCES FOR SOCIETY: loose societal ties; if exclusion is severe, possible risk of early dropouts

In A we refer to the variety(-ies) used in schools to teach various subjects, and those that students consider their 'mother tongue', whether it be their code of first socialisation or not. It is essentially the variety to which the first experiences of metalinguistic reflection are bound. A complete lack of knowledge of such varieties therefore has quite severe consequences: individually, it hampers a successful learning process; from the point of view of society, it represents a major waste of human resources.

B depicts the situation (quite frequent in cases of mobility and minority) in which the written code of instruction is not known by the student. This code being the one to which most of the normative drives of individual and society align, the social sanction is arguably quite high, and the resulting unease very severe, both socially and educationally. It also implies high social costs.

C and D are the situations of teaching a language as L2: in the first case we mean a local language different from the tuition language and used in the same area or in a neighbouring region of the target community – examples are French in German-speaking Switzerland or Spanish in Catalan schools; while 'international

L2' is an actual foreign language, like English today in the majority of Europe's countries. In these cases, the unease is mainly professional (D), or it is connected with the feeling of not being 'at home' in parts of their own country (C).

A somewhat different situation is E, in the sense that it does not imply direct teaching: it relates mainly to linguistic attitudes in the class group. Some of the languages spoken by the students are stigmatised and their use in a public setting is considered inappropriate – as long as it proclaims membership of a disfavoured group. As such, the overt use of such languages within the school environment may loosen ties within the community and even lead to higher rates of dropout. The following sections will argue that it is up to teachers to make students aware that it is not multilingualism *per se* that causes such inconveniences, but that the existence of a number of stigmatised groups of people – and hence languages – is a symptom of unwelcome social discrimination.

School-related forms of unease may be transient if there is some form of institutional or community help to overcome the pupils' language barriers. Yet patterns of social exclusion – which are related to the nature of the host community and its linguistic repertoire, and also to the ways in which people from particular backgrounds are positioned socially and culturally – are reproduced and reinforced by patterns of exclusion in schools. The costs of such exclusion, however, are not primarily borne by schools but by other social agencies and by society as a whole. School systems should therefore become a means of reducing the overall cost of social inclusion by lowering barriers to accessing such social goods as language ease. Quite often, however, education systems are merely focused on the development of language skills (including for minorities and people in mobility) on the assumption that this in itself can help inclusion: institutional education and (possibly external) language courses are regarded as tools for fulfilling the inclusion potential of mobile people as well as the integration of second generations – possibly with limited transitional programmes for native speakers of other languages. In other words, when it comes to schools, there is the risk of underestimating the complexity of the social mechanisms that cause linguistic unease: the point is then not only to focus on language performance but to enhance teachers' and students' metalinguistic capacities by making them aware of the complexity.

A wide variety of reports, conducted by agencies such as the OECD (2015, 2017), the Migrant Integration Policy Index (Huddelston, 2015), and the European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education (EADSNE, 2011, 2012a, 2012b), demonstrate that compulsory school systems in the European Union score low on various aspects of linguistic inclusion. As a rule, national education policies envisage a single major language of instruction and restrict or discourage the use of other languages by teachers and students. In fact, the focus on a single language of instruction – often justified in terms of efficiency and national cohesion – conflicts

with what we know about the integrative value of multilingualism, as well as the goal of educating mobile citizens whose feeling of in-group belonging, sense of identity, career aspirations and cultural horizons need to be taken into consideration. It has also traditionally been seen as a route to social inclusion by emphasising access to a politically and economically dominant language. However, under conditions of increasing mobility the costs of this approach have been rising, both in terms of the short-term barriers to classroom learning and socialisation for learners from other linguistic backgrounds and with respect to longer-term impacts such as social marginalisation, reduced employment prospects, and limited opportunities for further education.

The point is that schools should operate from a holistic perspective. Again, in this chapter we do not want to deal with causes of discrimination other than (socio)linguistic ones, but our approach should be treated as a point of departure in planning a more integrated educational policy. As seen in the Outcomes of the framework (Section 4.3), all linguistic identities and repertoires should ideally be acknowledged as the complex diverse arrangement of society; but in fact attitudes and beliefs are extremely wide-ranging and not always conducive to inclusion. Schools (as a system) have a long tradition which cannot be changed abruptly, and language courses in both the host community languages and the original languages are surely essential to a move towards more comprehensive schools. Yet these courses are not enough if they are not integrated with other policy education initiatives intended to reduce linguistic unease and thus promote inclusion and mobility. This certainly implies developing conscious reflection on the particular socio-linguistic contexts in which the school is immersed.

As we have seen, school mirrors unease in society and introduces new levels of unease. Unease may be of three kinds: (1) unease that cannot be resolved at school, because it is rooted in other levels of social interaction and ultimately depends on parameters outside school that could not be recalled in this chapter – for simplicity's sake we may call it 'objective unease; (2) school-induced unease, for example stemming from imperfect mastery of the written language; (3) unease due to societal attitudes and stereotypes that may emerge in school interactions among students and mirrors widespread forms of discrimination – 'subjective unease'.

Enhancing metalinguistic awareness of both teachers and students is a viable way to alleviate unease. The starting point for the implementation of a policy of sociolinguistic awareness, including at school, is the notion that the linguistic space of a community is not straightforward, but is composed of a number of varieties whose use is regulated by striking social norms. As for objective unease, it is vital to make teachers and students aware that it is precisely imperfect mastery of these norms that causes linguistic unease. This task is surely within the reach of a school closely connected with the social environment in which it operates: the school alone

may not be able to resolve the problems that lie outside it, but it should be aware of its position in multilingual society. Since it remains in close contact with other actors responsible for dealing with economic, cultural, political and other issues, the school is well equipped not to fight the causes of objective unease directly, but to alleviate their negative outcomes by taking into account the sociolinguistic variability of the territory. This can be achieved thanks to the school's attention and traditional proximity to the social context in which it operates.

On the other hand, metalinguistic awareness is also crucial for school-induced unease, which can easily be avoided if explicitly recognised and controlled – which means taking care not to introduce new forms of unease that are characteristic of educational situations; as for subjective unease, it can be effectively eradicated through direct intervention by schools and teachers, who are in a position to deconstruct society's potential negative approach to diversity if they are fully aware of it.

6.   Conclusion

In fact, educational policies must take into account the traditions and attitudes of their operating regions; otherwise there may emerge a discrepancy between what is being offered and what people are looking for. In particular, all linguistic identities and repertoires should be acknowledged as making up the diversity of society. It is clear that this is not a simple task, nor is it often even feasible. However, from the sociolinguist's point of view, which is the one adopted in this chapter, one cannot overlook the importance of valuing each student's differences and abilities, in order to reduce linguistic unease and its negative impact on her or him.

In this respect, the example of multilingual regions, which are often located at the borders between states, provides hints and conditions that can pave the way to a better understanding of the dynamics of complex repertoires, mainly because in such regions there is greater metalinguistic awareness. Learning from solutions that seem effective in multilingual regions and adapting them to mobility contexts would mean adopting education policies that (1) position multilingualism as a normal situation both for native residents and for mobile populations, so that each student helps to understand the others, (2) emphasise the cultural and educational benefits of contact between language communities and the role of minority and mobile communities as bridges between different cultural and linguistic traditions, and (3) integrate and connect 'classic' subjects with the teaching of widespread societal language(s), ascribe value to informally acquired language skills, and pay attention to local history and *Landeskunde* of the area, as well as its historical and present connections with other areas in the country and the world. Moreover, since teachers often have limited exposure to multilingual families and settings of language use,

greater context with various communities and families should be accompanied by a basic grounding in sociolinguistics, along with orientation to the specific language varieties they will encounter in their training and in schools.

It is also important that teachers become aware of the fact that various parts of society have different approaches to maintaining original language(s) and/or learning new ones. For example, there is in fact a real division between people in mobility who are highly educated and multilingual and those with lower levels of education and exposure to foreign languages. Generally, the research of WP 3.1/3.2 within the MIME project indicates that the former display more positive attitudes towards learning a new variety, as well as maintaining the varieties they already master. In contrast, people in the latter group who are already bi- or multilingual tend to abandon one of their original languages if it has negative connotations. For people in such a situation, one of the codes may play a defining role for their identity and that of the community they eventually want to belong to, and this influences their attitude towards the other (real or potential) languages in their repertoire, as shown in Table 9.1.

Reduction of linguistic unease through metalinguistic awareness in school then entails employing the best strategies for teachers to start developing it during their training (at meso level) in order to facilitate the transmission of such knowledge in their classes (micro level). Different groups in society (peer groups, families, neighbourhoods) deal spontaneously with multilingual disparities – not always very efficiently, but due to the very lack of metalinguistic awareness among their members. As part of a conventional institution, teachers should instead be explicitly trained to drive towards inclusion the spontaneous attitude of the society to deal with such situations. However, teacher training is largely designed along monolingual lines, with limited attention to linguistic and cultural diversity. Linguistic and cultural inclusion is still an afterthought rather than a central design feature, both in schools and in teacher preparation programmes. In fact, the existing literature tends to focus on what might be expected of teachers as notion transmitters (e.g. Beacco & Byram, 2007; Beacco et al., 2016; Candelier et al., 2013) rather than what might be expected of teachers as comprehensive educators in a multilingual environment.

A number of notions and guidelines are fundamental to this kind of teacher training: pivotal among these is the understanding that multilingualism is and should be considered as a normal situation both for native residents and for mobile populations; accordingly, the cultural and educational benefits of contact between language communities should be emphasised. This is true of spontaneous relationships between students as well as for the positioning of mobile, migrant or minority students towards the school system. Essentially, teachers should be trained to recognise situations and moments of unease, classify them, and be aware that unease at school often reflects unease outside the school. As regards what we have defined above as 'objective' unease, this means that teachers must be able to identify

strengths and weaknesses in their students' linguistic performance and adapt their teaching methods and practice to actual conditions in the classes – keeping in mind the students' various cultural backgrounds. It is also important that the school as a whole can value, support and eventually assess a wide range of home languages, informally acquired, in addition to the effective (and traditional) development of skills in national and international languages.[4]

As for 'subjective' unease, teachers should teach students to recognise and value each other and take advantage of linguistic and cultural diversity, eliminating prejudices and shibboleths in order to facilitate reciprocal learning about linguistic diversity from the peer group. This means promoting active participation by those who are to be included in and gain access to inclusive education methods (Kaplan & Lewis, 2013, see also Chapter 10), which encourages real partnership between schools and communities.

The development of metalinguistic awareness and its use in recognising and alleviating linguistic unease is then an endeavour that can be simultaneously beneficial to (1) migrants/mobile people, (2) non-migrants/non-mobile majorities, and (3) society as a whole. This co-occurrence, or simultaneity, is what makes the development of metalinguistic awareness a strategy for increasing compatibility between mobility and inclusion. It must be stressed that it is not a tool to replace the teaching of multilingual and communication strategies, but a tool to make them more efficient by encompassing different ways of accommodating the complex and diverse needs of societies as well as mobile people.[5]

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4. For a deeper discussion of contacts between schools and other means of instruction, non-formal or informal, see Chapter 10 of this volume.

5. Specific policies can be found in the MIME Vademecum (Grin et al. (Eds.) 2018).

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CHAPTER 10

Educational capacity-building for linguistic inclusion and mobility
Meso-level strategies for systemic change

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Schools promote mobility by providing access to national languages and languages of wider communication, to knowledge and skills valued in the national and European economies, and to multicultural or cosmopolitan forms of identity. Ironically, however, mobility now poses unprecedented challenges for national school systems in EU member states, which were not designed to respond to the educational needs of large numbers of minority, migrant and refugee families speaking many different languages. Improving the trade-off between mobility and inclusion in these school systems implies improving access, participation and outcomes for these socially excluded populations. Although national education policies have a role to play in achieving this, it is the meso level of organization – school systems, teacher education programs, local and regional government, community associations and so on – where practical solutions need to be developed and implemented. This chapter addresses three important aspects of this meso level of capacity-building for linguistic inclusion in education: the building of local educational partnerships, the education of teachers, and the recognition, validation and assessment of community skills. Rather than focusing on language issues in isolation, the goal is to rethink and adapt well-established inclusion-oriented policy frameworks or initiatives in each of these areas. Overall, the analysis demonstrates that adapting national school systems to the needs of a mobile, multilingual Europe will depend on creative collaboration on the part of policy- and decision-makers at the meso level, as well as teacher trainers, student teachers, teachers, students and families, and community organisations.

1.   Introduction

Education is rightly regarded as a key policy area for addressing European goals with respect to mobility and inclusion. Education, broadly conceived, encompasses the many ways in which a culture or a civilisation ensures its continuity by transmitting its values and traditions to each new generation. At the same time, education comprises the ways in which a culture adapts to new circumstances, and in which individuals themselves acquire new capacities and orientations over the course of their lifetime. In this way, education is central both to the processes and experiences of mobility, and to the ways in which people in mobility may eventually come to be included in the society where they find themselves.

The compulsory public school system is the single most important arena of education policy, in view of the massive resources invested in it and its significance for the lives of children and families. However, schools do not exist and act in isolation. They are complex institutions with their own distinctive cultures and traditions that are interwoven with broader societal values, expectations, discourses and power structures. What teachers and students experience outside of school has a profound effect on what can happen in classrooms. Language exemplifies this: for example, when the language practices of immigrant minority communities 'are commonly conceived of as sources of problems and deficits and as obstacles to integration' (Yağmur & Extra, 2011), this tends to be reflected both in education policies at the macro (national or federal state) level and in classroom practices at the micro level, and frequently internalised by students and families as a cultural deficit (Clycq, Nouwen & Vandenbroucke, 2014).

Increasing mobility over the past two decades means that many education systems across Europe are confronted with the phenomenon of 'super-diversity' – the intersection of many interacting sociocultural variables that differ from neighbourhood to neighbourhood, city to city, and region to region (Gogolin, 2011; see also European Commission, 2012). This limits what can be achieved through top-down education policy, which in any case throughout Europe remains heavily influenced by the historical vision of the unitary nation state (Šíp, 2014). At the same time, the 'multilingual turn' in sociolinguistic educational research (Conteh & Meier, 2014; Fettes & Karamouzian, 2018) tends to focus on the micro level of individual schools, classrooms, students and teachers, offering limited guidance for systemic change. In reviewing the literature on multilingual schooling throughout Europe, we were also struck by the relative lack of attention to policies for social and educational inclusion that are not explicitly linguistic. This chapter is the result of an extended exploration of the meso level of analysis in the European context, asking how a more socially just and politically sustainable balance between mobility and inclusion in education, with specific reference to language, can be achieved at the level

of communities, municipalities, school districts, teacher education programmes specific to particular geographical areas, and institutions that serve as local or regional gathering points such as libraries and cultural centres. We have deliberately sought to tie this analysis to European social and educational policies on inclusion and mobility rather than to language policies *per se*.

Our rationale for this focus on the meso level may be summarised as follows. A range of measures is needed in order for people in mobility to experience educational inclusion. They should encounter education professionals who understand something about their background and needs. They should feel that their prior knowledge and skills are recognised and valued, even while accepting that they need to learn the language and ways of the host society. They should have effective and affordable access to learning the dominant language(s) of schooling and society, and be helped to retain their own language and other traits they most value from their culture of origin. They should feel themselves to be contributing members of the host society; school-age learners should experience educational achievement and success. They should see themselves and their aspirations reflected in the school curriculum and discourses. As previously noted, this kind of cultural responsiveness runs counter to typical macro (national) policies in Europe, which tend to be preoccupied with the dominant language and culture of the state, some concessions being made to other 'national minorities' with a long historical presence. At the micro level, on the other hand, individual teachers and schools often feel unprepared and under-resourced when confronted with learners from diverse cultural backgrounds and their families. It is at the meso level that teachers and administrators can come together with other social actors to identify specific needs, mobilise resources, and build capacity in practical and scalable ways. Institutions at this level of organisation can also react much more quickly when linguistic conditions shift, as happened during the migration crisis of 2015. While there is obviously a place for centralised policymaking in response to such developments, it is in specific towns and neighbourhoods and school districts that specific solutions are typically found and implemented.

We take this to imply that *meso-level capacity-building* is a key factor in improving the trade-off between mobility and inclusion. When educators lack access, though regional and local training programmes and support systems, to the appropriate kinds of educational skills and knowledge, inclusion will be lower for any given level of mobility. And because school systems also play a key role in providing access to mobility (economic, social, cultural, geographical), capacity-building that is responsive to local and regional needs is crucial to achieving higher levels of mobility for any given level of inclusion.

2.   Capacity-building for inclusion and mobility

Schools promote mobility by providing access to national languages and languages of wider communication, to knowledge and skills valued in the national and European economies, and to forms of identity that extend beyond the parochial, enabling people to live, work and otherwise participate actively in communities and societies markedly different from the one(s) where they grew up. This is the core mission of modern schooling, the one that justifies the vast resources invested by governments in the compulsory school system and its postsecondary complements. The EU's member states are, in addition, committed to making these social goods available to every citizen, regardless of gender, class, ethnicity, able-bodiedness and other characteristics (see for example Council of the European Union, 2009a, 2009b, 2011a, 2011b; European Commission, 2008). The goals of mobility and inclusion are thus intertwined at the heart of education policy.

In some respects, however, schools are ill-designed for this mission. As numerous studies have shown (e.g. OECD, 2010a, 2015), students from different backgrounds emerge from the school system differentially equipped for work and citizenship in the society where they live. Such failures of educational inclusion are clearly linked to broader patterns of social exclusion that impose a heavy burden on countries around the world (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2016). A substantial literature exists on why schools do not provide more equal access to social goods and social mobility. At its core, the problem seems to lie in the fact that the education system is designed and run by members of dominant cultural and social groups who embed, consciously and unconsciously, their own cultural norms and social imaginaries in the structures and processes of schooling. Many learners from non-dominant groups experience school as a hostile or mystifying environment which is more of an endurance test than an avenue to inclusion.

Increasingly, policy scholars interested in educational and social inclusion have come to emphasise participation as a central priority, almost a *sine qua non* for meaningful progress (Tisdall et al., 2006; Soresi, Nota & Wehmeyer, 2011; Witcher, 2013). 'Participation' here refers to bringing migrant and minority communities into the process of educational policymaking and implementation at all levels and across all modes of learning. This includes, for example, their participation in educational planning at the level of local municipalities and school systems, the development of partnerships with individual schools and groups of schools, and the recruitment of their members as teachers and other school-based actors. This of course is not a simple shift to achieve. Indeed, it calls for the development of new capacities in educational planning, school administration, classroom teaching and teacher education. With respect to the role of migrant and minority languages in

education, it also extends to the assessment of language skills and the development of systems for their recognition, validation and accreditation.

This chapter addresses this range of needs under three main headings. The first is *multilingual educational partnerships and planning*. The meso level of governance includes municipal governments and school districts (whose governance may overlap but is often separated, posing challenges for social inclusion policy), and local migrant and minority communities, organised at the local, urban or regional levels. Participation for inclusion implies the development of alliances and partnerships among these various actors, and coordinated introduction of policies and programmes that integrate schools into a wider social vision. Language is one of several key dimensions of such a meso level framework for inclusion.

The second area is *teacher education for linguistic inclusion*. A substantial and growing literature identifies several elements of a policy framework for teacher education for inclusion: recruiting and supporting teachers from minority backgrounds, mandating specific content in initial teacher education programmes, requiring teacher candidates to acquire experience in diverse school settings, providing effective programmes for in-service teacher development, and increasing the capacity of schools to support teachers and learners by hiring professionals with specialised knowledge and skills (for a detailed, evidence-based review, see EADSNE, 2011, 2012a, b). Linguistic inclusion requires specific kinds of knowledge and skills (e.g. Candelier et al., 2012), but the approach taken here is to integrate capacity-building in this area within this broader conception of teacher education for inclusion.

The third major area of capacity-building is in language assessment or, more precisely, the *recognition, validation and accreditation of language skills*. This is not only an important element in helping schools become more inclusive, but a crucial aspect of the shift in social attitudes that linguistic inclusion requires. What we recommend is the *inclusive, contextual* and *authentic* assessment of language capacities – not only the high-status capacities targeted by schools, but also the range of non-formal and informal skills exercised by people in their daily lives. What this amounts to is building a description of how a person is able to use language to get things done, in a range of settings from the home to the community to the workplace, as opposed to the traditional approach of administering a formal test in controlled conditions. Such assessment can only be made effectively by people who themselves have those skills, which implies the training of members of migrant and minority communities within a broad language assessment framework.

3.   Multilingual educational partnerships and planning

Partnerships with migrant and minority families and communities are widely recognised as essential to the development of inclusive schools and school systems. Such partnerships can take place at all levels of the education system and in many different forms. Some of the most important forms of partnership include the following:

– Bringing parents and communities into schools;
– Bringing formal education into communities and homes;
– Ensuring ongoing dialogue between members of migrant and minority communities and experts and policymakers, especially in the context of local educational planning.

All of these forms of partnership are relevant to linguistic inclusion. Some of the connections are highlighted below, while their specific relevance to teacher education and language assessment are commented on in the final part of this section.

Bringing parents and communities into schools

In Portugal, the idea of hiring classroom educators and facilitators from migrant backgrounds is an integrated part of several projects such as the Choices Programme (*Programa Escolhas*), part of a national strategy for inclusion of people from minority and vulnerable backgrounds. The community facilitator is a trained worker from a migrant or vulnerable background; their job is to bridge the gap between the community and school, mediating in potential conflicts and offering support to students and their families (Sacramento, 2015). In Belgium (Flanders), Pupil Guidance Centres offer free translation services and collaborate with families to develop individual student plans that cover not only academic goals but also physical, social and emotional health. In Birmingham, England, the Inspire workshops invite parents and extended families into schools to work collaboratively with teachers and borrow books and materials from the school library; many similar initiatives have been documented around the United Kingdom (Feiler, 2010).

The linguistic dimension: Bilingual/bicultural community members play a key role in the bridging process. Education policy frameworks should include programmes for their recruitment, training, certification and support. Through labour unions and professional associations, they could be recognised for their distinctive contribution and expertise.

Bringing formal education into communities and homes

The Council of Europe's European Centre for Modern Languages (ECML), through its Collaborative Community Approach to Migrant Education (Educomigrant), has undertaken initiatives in Spain, Greece, the UK, and France to develop links

between schools, home and local partners and the community to promote students' plurilingualism (ECML, 2015). The central goal is to promote topic-based learning in various languages and show how a multilingual approach can involve families, community groups and arts institutions. In Bolzano, Italy, the South Tyrolean Competence Centre coordinates seven Language Centres distributed across the province of South Tyrol, providing language courses in local varieties (to increase inclusion of newly arrived children and/or parents) and for the maintenance of the first language. Together with the *Porte Aperte* ('Open Doors') association and the *Savera* association, the Language Centres also provide cultural mediators who help newly arrived children or adolescents and their families ease their entry into the school system.

The linguistic dimension: The recent growth of interest in integrating language learning with the learning of specific subject matter could make a valuable contribution in the context of community outreach programmes. Families and other community members could learn about culture, health, citizenship and other aspects of daily life in a context of supported second-language instruction.

Ensuring ongoing dialogue between members of marginalised communities and experts and policymakers

The ideal situation for inclusion is when school systems are actually controlled, or at least strongly influenced, by decision-makers from the minority communities they serve. Where languages are concerned, there are basically two models for this kind of policy system. One relies on language minority communities with control of their own education system, such as the Italian regions of Valle d'Aosta and South Tyrol, or the Basque Autonomous Region (Darquennes, 2013). The other is based on municipal planning, such as in the Catalan Local Educational Plans (*plans educatius d'entorn*) developed by 88 municipalities since the programme was introduced in 2004. The former tend to be strong on linguistic issues but less inclusive in their scope, focusing primarily on autochthonous languages. The latter are more inclusive, involving a wide range of community organisations in public representation and deliberation, a focus on practical and achievable goals, and a commitment to ongoing shared learning; however, their linguistic goals are limited, referring primarily to Catalan and Spanish within 'a framework of respect and appreciation of linguistic diversity'.

Outside these two models, the involvement of minority communities in policymaking with respect to language appears to be haphazard at best. Effective partnerships for linguistic inclusion should address a wide range of activities in students' home languages, spanning formal, non-formal and informal education. Such partnerships have been called for, among others, by the SIRIUS Policy Network on migrant education (Koehler, 2013; Siarova, 2013; Essomba, 2014;

Sacramento, 2015). It is evident that there is huge room for improvement across the EU in this regard.

Focusing on teacher education and language assessment as key areas of capacity-building

The above dimensions of local partnerships for inclusion are important, and in some ways they build capacity. The community facilitators in Portugal, the Pupil Guidance Centres in Flanders, and the Tyrolean Language Centres all offer ways of gathering local expertise and deploying it where it is needed. Yet such expertise often remains located outside the classrooms where children spend most of their time, and such initiatives often offer quite restricted opportunities for the recognition and use of languages other than the dominant languages of the schools. Thus the importance of capacity-building at the *system* level.

There are of course many actors and many dimensions to the systems that can be mobilised for inclusion. There is abundant evidence to suggest, however, that teachers are particularly key agents, and that qualification frameworks are especially significant features, in the systems linked to education. Hence, if the process of teacher preparation and the scope of qualification frameworks are disconnected from local partnerships for inclusion, the latter will lack access to key levers of system change. If, conversely, teacher education comes to be treated as a *common* concern, and qualification frameworks are expanded to include what *communities* recognise and value, the prospects for systemic change will be significantly improved.

The following sections therefore expand upon each of these in turn.

4.   Teacher education for inclusive multilingual education

Research on teacher education for inclusion has expanded substantially over the last decade, both in the European context and internationally (see for example Forlin, 2010, 2012; OECD, 2010b; EADSNE, 2011, 2012a, 2012b; Donnelly & Watkins, 2011; Kaplan & Lewis, 2013). However, as highlighted in the recent Migrant Policy Index (MIPEX) study (Huddleston, Bilgili, Joki, & Vankova, 2015), most teachers are still not appropriately trained and supported for inclusive multilingual and multicultural contexts. In general, the underlying assumption is that migrants will accommodate themselves to the standard monolingual education system within a relatively short space of time. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that teacher education in all of these countries is still largely designed along monolingual lines, with limited attention to linguistic and cultural diversity. Inclusion, particularly linguistic and cultural inclusion, is still an afterthought rather than a central design feature, both in schools and in teacher preparation programmes.

So how should teacher education be developed in order to meet the challenges of inclusive multilingual education? What key organisational features should be changed, and how might this be accomplished? Tony Booth, co-author of the influential *Index for Inclusion* (Booth & Ainscow, 2002), suggests that "in developing inclusive teacher education we might aspire to our institutions of higher education becoming models of democratic participation, embodying inclusive leadership and non-violent forms of communication as well as inclusive approaches to teaching and research", adding "thus our teacher education students will learn from what we do and what we say as well as from the congruence, or lack of it, between these" (2011: 306–307). There is little scholarship, however, on how this might be accomplished, and abundant evidence of the resistance of the existing system to change.

Still, drawing on existing initiatives and ideas, it is possible to single out the following aspects as key.

RECRUITMENT. Inclusive teacher education must reach out to groups currently underrepresented in the teaching profession. *As applied to linguistic inclusion*, this implies recruiting teacher candidates from a wide range of linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Competence in one or more community languages, in addition to the primary language of the school system, may be considered an asset in evaluating applications (Caruana & Lasagabaster, 2013).

CORE VALUES. Inclusive teacher education must be explicit about the values that are central to its vision of teaching. Booth (2011) suggests equality, rights, participation, community, respect for diversity, sustainability, non-violence, trust, compassion, honesty, courage, joy, love, hope/optimism, and beauty. These values must not only be identified but also enacted in the daily encounters and practices of teacher education. *As applied to linguistic inclusion*, this implies an ethos of appreciation and celebration of the languages of all students and teachers and their families.

PARTNERSHIPS. Inclusive teacher education must involve not only the institutions of higher education where programmes are housed, but the communities and settings where teaching actually takes place. Alliances must be built so that teacher preparation and ongoing professional development come to be seen as a shared responsibility and a shared resource across both urban areas and rural regions. An example from Ireland is the Home, School, Community Liaison Scheme (HSCL), a national programme which seeks to promote partnership between teacher education institutions, schools, families, and community organisations (Department of Education and Science, 2005; Department of Education and Skills, 2017). *As applied to linguistic inclusion*, such initiatives may seek to pair teacher candidates with families and communities who share an additional language with them, or to align community postings with prior linguistic training.

SHARED KNOWLEDGE CREATION. Inclusive teacher education is inherently a creative activity that relies on the ongoing development of shared knowledge. Various models exist for promoting this; a useful example comes from a joint European Union/Council of Europe project in South Eastern Europe (Hollenweger, 2014). Three networks, TeacherNet, PolicyNet and SchoolNet, bring educators together to share their experiences of implementing more inclusive practices, supported by useful tools and both physical and virtual spaces along with study visits, conferences and workshops. *As applied to linguistic inclusion*, educators could be helped to share both language-specific resources and examples and more general strategies.

ADVOCACY. Inclusive teacher education is oriented towards changing long-established ways of doing things, and so it necessarily involves advocacy. *In the case of linguistic inclusion*, student teachers need to become familiar with the experiences and perspectives of migrant and minority communities and organisations, as well as the current state of language policies and legislation. Through critical reading, analysis and discussion of policy and policy documents, teachers can be helped to play an active role in working for better alignment between such policies and inclusive education practice (Kaplan & Lewis, 2013).

COMPETENCE-BASED CURRICULUM. Inclusive teacher education should entail development of the full range of competences outlined in the Profile of Inclusive Teachers (see below). This must include the range of competences *relevant to linguistic inclusion* (Table 10.1) – not only as topics to be read about and discussed, but as practices to be observed and enacted. The development of these competences should be regarded as an ongoing commitment and supported by specific mentoring and other measures in schools.

The *Profile of Inclusive Teachers* (EADSNE, 2011) was developed in the course of a three-year project undertaken by the European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education from 2009–2012. The objective was to propose recommendations for teacher education institutes and policymakers with respect to initial teacher education programmes in particular. Expert groups of policymakers responsible for teacher education and inclusive education, along with general and specialist teacher educators from twenty-five countries, were involved in the project. The four main categories or themes arising from the work on the *Profile* are the following:

1. Valuing learner diversity: difference is considered a resource and an asset to education;
2. Supporting all learners: teachers have high expectations of all learners' achievements;
3. Working with others: collaboration and teamwork are essential approaches for all teachers;
4. Personal professional development: teaching is a learning activity – teachers take responsibility for their lifelong learning.

None of these projects addressed linguistic inclusion specifically. Hence we have adapted the *Profile* to serve as a guide to teacher preparation for inclusive multilingual education (Table 10.1). While necessarily synoptic, the table provides a good overview of the scope of teacher education for inclusion, and may serve as a corrective to the idea that multilingualism in schools is simply a matter of organising mother-tongue language classes. Linguistic difference, like other aspects of learner diversity, involves the whole child; teachers need the ability both to see and understand that difference and to reach beyond it.

Table 10.1 Teacher capacities required for inclusive multilingual education. Based on the *profile of inclusive teachers* (EADSNE, 2012a)

	Attitudes and beliefs	Knowledge and understanding	Skills and abilities
Valuing Learner Diversity			
Conceptions of inclusive multilingual education	Inclusive multilingual education is an aspect of inclusive education based on human rights; it means that all learners are engaged in learning activities that are meaningful for them.	Inclusive multilingual education is part of global and local contexts, and is an approach for all learners, not just those who are perceived to have different needs.	Inclusive multilingual education implies critically examining one's own beliefs and attitudes, challenging non-inclusive attitudes and modelling respect in social relationships.
The teacher's view of learner linguistic difference	Learner linguistic diversity is a resource that enhances learning opportunities and adds value to schools, local communities and society; all learners' voices should be heard and valued.	The school and classroom population is constantly changing; learners can be used as a resource to facilitate learning about linguistic diversity for themselves and their peers.	Skilled at learning how to learn from language differences, and contributing to building schools as learning communities that respect, encourage and celebrate all learners' achievements.
Supporting All Learners			
Promoting the academic, social and emotional learning of all learners	High expectations for all learners; learners are active decision-makers in their own learning; parents and families are an essential resource for a learner's learning	Knowledge of typical and atypical child multilingual development patterns and pathways, along with different models of language learning	Develops learners' communication and 'learning to learn skills', facilitates transfer of skills with home and community languages, and involves parents and families in giving feedback

<div align="right">(continued)</div>

Table 10.1 (*continued*)

	Attitudes and beliefs	**Knowledge and understanding**	**Skills and abilities**
Effective teaching approaches in heterogeneous classes	Takes responsibility for facilitating the learning of all learners in a class; other languages treated as valuable resources for learning	Identifying strengths of each learner; differentiation of curriculum content, process and materials to include various languages and cultures	Works with individual learners as well as heterogeneous groups; finds ways to use other languages productively in the classroom
Working With Others			
Working with parents and families	Respect for varied cultural/social/linguistic backgrounds and perspectives; ensures effective communication and collaboration with parents and families	Understands inclusive multilingual education as a collaborative approach, needing positive inter-personal skills and relationships	Works with others to communicate effectively with diverse parents and family members, drawing on language resources of the community
Working with a range of other educational professionals	Values collaboration, partnerships and teamwork in which multiple languages play a role; supports professional learning about multilingual education	Familiar with working models where teachers in inclusive classrooms cooperate with other experts and staff to share language expertise	Builds a class community that is part of a wider multilingual school community; contributes to language management at the school level
Personal Professional Development			
Teachers as reflective practitioners of inclusive multilingual education	Inclusive multilingual education is a problem-solving activity that draws on evidence-based practice and personal pedagogy	Knowledge of action research methods to undertake problem-solving, reflection and self-evaluation in inclusive multilingual education	Systematic self-evaluation, works with others to reflect upon and contribute to inclusive multilingual education in school as a whole
Ongoing professional learning and development in inclusive multilingual education	A teacher cannot be an expert in all questions related to inclusive multilingual education; continuous learning, change and development are essential	Knowledge of the multilingual, legal and political context teachers work within; ongoing commitment to develop knowledge and skills to enhance their inclusive practice	Pursuit of innovation and personal learning, using colleagues, other professionals, community and family role models as sources of learning and inspiration

5. Recognising linguistic skills acquired in informal/non-formal contexts

The last of the three areas of meso-level capacity-building, as we have said, concerns the role of qualification frameworks in facilitating or limiting social inclusion and mobility. Generally speaking, the recognition, validation and accreditation (RVA) of adult skills is an important focus for the UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning and the OECD, and a recurring theme in EU policy statements on adult education. The Council of the European Union (2012) recommended that member states put in place, no later than 2018, arrangements for the validation of skills acquired non-formally and informally. These arrangements, according to the Council, should be linked to national qualification frameworks and comply with the European Qualifications Framework. The Council followed this with a recommendation (2014) that language skills be included in these accreditation systems.

However, reports by the OECD (2015, 2016), among others, indicate that in many cases such formally developed tools are not sufficiently adjusted to the conditions of increasing mobility. This is especially true in the case of language skills: informally acquired skills are more often than not oral ones and thus pose a challenge for traditional forms of assessment based on written tests. Moreover, such tests often focus on grammatical correctness, which is not the most important factor for inclusion and/or mobility. Good assessment tools would be able to address both the strengths and the limitations of the actual linguistic repertoires available to members of migrant and minority communities.

At the macro level, there are four main models of implementation and coordination of RVA (Singh, 2015): national and regional agencies, National Qualification Frameworks, industry/labour union partnerships, and adult learning organisations. The most widespread European language assessment framework, the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR: Council of Europe, 2001), employs both the first and the last of these: some states designate national examination centres, while others accredit a range of institutions including cultural centres and institutions of higher learning. In general, these are not the same institutions that are involved with migrant education, and the CEFR assessment process would probably be viewed as overly formal and inaccessible by many adult language learners in conditions of mobility. However, a similar model of organisation might involve migrant organisations directly in the testing of informally acquired language skills, within a national (and/or European) framework.

Key to such a model would be the determination of processes and standards at a meso level, i.e. in the context of regional varieties of multilingualism. For example, in multilingual Andorra, language proficiency standards need to refer to the differing functions of French, Catalan, Spanish and Portuguese, in order to reflect their real and potential roles in a learner's repertoire. Assessment in such a framework may

also play an educational role, expanding learners' awareness of their own linguistic attitudes, habits and abilities and their potential for growth.

At the micro level, it is necessary to define specific assessment tools and practices. The European guidelines for validating non-formal and informal learning (CEDEFOP, 2015) name a number of tools for extracting and presenting evidence. Among these, traditional tests and examinations are said to be possibly intimidating and testing superficial knowledge to the point of being irrelevant. Other methods, such as conversational (interviews), declarative (self-assessment), observation, simulation or third-party evidence may be considered less reliable without a highly skilled and experienced assessor. More promising for broad application is informal continuous authentic assessment (see UNESCO, 2015: 40–55), which is inherently bound to the learner's problem-solving strategies and communicative skills, and can be documented through the use of portfolios.

There are points of convergence between these developments in adult education and current trends in educational assessment in general (see Housen, 2002). Many schools and classrooms now integrate different forms and strategies of evaluation: not only formal and summative evaluation, but also self-evaluation and, more importantly, informal continuous assessment, which is inherently bound to the learner's problem-solving strategies and communicative skills. These strategies fit in well with the communicative approach in language teaching, which has been widely adopted and often predominates in second and foreign language learning. The implication is that the assessment of informally acquired language skills in adults (and, for that matter, migrant children prior to their enrolment in school) should parallel, in important ways, the assessment of formally acquired language skills in institutional settings – and *vice versa*.

An additional point of overlap between the informal/non-formal and formal systems concerns the assessment of students' linguistic abilities when they enter school. School systems are most successful in inclusion of students from diverse backgrounds when they use needs-based approaches to identify and target specific needs of their students, and to improve their skills in the language of instruction (European Commission, 2015; Herzog-Punzenberger, Le Pichon Vorstman & Siarova, 2017). Yet most European school systems do not have a consistent or well-founded approach to the assessment of prior linguistic skills (achieved in formal, non-formal, informal contexts), or for translating assessment scores into appropriate educational strategies.

The development of a system for recognising, validating and accrediting informally acquired adult language skills would thus have great potential value for schools, assuming it could be adapted to the assessment of a child's linguistic abilities. At present, formal tools tend to underestimate those abilities, since any skills acquired previously are not necessarily developed in the language of the recipient area, or in a comparable cultural context. One immediate benefit would therefore be to position

children as more skilled and capable than they are currently perceived to be. Moving away from a deficit frame of reference towards a diversity-as-resource approach is widely acknowledged to be a foundational requirement for inclusive schooling.

In addition, if adult members of the child's linguistic and cultural communities are involved in the assessment process, this would help build effective partnerships between those communities and the school, as recommended in previous sections of this chapter. The strongest community partnerships are those that actively draw on the partners' complementary expertise and capacities, and develop them further. This of course is also in line with European policies on job creation and work-related training. The investment of resources in the development of RVA processes, with and without direct connections to schools, would thus contribute to social integration in a number of ways.

This brings us to a final set of considerations regarding measures to promote linguistic inclusion at the meso level.

6. Conclusions and policy implications

Building a linguistically inclusive school system turns out to be a complex endeavour, involving a wide variety of actors, institutions, and partnerships. In many ways this process challenges some of the founding assumptions of current public systems of schooling; in other ways, however, it fits in closely with current policy trends.

In recent years, inclusive education has become official policy across the European Union, yet it is clear that existing educational institutions are ill-equipped to deliver on that promise. At the same time, support has been growing for approaches to social inclusion that involve recipients of social services more directly in their design and administration. The measures outlined in this chapter are broadly aligned with this trend. By involving migrant and minority communities and organisations more directly in educational planning and delivery, this approach leverages substantial local linguistic and cultural expertise to make schools 'smarter' and more adaptable to the diversity of the population they serve.

Teachers play a key role in this process. As the professionals tasked with spending hours of every day with children from a cross-section of society, they must inevitably confront the question of what inclusion means in practice. And this, it turns out, is not the same everywhere, but always achieved in accordance with local circumstances and opportunities. It follows that inclusive multilingual education is an inherently creative challenge – just as teaching in any setting of diversity is a creative challenge. Policy frameworks must take this into account by focusing on building capacity for decision-making and implementation at the meso and micro levels. Improving teacher education for inclusion is a central aspect of this capacity-building, though not the only one deserving attention.

Our analysis underlines the fact that linguistic inclusion cannot be effectively addressed without reference to other aspects of inclusion (and, for that matter, mobility). Collaborative approaches to promote mobility, inclusion and multilingualism in school systems should be seen, supported and managed in the context of broader policy measures devised to promote education for all. Such collaboration should include policy- and decision-makers at the meso level, as well as teacher trainers, student teachers, teachers, students and families, and community organisations. Integrating multilingual policies and practices into local and regional collaborative networks can promote awareness, accelerate policy adaptation, encourage evidence-based and needs-based policy development approaches, prepare targeted measures for specific contexts, provide support and guidance to practitioners, and lead to further well-grounded proposals for change.

Acknowledgements

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CHAPTER 11

Higher education language policies for mobility and inclusion

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As a consequence of internationalisation, higher education has become mul-
tilingual and, at the same time, one common language, English, has become a
sort of *lingua franca* for research, teaching and even governance. In this chapter,
we will analyse how language policies of higher education institutions deal with
the trade-off between mobility and inclusion. Language practices in teaching,
research, governance and knowledge transfer to society are elements of the lan-
guage landscape in higher education as multilingual and multicultural learning
spaces. In these spaces there is a huge diversity of linguistic repertoires and there
is also an uniformisation required by the reduction to a (wanted) common lan-
guage justified by the need for visibility, parameterisation and comparison with
others. On an epistemological level, from a language sciences perspective, we
will analyse the concept of language emerging from language practices and used
in higher education. Data collection from desk research and case studies will
allow us to discuss the various roles given to languages. Despite the relevance of
local/national languages, a *lingua franca* is often promoted. The idea that knowl-
edge is independent of language and discourse is also evident from the data an-
alysed; the aimed-for trade-off between mobility and research is far from being
achieved with existing language policies.

1.   Introduction

Higher education has become diverse and international, recruiting students, re-
searchers and staff from various geographical, social and linguistic backgrounds,
and must deal with tensions between the local and the global, and between compet-
itiveness and effectiveness. As internationalisation has been a major issue, mobility
and inclusion have become core concepts in drawing up guidelines for governance
and defining strategies, not only for teaching and research and the third mission
but also for the more recent approach to higher education: community engagement
(Farnell, 2020).

Since social activity is the product of interactions between students, staff and society, communication and languages are the essential conditions for higher education development. Language policies are part of organisational and functional policies for institutions acting as local, regional and international players. The challenge is how to define these language policies dealing with some instability, given the need for both local impact and global competitiveness. Competitiveness causes some deterritorialisation and uniformisation of higher education and legitimises the use of a one-size-fits-all language or *lingua franca*, English. Recently, reterritorialisation can be observed, and national/local languages seem increasingly relevant (Pieters & Keersmaekers, 2020).

This chapter will present specific features of this tension in higher education language policies (HELPs), involving the trade-off between mobility and inclusion and bearing in mind that higher education must be universal, avoiding exclusive nationalisms but respecting local needs and identities and promoting multilateralism.

HELPs, as sets of explicit or implicit decisions and practices on internal and external communication rules for language use, are part of institutional policies designed in accordance with missions and needs for specific contexts inserted in a global perspective These language policies are seen, first of all, as strategies for transforming higher education activity, and should be designed to follow constant changes in the linguistic landscape. They must allow the improvement of teaching and research, while also permitting the relationship with *extra muros*, as well as community engagement. Language policies in higher education are not only the decision about the means, the code to be used in specific communication, they lay in a recent approach of the concept of language and they should be able to consider the linguistic diversity present in institutions and used in different moments for different aims.

As education is based in interaction, and higher education interaction (more than in other levels of education) creates and disseminates knowledge, higher education policies must show evidence of language challenges connected to knowledge construction (i.e. research), knowledge transmission (i.e. learning and teaching) and knowledge sharing (i.e. languages of publication). These questions will be approached in this chapter, explicitly considering their contribution to mobility and inclusion, reassessing the issue of language use in higher education and formulating an integrative vision linking the micro and macro levels and also encompassing governance, the third mission and, above all, community engagement of tertiary education.

2.   Higher education in the MIME analytical framework

The MIME framework is built on the relationship between mobility and inclusion to deal with the respective trade-off in a multilingual Europe. This framework, presented by Grin (2018), explicitly assumes that "a fragmented approach to the management of linguistic diversity is increasingly unsatisfactory as a result of two major trends" (p. 16): globalisation and technological development. It therefore set out to be comprehensive and holistic, with a high level of complexity from a systemic perspective. In particular, linguistic diversity in society and higher education must be seen less as an obstacle than as an asset. To fully achieve its main function, produce knowledge and preserve what has been historically accumulated, higher education institutions should be linguistically sensitive; as Yanaprasart (2020) has said, it is a question of knowledge of languages and a question of the relationship between languages and knowledge.

Mobility has been essentially improved since the launch of the Erasmus[1] programme. Students and researchers may attend classes or participate in projects in different institutions; a real visible example is what is happening nowadays inside the European universities' consortia. Virtual mobility, allowed by digitalisation, may erode specific geographical, contextual and social features. Territories have, here, a specific conceptualisation as they are not physically linked but virtually built. In all cases, languages should be needed, but in some cases the *lingua franca* appears as the only demand and everything is in English for all the students from abroad.

Pretending equality/equity for all (including migrants, local minorities, etc.), inclusion is also a feeling of belonging and being accepted. Institutions' (language) policies may have different strategies for inclusion (explicit or implicit), such as language courses and various activities proposed during the year (festivals, conferences, exhibitions, debates, etc.). Apart from (fully) mobile speakers, those who would never leave their birthplace will participate in inclusion and will perhaps want to learn languages from others without being mobile. Inclusion may be prepared for before mobility, supported during it and analysed after it. It cannot lead to acculturation or previous language/culture loss.

A link between mobility and inclusion must be conceived and expressed in HELPs, showing the various values of language (such as ethical and composite identities; communication; knowledge expression; creation of authority), linked to the dichotomy commodification versus diversity and different statuses of languages (*lingua franca*,

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1.   The Erasmus programme (European Region Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students) was launched in 1987. Since then, millions of students, professors, researchers and staff have been involved in mobility. The recent definition in Erasmus guides states that short-time mobility is from 5 days to 2 months and long-time mobility is more than 2 months.

foreign language, vehicular language, publication language, heritage language, etc.), contexts and various analysis scales (local, territorial, cosmopolitan, etc.). Prejudices about the relative value of languages must be overcome, so that the trade-off between inclusion and mobility can successfully produce equity. The linguistic environment should include mobile speakers, but too much emphasis on inclusion can lead to uniformisation and, at worst, helps to prevent mobility. Equity cannot exist without the idea of acceptance, respecting language identities and creating self-confidence to attain language security. Language issues are always linked to environment, explicit aims and expected outcomes. There seems to be a lack of awareness of the relationship between multilingual skills and knowledge.

HELPs should reveal awareness of difference between mobility-related languages and inclusion-related languages. This includes informal and non-formal learning. Inadequate skills in a dominant language or the use of certain languages (or varieties of a language) may often be a source of exclusion, thus directly threatening social cohesion.

Non-convergent aims between mobility and inclusion in language policy are expressed in several contexts, with a *lingua franca*, English, used not only as a means of communication but also as a vehicle of epistemological and paradigmatic choices. In more than one higher education institution, knowledge expressed in some languages (as local/national languages) is totally or partially decapitalised.

3.   Key concepts

HELPs may be studied using various theoretical and methodological approaches from public policies to language sciences and may have inputs from various disciplines. Under the MIME framework, its multidimensionality has been stressed and, in this case, our departure point is language sciences (above all sociolinguistics with the support of terminology as verbalisation of knowledge). Language policies in higher education are designed, as we have seen, to enhance their mission and strategies, respecting global trends and local needs (Conceição, 2020a). From both sides, inclusion and mobility, awareness of linguistic diversity and recognition and willing of multilingual practices in higher education (inside and outside the campus) are key factors.

Language sciences, inspired by Saussure's *langue/parole* dichotomy, traditionally conceived language in terms of the use of linguistic forms, knowledge of a system (structuralism, distributionalism, generativism, cognitivism, etc). Harris (1982) called it language myth and conceived language 'as a mere accident of the communication process' (p. 166), not a fixed code designed to transfer ideas/thoughts from one mind to another, assuming that the code was known to all members of

the community. For Raczaszek-Leonardi (2009), language is viewed as action on both sides, dynamic and symbolic; this perspective, close to complexity theories, shows that language (as a complex system) is about becoming, not being. The language system (partially an open system) is continuously emerging through speakers' interactions. This also explains why we cannot consider languages as neutral. As Coulmas (2018: 47) states, "what counts as a language is historically contingent and discipline-dependent".

The above approach must be combined with the concept of language stance (Cowley, 2011), since "stance-taking makes agents into observers who construe and shape the lived environment as they integrate perception with action" (p. 5). So in language research both metalinguistic and representational dimensions must be considered. Our approach also seeks to avoid some existing restrictive conceptions of language that mainly value its instrumental dimension, in particular in higher education, with some language courses solely dedicated to language industries or language service providers, though the commodification of language must be studied to maintain the relationship between language and the economy.

This conception of language, which does not concern systematicity, regularities and grammatical conceptualisations, is much more comprehensive and multidimensional. Language is not only a tool for communication, but also a *locus* for knowledge. In language, with language, from language, we acquire, build, create, transmit, share and disseminate knowledge. As Gutiérrez-Rodilla (1998) has stated, 'la ciencia empieza en la palabra'. Language becomes manifestations of multilingual practices in multicultural contexts; it cannot depend on its commodification and cannot just be defined in demolinguistic and territorial terms. It is continuously emerging and evolving through speakers' interactions, in ways that depend on context. This is an ecolinguistically based concept, emergent from uses, practices and needs. This conception can be seen in the commune-centric approach of the Ubuntu[2] philosophy: "a human being achieves humanity through his or her relations with other human beings" (Eze, 2011: 12). Thus the concept of language must be seen as a practice within a post-normative approach, as languaging (Love, 2017).

We all have different linguistic repertoires which are 'biographically organised complexes of resources, and they follow the rhythms of actual human lives. This means that repertoires do not develop in a linear fashion. They develop explosively in some phases of life and gradually in some others' (De Saint-Georges & Weber, 2013: 15). As our society is super diverse, say the same authors, 'repertoires in a superdiverse world are records of mobility: of movement of people, language resources, social arenas, technologies of learning and learning environments' (*id*.). Linked to

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2. Ubuntu is a Bantu word meaning 'I am because we are'.

the concept of linguistic repertoire is the concept of multilingual competence,[3] which is both a tool and a state and relates to the complex, flexible, integrative and adaptable behavior which multilingual individuals display (Franceschini, 2011: 351).

Multilingual speakers are able to use different languages according to their communication needs but can also use code-mixing (mixing elements from different languages), code-switching (moving from one language to another in the same conversation) or translanguaging (Caruso, 2018). Intercomprehension, 'when people communicate with each other, each speaking his or her own language, while understanding the language of the other' (Meulleman & Fiorentino, 2018: 146), may also be a strategy to maintain linguistic diversity. Another possible strategy to solve some multilingual communicative problems is receptive multilingualism. Such strategies, being evidence of metalinguistic awareness, may point to avoidance of a *lingua franca*, normally English.[4]

The presented conception of language and its related concepts reinforce the social functions of language and culture and show its mediation[5] function, as a bridge between discontinuities, revealing awareness of the real complexity of the outside world. In terms of theoretical approach in language sciences, this shows that "an understanding of the 'socio-transparency' in evidence in language use warrants a distinction between the 'instrumental abstraction' of the ordinary language user and the 'formal abstraction' of the linguist" (Jones, 2017: 5).

Having presented the key concepts that allow the definition of HELPs in a multilingual Europe, it is important to stress that, at this level of education, the management of knowledge (from creation to dissemination) and its local and global impacts are key preoccupations which do not exist without languages.

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3.   Caruso (2019) has analysed in detail the concept of multilingual competence in higher education.

4.   Hult (2017: 265) presented specific functions given to English: 'lingua cultura (a language indexing socially situated value systems), a lingua emotiva (a language of popular culture and entertainment), a lingua academica (a language of research, teaching, and learning), a lingua economica (a language of market forces and globalisation), and a lingua tyrannosaura (a language of power or threat)'. Ishikawa (2017: 47) conceptualised English as 'transcultural multi-lingua franca'.

5.   We use the concept of mediation not exactly in Vygostky terms but more in terms of theory of mediation of Gagnepain (1994) that says that problems that can be found in language may not always be linguistic problems.

4. HELPs for mobility and inclusion

4.1 Literature review

Although there are numerous publications about HELPs, their impact in terms of inclusion and mobility has mainly occurred within the MIME project. HELPs have been traditionally approached via internationalisation and communicative strategies. Examples include Lüdi (2011, 2015), presenting specific analysis of the relationship between multilingualism and research; Pinto and Araújo e Sá (2019), who analysed the voices of institutional stakeholders; Villa (2016, 2018), who linked science and languages and called for real plurilingualism in research; Chardenet and Ferreira-Meyers (2020), who wrote about universities' linguistic capital seen as 'sum of resources and language skills that allow stakeholders, teachers, researchers and students to participate in different levels of knowledge flows' (p. 1). Very often, the linguistic landscape of higher education is referred to and/or studied without including explicit language policies. A truly comprehensive and exhaustive study of the components and the actors of a language policy in a Portuguese public university, the University of Aveiro, was conducted by Pinto (2012) in her doctoral thesis. Mobility and inclusion were not her particular interest, but they are referred to. In our previous works (see references), the concept of HELPs is defined and linked to internationalisation and the reorganisation of institutions and new conceptions of their mission.

In the light of previous research on this topic and in accordance with the MIME guidelines and the MIME Vademecum (Grin et al., 2018), we intend to understand specifically how language policies may enhance the trade-off between mobility and inclusion.

4.2 Data and method

Research in this area, according to the above framework, may mostly be designed using a sociolinguistic methodology to collect, analyse and discuss appropriate data of real interactions in higher education contexts. Tools to observe these interactions or prepare case studies are the most frequent, gathering ethnographic (Blommaert & Jie, 2010), cross-linguistic (De Angelis & Dewaele, 2011) and multifunctional translanguaging (Fu et al., 2019) data.

This is why we first decided to analyse institutional documents from various European universities and then design case studies in order to deeply understand how linguistic diversity management occurs in a classroom, in a research centre, at a front desk for foreign and international students and in a specific course about

interculturality. Three of the case studies are representative of three areas of higher education – teaching/learning, research, internationalisation – and the fourth is an example of promotion of multilingual and intercultural competence.

Two approaches were designed. In the first one, language policies of different universities[6] and contexts were analysed and described. The second one has four different case studies with more in-depth analysis, not only respecting the framework explained here but also to understand the relationship between the multilingual competence of students and staff, their linguistic practices and language policies.

For this first step, using desk research methodology with content analysis of institutional language policy documents and/or other documents available on websites referring to languages (translated where needed) and questionnaires sent to representative members, we have searched for information on the following topics:[7]

– Who designed the language policy? How is it evaluated? Is it explicit or implicit?
– What is the conception of languages and of multilingualism?
– Which levels are covered (teaching staff, researchers, non-teaching staff, students), and how?
– What is the intended impact (governance, learning/teaching, research, relationship with society, etc.), and how will it be achieved?
– What is the relationship between the language regime at micro and meso level, in relation to the subject taught/researched?
– What kind of evidence can we use to gauge mobility and inclusion as criteria and features of the language policy of a higher education institution?

In the second set (case studies), we also aim to study the linguistic policies and the promotion of multilingualism in the context of higher education, namely in teaching, research and internationalisation. For this purpose, the case study was chosen as the main method, as it allows analysis of different cases and thus coverage of various aspects of higher education, as well as use of diverse cases in various universities.

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6.   Université Libre de Bruxelles (BE); Medical University, Plovdiv (BG); University of Jyväskylä (FI); Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan (IT); Vilnius University (LT); Warsaw University (PL); University of Algarve, Faro (PT); Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca (RO); Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona (SP); University of Lausanne (CH).

7.   Some of these questions have also been used to collect data for the work of the Special Interest Group of the Conseil Européen pour les Langues/European Languages Council, 'Developing different models for language policies in Higher Education'. The work of the SIG (coordinated by the first author of this chapter) has been carried out from a different perspective.

The first case study concerned a class from the Language and Communication Policies course in the third year (second semester) of the Language and Communication undergraduate course at the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences at the University of Algarve (UAlg). This class was chosen mainly because it was composed of local, Portuguese students, and mobility students (through the Erasmus programme) from France and Italy; and because the teaching method required the use of various multilingual practices and also a multilingual final assessment.

The second case study concerned the Centre for Marine and Environmental Research (CIMA) at UAlg. It is a scientifically very active centre, and it welcomes many researchers from many European and extra-European universities.

The third case study was carried out at the Universitat Rovira i Virgili (URV), in Tarragona, Catalonia, Spain, with particular focus on the International Centre and incoming students. This is a bi-/trilingual university in which the official languages are Catalan and Spanish and courses are also taught in English.

Finally, the fourth case study concerned the 'SprachRäume – Interkulturelle und multilinguale Gesprächsrunden' course organised by the language centre of the Universität Basel (UB), Switzerland. This is a free course that, as the title says, is centred on multilingual and intercultural communication.

The instruments used were adapted to each case study. They were documentary collection, submission of questionnaires, participant or non-participant observation, and interviews. These last two methods were also accompanied by recording and transcription in order to obtain more accurate data. The analysis phase included constant triangulation of data. In all cases, particular attention was drawn to description of the context (including description of the linguistic context and participants' linguistic repertoires). No attempt was made to compare cases. On the contrary, the objective was to study different cases embedded in different contexts.

4.3   Analysis

Information gathered about language policies in various universities was analysed[8] to identify the main categories of how mobility and inclusion are perceived by these institutions when it comes to the management of languages. As for language policy, all these institutions have explicit documents which are more or less part of their institutional strategy for internationalisation. Conceptions of language are functional, as language is used to construct and share knowledge, to influence and to persuade. In the Finnish university it is stated that all teachers, researchers and experts are

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8.   This analysis was done as a specific task of the MIME project. Detailed data are presented in reports on the project and in Caruso's PhD thesis (Caruso, 2019).

responsible for maintaining, developing and teaching the content, the language, the discourse and the communication of their discipline. But it is not clear which language is meant! Multilingualism is presented as a dynamic item in institutions. In six cases, language policies only cover internal communication, but it is not clear if this includes, for example, learning or research. In the others, all levels are covered and in the Portuguese university language policy has been designed for the learning environment (learning, teaching, researching), the working environment (all staff, governance) and societal impact (external communication). Impacts are referred as being expected for the institutions' missions. Beyond internationalisation, the link between language policies and the institutions' overall mission is very often not clear. The relevance of the local/national language is never specifically presented in the analysed documents.

From the set of case studies, what is noted first is that only one institution provides an official multilingualism plan drawn up by a specific body. This is the case of the *Pla de política lingüística* at Universitat Rovira i Virgili, which sets out to promote Catalan as the university's own language, increase multilingualism, through the study of a third language with the promotion of English, improve the quality of the university's language output, and include the university community in language policy. The other two institutions (UAlg and UB) do not provide official explicit language policy plans, but regulate the use of languages through documents which state that the languages of instruction, depending on the various courses, are Portuguese and English (UAlg) or German and English (UB).

A recurring element in linguistic policies is the presence of English alongside the local language(s): in fact, in all cases, both in the URV's linguistic policy plan and in the regulations of the UAlg and UB, English is mentioned as the language of instruction and its use is favoured above all in master's and doctoral degrees. This creates a form of bilingualism in higher education, with courses taught in the local language(s) and/or English.

The presence of English in research, as seen in the second case study, is totalising. CIMA researchers' output is almost entirely in English. It can also be seen that the institutions described in this study promote the use of a foreign language, English, during the university course, and that this language is gradually inserted until, at times, it replaces the local language(s) in research, master and doctoral theses and published articles.

Moreover, as far as the researchers in the second case study are concerned, there are no language-policy measures that concern them. As seen in the interviews, at UAlg there are currently no specific language courses for researchers, although English is their working language (at URV and UB, on the contrary, academic English courses exist). As stated in the questionnaire and the interviews, majority use of English in the researchers' publications is due to factors external to the higher

education institution itself, the rules of the international academic world, as shown in Bitetti and Ferreras (2017).

The diversified curricula offered in the area of languages (in language centres or not) play an important role in the context of language policy measures. In all three cases, language centres are the bodies that allow language training for all university actors: students, teachers and staff. The number of languages offered in the courses varies between the three institutions, with the language centre at UB having the broadest offer, 19 languages. The three institutions provide courses for language learning and courses in which the language of instruction is a foreign language, but in no case is there evidence of awareness of the importance of the interconnection between languages used in teaching/learning and research. These institutions do not fully take account of either the multilingual competence or the linguistic repertoires of students or staff. Promotion of multilingual competence is found, for example, in a course on linguistic and cultural interculturality, offered by the URV language centre, called *Mou-te!* (Catalan for 'Move!'), which is mandatory for students who plan to enrol for a period of mobility. The other case is the *SprachRäume – interkulturelle und multilinguale Gesprächsrunden* course, offered by the language centre at UB. Multilingual competence is therefore taken into account and promoted among university actors through the language centres at these two institutions, at an institutional level, but involving only some of the actors. With regard to the UB course, in its first edition multilingual competence was understood according to the descriptors outlined in the CARAP project.[9] The second edition, however, focused more on oral communication, including many multilingual practices, such as translation, code-mixing and code-switching, intercomprehension and receptive multilingualism, translanguaging and metalinguistic reflection.

In the first case study, linguistic freedom led to the use of various multilingual discursive practices, such as the use of texts in English and discussion of them in Portuguese, Spanish and French. Multilingual practices were constant during classes and developed through learning and teaching strategies, with extensive use of linguistic repertoires, in order to obtain a deeper co-understanding of content and co-construction of knowledge. As emphasised in some students' answers to the questionnaires, the wide use of linguistic repertoires meant, in fact, that several questions about terminology and content arose, leading to reflections, discussions and finally to a deeper understanding. In this case, unlike in the course at the UB, the promotion of multilingual practices was not proposed by a language centre, but on one teacher's didactic initiative.

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9. http://carap.ecml.at

4.4   Results

From the documental analysis of institutional documents, the following items were pointed out. Regarding mobility, higher education institutions tend to proceed as follows:

– Use of a *lingua franca*, which in practice means widespread use of English;
– Frequent references to language of instruction, without indication of the language;
– Content Language Integrated Learning is often present, but with different conceptions and without data about implementation or monitorization;
– Certification or validation, generally in accordance with the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) in order to promote transparency in mobility;
– Websites are available in different languages and there are translations of communication materials in at least two languages (typically the national language and English);
– No references have been found, however, to the recognition of varieties of languages.

Regarding inclusion, the following trends were identified:

– Multilingual courses exist in few cases; these are courses in which different languages are used (written text in one language and discussion in another one; use of more than one language in presentations/discussions, etc.);
– Language security of staff and students is a preoccupation referred to, but without real measures;
– Mother tongue/L1 of almost all students and of foreign teaching staff is referred to as a problem, in particular where it is also the language of instruction, because of unexpected low proficiency;
– In all cases, cultural activities are organised in order to facilitate inclusion;
– Some activities are also offered to foster the reintegration of mobile participants (e.g. migrants who return home);
– Virtual mobility is seen as a help to inclusion;
– There is no on-line assessment of language skills before and at the end of a mobility period, even if its desirability is pointed out in the Erasmus guidelines;
– Information about the recognition of linguistic diversity is vague or non-existent;
– There is some hierarchy among languages, and no attention is paid to linguistic problems in transition (e.g. changes from one level of the educational system to another, changes in learning contexts, changes caused by specific disciplinary and rhetorical features).

The information gathered suggests that mobility and inclusion are often traded off, generating the following issues:

– HELPs lead, in some cases, to explicit plans for multilingualism/multiculturalism, but do not necessarily do justice to the whole range of these concepts and their implications in the management of diversities;
– International standard documents are used to lend more transparency to the relationship between mobility and inclusion (e.g. CEFR, Language Passport);
– There are few references to intercomprehension and receptive multilingualism;
– There is a low level of awareness of linguistic diversity and its impact;
– Some statements seem to contribute to decapitalisation of knowledge in some languages;
– Multilingual teams/groups are presented as good examples;
– Multicompetence and multiliteracy are often mentioned.

Analysis of the case studies revealed data showing that actors in universities (mainly, but not only, students) have very broad linguistic repertoires, at least CEFR A1 level in from three to eight languages. In few cases such repertoires are stimulated, used and developed through promotion of language courses and multilingual practices. In other cases, languages are kept separate and the management of linguistic repertoires is left up to individuals. Another fact observed is the widespread use of English in almost all areas of higher education: in the bibliography of curricular units, in scientific publications and as a teaching language, mostly in postgraduate courses.

At the institutional level, there are initiatives in which multilingualism is promoted. These come mainly from language centres, through the creation of specific courses, or as personal initiatives by teachers.

With regard to mobility, the use of multilingual practices and the development of multilingual competebce by students in the first (UAlg) and the fourth (UB) case studies favoured their possible future mobility, both in their field of study and in their possible professional field, as emphasised in some responses in the participants' questionnaires. In these two cases, multilingual competence represents a compromise between mobility and inclusion in the sense that its use has made students feel included and free to use several languages, while using their linguistic repertoires and the various multilingual practices to promote possible future mobility.

Also, in the case of the CIMA researchers, the knowledge of more languages is considered to be very relevant to their university career. It is also worth emphasising their opinion on the importance of mobility for the progress of research: mobility is considered very or extremely important by almost everyone. In fact, from their linguistic repertoires and responses it is clear that the interviewed researchers practise continuous mobility. They maintain collaborative relationships with researchers

from other research centres, both national and international, and it is interesting to notice that some of these collaborative links arose thanks to the very mobility of researchers. The research dimension is therefore mainly European, but also international. However, as we have seen, the language used for scientific production is almost exclusively English. This case, however, showed how the exclusive promotion of mobility – of both people and knowledge – actually affects the linguistic inclusion of researchers and science in itself, when put into practice through almost exclusive use of English as the language of science. In this case, greater use of the linguistic repertoires and development of multilingual competence could avoid the loss of domain that has been described by researchers and could enhance the inclusion of both researchers and languages the scope of in scientific publications.

Extensive use of English has been observed in all spheres of higher education, particularly research, and it seems to create a form of bilingualism (diglossia) with the local language which is hardly reflected in research and external (international) governance.

5.   Discussion

The presence of English is not limited to courses taught in English, but is also found in much of the material used during classes. This use of English alongside local language(s) raises terminological issues (Zanola, 2018). This confirms the tendency to Englishisation studied and analysed by several authors (Phillipson, 2009; Tonkin, 2011; Doiz et al., 2013; Cots et al., 2014; Pinto, 2016; Conceição et al., 2018c; Lanvers & Hultgren, 2018; Conceição, 2020a, 2020b). We also notice that the only case with a linguistic plan for a well-defined and explicit linguistic policy is that of the URV, which is in a bilingual context; and its policy protects and promotes the local language, confirming the trend observed by Janssens et al. (2013) who observed that universities in bi- or trilingual contexts are more likely to have an explicit language policy.

Language policy measures are needed to tackle this phenomenon. As we have seen in the first and fourth case studies, multilingual competence may in fact represent a compromise between mobility and inclusion, since on the one hand it favours the development of useful skills for future student mobility, and on the other hand it promotes the inclusion of linguistic and cultural diversity. The use of multilingual competence and situational affordances may be beneficial when negotiating meanings in teaching, administration and internationalisation, as seen in the third case study. Finally, as the second case study makes clear, lack of multilingual competence leads to the detriment of other languages that could be used in the scientific field besides English.

Enhancing awareness and understanding of the role of languages in the full range of higher education activities is advisable to make the trade-off between mobility and inclusion possible. To respect the diversity of linguistic repertoires, HELPs must consider different statuses, values and representations of languages (without hierarchy) in context, according to the activities and actors involved. Equity among languages is a condition for these actors' language security, so they can show their full range of linguistic and communicative skills. Multilingual classrooms and multilingual teams can be taken as examples of communication based on acceptance, negotiation and respect. This aspect is linked to the values of languages *in vivo*, and the definition of language policies should include decisions/measures that also respect language representations, language real uses (time, space, topic, communicative aim, contextual interaction, etc.). HELPs, avoiding monolingual ideologies, will consider aspects such as belonging, cohesion, capacity to negotiate language matters, emphasising the symbolic meaning of language, without forgetting aspects such as the material and the symbolic costs of mobility and inclusion, while trying to identify ways to lower the costs of diversity.

Assessments of the presence/absence of mobility and inclusion as criteria for selecting and designing HELPs show that:

– internationalisation and globalisation are recurring terms in the formulation of European universities' strategies. However, languages are not very often identified as an important dimension of these processes, and consideration for diversity is only rarely included in language policy plans as a *sine qua non* for successful internationalisation. Thus the language issue in higher education is often avoided and the real outcome in several contexts is the use of English as a means of communication and a vehicle of epistemological and paradigmatic choices. Knowledge expressed in some languages (as local/national languages) may be totally valueless/decapitalised. Given this monolingual orientation, one of the issues is how to maintain language diversity in higher education.
– There is a potential disconnection between the micro-level study of oral communication and the macro-level challenges of language policies.
– There is not enough information about the difference between mobility-related languages and inclusion-related languages and the impact they have in communication.
– The relationship between local students' local/national ideologies and incoming students' outside ideologies is not mentioned.

In our view the trade-off should avoid prejudices to neutralise (if possible) power among languages and create equity for self-development (micro level), quality of institutional actions (meso level) and socially accepted rules and policy measures (macro level). Case studies showed that HELPs may have the potential to go beyond

sole use of English as a *lingua franca*. Strategies to solve communication in multilingual contexts should be taken into account in order to structure multilingual competence, as a unique integrated system to be managed according to different communicative contexts (enhancing or inhibiting languages, linguistic competences and/or rhetorical resources, if needed).

6.   Conclusion

HELPs must enhance management of the mobility versus inclusion trade-off in order to fairly maintain the 'regional location'/'international orientation' dichotomy (Conceição et al., 2018a; Conceição, 2020a). To achieve these twofold strategies (promoting local culture(s) and language(s) and fostering institutions' international dimension), HELPs must be designed and implemented as intercultural and multilingual education in context, referred to by Eze (2017) as 'cosmopolitanism in the age of xenophobia'. The spreading use of English contrasts with the existence of very extensive linguistic repertoires in institutions. In any case, monolingualism will not allow higher education to fully achieve its mission, and language policies must have context-driven and context-oriented approaches.

The contradiction between the imposition of one dominant language and the existence and development of multilingual and multicultural educational and social spaces, i.e. the tension between global trends and local needs, epitomises the relevance of the variety and multidimensionality of visions and approaches generated by linguistic diversity. None of the expected roles of higher education, whether at local or global level, will be maintained without the continuing support or development of the local/national language. This has been shown in Conceição, et al., 2018b and in the presented research and recently made much more evident with the impact of higher education activities at local/national level on the pursuit of solutions to improve quality of life during the pandemic. Researchers and students from various fields (medicine, languages, chemistry, nursing gerontology, education, etc.) have played a very significant role in their contexts, and this would never be possible without appropriate competence in the local/national language. Linguistic competence is a condition for language-content competence, in order to allow the translational activity that creates the impact of research and knowledge in societal needs.

Appropriate HELPs that take account of the aforementioned cases and support multilingual repertoires as a policy goal will enhance the trade-off between mobility and inclusion, and enable "multilingual literacy to help to construct knowledge from multiple sources and promote cultural and communicative diversity" (Montanari & Quay, 2019: 405). More research is needed, in particular, on the relationship between

languages used (L1, *lingua franca*, etc.), the knowledge created, transmitted and disseminated, and the relationship between languages used and its speakers' adaptability, flexibility and innovation in their higher education activities, approaching languages in the communication of scientific knowledge, as situated practices for cognition and for discourse. This will probably help to dispel the illusion of transparency of languages, and reduce the universality of modes of communication, of specific rhetorical features of domains. Diversity makes visible the importance of metalinguistic activity as a cognitive and communicative resource for science, from a linguistic (terminological and discursive) perspective of knowledge creation, management and dissemination, promoting different conceptualisations, and consistent multilingual terminological precision. As Villa (2016: 131) wrote "il linguaggio della scienza è universale ma si declina in tante lingue".

As long as the mission of higher education is changing[10] in response to unexpected societal needs, dealing with the objectivity of science but, above all, with the intersubjectivity of scientific knowledge, language policies must be designed to encourage mobility and ensure inclusion for everybody.

In one's own language we say what we know; in others' language we just say what we can.

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10. See Centre for Strategy & Evaluation Services (CESS), (2020). *Towards a 2030 vision on the future of universities in Europe*, policy brief (draft), Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/knowledge4policy/organisation/dg-rtd-dg-research-innovation_en

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PART V

Mediation

Portraying linguistic exclusion

Cases of Russian-speakers in the province of Tarragona, Spain

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Social inclusion is often used as an ideal aim in many policy statements at all levels. The ideal is nevertheless very imprecise and is interpreted in different ways. Here we attempt to define linguistic inclusion from its negation, by identifying moments of felt linguistic exclusion. When just over 50 members of the Russian-speaking population in the province of Tarragona, Spain, were asked if they had felt excluded because of language or culture, a surprising 53% of them said they had. In order to portray the background and motivations for those feelings, we explore the cases of six interviewees from this community. The interviewees were selected to represent different lengths of intended stay in Spain and thus different reasons for mobility. The results show that linguistic exclusion is certainly felt in official situations where Spanish or Catalan are required and no mediation services are available, but also in more general situations set up by the policy-based promotion of Catalan and, in one instance, because of the low levels of English spoken in the region. The instances of exclusion help motivate immigrants to learn the dominant language, Spanish, but they nevertheless express little interest in the territory's traditional language of inclusion, Catalan.

1. Introduction

Social inclusion is an expressed aim of many liberal democracies, notably in the fields of health care, education and justice. The ideal political aim would be the situation where, as Habermas puts it (1995: 130), citizens 'can view themselves jointly as authors of the laws to which they are subject as individual addressees'. General discourses on inclusion nevertheless tend to overlook the question of language diversity (which Habermas, for example, consistently refuses to see as a human right). And yet language is central to inclusive ideals: if you do not understand the

language in which health care, education and justice are provided, you do not have access to them; and if the language of the laws is not one of your languages, it is highly unlikely that you will ever feel you are their co-author.

In the context of pronounced and prolonged 21st-century migration patterns towards western Europe (Eurostat, 2017: 11), language diversity has thus emerged as a major policy challenge to inclusive ideals on many levels. In refusing former discourses of assimilation or adaptation (and yet being regularly intercalated with 'integration'), the simple concept of linguistic inclusion can mean many things, notably with respect to how many languages, and what degree of difference, can be maintained within the one functional society, and whether language diversity can or should be prolonged over long stretches of time. In the face of such doubts, here we propose to tackle the problem from the other direction: instead of seeking the ideal of inclusion, we focus on instances of linguistic *exclusion*, where language diversity creates a perceived lack of access to social services or, indeed, to the joint authorship of laws.

An official discourse on exclusion shadows the ideals of inclusion, but does so in rather more precise terms, creating a complex and multi-layered concept that embraces the notion of *empowerment*. Here is an example:

> Social exclusion is a process whereby certain individuals are pushed to the edge of society and prevented from participating fully by virtue of their poverty, or lack of basic competencies and lifelong learning opportunities, or as a result of discrimination. This distances them from job, income and education opportunities as well as social and community networks and activities. They have little access to power and decision-making bodies and thus often feel powerless and unable to take control over the decisions that affect their day to day lives.
>
> (European Commission Directorate-General for Employment and Social Affairs, 2004: 10)

Strangely, this discourse makes no specific reference to language: the term is entirely absent, for example, from the 2016 report *Poverty in the European Union*, self-described as an 'In-depth analysis' (Lecerf, 2016). Despite this blind spot, it is not hard to see how language implicitly relates to 'basic competencies' and 'lifelong learning opportunities': the excluded impoverished subject should learn the languages of the laws (which might work well enough as a definition of 'host language') and should be offered lifelong opportunities to do so. And that learning would then be the means to empowerment. Language education is indeed a means to inclusion. But it is not the only one. Confronting a similar problem of poverty among immigrants, an Australian report (Henderson, 1975) did indeed identify linguistic exclusion as a major reason why immigrants may not have access to social services:

> All the submissions relating to migrants mentioned *the problems and poverty that language difficulties caused* such as isolated mothers, under-employed fathers, accidents in factories, educational problems for children, and difficulty in getting help when needed. (Henderson, 1975: 272, our emphasis)

The Australian report saw language learning as a long-term solution, but it also pointed to translation and interpreting services as necessary means of social inclusion. One consequence of the Henderson report was the setting up in 1977 of the Australian National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (NAATI), which continues to regulate the language mediation professions today. It is difficult to point to any such direct connection between exclusion and mediation in the European context, or indeed between research and political action in this field, at least at the European level.[1]

Should linguistic exclusion be addressed by language learning, translation or other solutions? In our conceptual work on this question (summarised in Pym, 2018) we consider a range of 'mediation strategies': language learning (including lingua francas), translation technologies, human translation, human interpreting and intercomprehension (exchanges in two languages). Mediation, in broad terms, here means the intervention of a third party in order to enable interlingual communication – this includes language learning to the extent that a teacher or teaching aid is used.

The use of mediation strategies by migrant groups is receiving growing scientific attention. For example, Hlavac (2016) presents a magisterial study of 103 Macedonian speakers in Australia, where mediation is a factor in language maintenance and is characterised by intergenerational support. Kutor et al. (2019) report on semi-structured interviews with 30 Romanian migrants in Canada between 2014 and 2018, where they found that the language barrier caused feelings of exclusion. Pokorn & Čibej (2018a) conducted a survey study with 34 asylum seekers in Slovenia who had been staying in the country for 12 months or less. The results of the survey showed that the most used mediation strategy was English as a lingua franca. On the other hand, in a survey conducted with mid- and long-term migrants in

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1. Multilingualism is of course strongly supported in the European Union. This is mainly in the form of language learning, however, particularly through the Barcelona 'mother tongue plus two' objective and the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (Council of Europe, 2001) with its *Companion Volume* (Council of Europe, 2018), which has a special focus on mediation as a part of language learning and yet suffers from a very restrictive concept of translation. The languages thus protected and promoted tend to be the large national languages of EU members. The political connection with linguistic exclusion from social services thus remains to be developed.

Slovenia, Pokorn & Čibej (2018b) found that mid-term migrants were aware that knowledge of the host language (Slovene) could allay feelings of exclusion.

The aim of our case study here is to look at specific instances of felt linguistic exclusion and consider what kinds of mediation strategies are or could be used to turn exclusion into inclusion.

2.   Methodology

In 2015 we carried out an interview survey of 51 Russian-speaking immigrants living in the area of southern Catalonia, in the cities of Tarragona (the capital of the province of Tarragona) and Salou (a small tourist city situated some 12 kilometres south of Tarragona). The respondents had Russian as a first or second language, since Russian is an important lingua franca in the former Soviet countries. They were contacted mainly through the connections of the interviewers, who were three Russian-speaking women under the guidance of the authors. It was decided to conduct the survey in Russian, on the premise that the language might potentially create a bond with them and help them freely express their ideas about the host languages or cultures. Ideally, we aimed to interview at least two men and two women in three age groups (16–25, 26–45 and 46–75) and in three categories of mobility: long (prospective permanent settlement), fixed (non-permanent, with a fixed return date) and short (non-permanent, with no fixed return date). These categories were based on the *reasons* for mobility, not the actual length of time spent in southern Catalonia. The final sample diverged slightly from the initial objective in that there were more respondents available in some categories of mobility than others (see Table 12.1).

The questionnaire submitted to the respondents contained 51 questions for quantitative comparison, but the respondents were also allowed to speak freely during the interviews. The mean length of the interviews was 19.28 minutes, the shortest being 10.24 minutes and the longest 56.31 minutes. The total of 938.71 minutes recorded were then transcribed and translated into English. The transcribed text was then analysed creating an Excel spreadsheet for further statistical analysis.

The survey addressed the mediation strategies mentioned above adopted by the migrants in their daily interactions (see the quantitative findings in Ayvazyan & Pym, 2018). However, one of the key questions asked during the interviews was "Have you ever felt *excluded* from the host society due to your language or culture?", and that is the question that we focus on here, together with some questions implicitly leading to the discussion of exclusion, complementing the previous quantitative findings with a more in-depth qualitative account.

The formulation of the question was motivated by a pilot study in which the earlier question "Do you feel included?" mostly elicited another question: "What do

Table 12.1 Final sample distributed by sex, age and type of mobility

Age	Long-term		Fixed-term		Short-term	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
16–25	M20 (BLR) M19 (UKR) M21 (UKR)	F20 (RUS) F20 (EST) F18 (ESP) F22 (LVA) F25 (RUS) F24 (UKR) F21 (BLR)	M24 (MDA) M25-1 (RUS)	F21 (AZE) F22 (UKR)	M17 (UKR) M25-2 (RUS) M23 (RUS)	F18 (KAZ) F24 (RUS)-1 F24 (RUS)-2
26–45	M27 (BLR) M29 (RUS) M43 (RUS)	F29 (USA) F30-1 (RUS) F45 (UKR) F35 (RUS) F36 (RUS) F30-2 (RUS) F41 (RUS)	M42 (ITA) M31 (RUS) M26 (RUS) M37 (UKR)	F28 (GEO) F32 (RUS) F42 (RUS)	M28 (UKR)	F29 (RUS) F26 (RUS)
46–75	M47 (RUS) M49 (UKR) M54 (BLR) M66 (RUS)	F54 (RUS) F60 (RUS)	M48 (RUS)	F53 (MDA)	M51 (RUS)	F61 (RUS) F46 (RUS)

you mean by 'included'?". When we asked about *exclusion*, our subjects rarely asked for further specification. Indeed, the Russian-speaking migrants were surprisingly keen to respond: more than half (53%) reported having felt excluded at some point in their stay. Hence our special interest in this question, which necessarily involves a range of factors that create situations of felt exclusion.

Here we undertake a qualitative analysis of the responses from six of the subjects who felt excluded. The subjects were selected in view of the main composite variable that emerged in our quantitative analysis: type and duration of mobility.

Our six subjects here were selected as follows: two engaged in long-term mobility, two in fixed-term mobility and two in short-term mobility. There was also a balance of men and women, in keeping with the sample for our wider quantitative study. The six subjects were also selected with an eye to their responses to the question on exclusion, highlighting difficulties that Russian-speaking migrants might experience when trying to integrate into the host society.

3.   Results

Here we summarise the responses of each of the six subjects, focusing on the nature of the felt exclusion and its relationship to the type of mobility. Our reports also consider possible alternative mediation strategies that might lead to greater inclusion.

Here we identify each interview by gender (F or M), age at the time of the interview, country of provenance and type of mobility.

F21 (BEL, long term)

F21 was a 21-year-old Belarusian woman who had come to Spain for long-term permanent settlement with her parents. At the time of the interview, she was finishing her BA in English at the Universitat Rovira i Virgili. She was the epitome of a mobile person: she had lived in Kazakhstan until the age of five, after which she moved to Belarus, then to Spain with her family in 2006. She had also lived in Germany for six months on an Erasmus student exchange and she also reported having travelled around Europe as a tourist.

F21 knew and spoke a variety of languages on a daily basis. She spoke Russian with her parents and Spanish with her fiancé. Her schooling had been in Russian before moving to Spain, mainly in Catalan when she arrived in Spain (with Spanish as a second language at school), and mainly in English at the university. In her free time, she watched television in Spanish, English and Russian. However, when surfing the Internet she mostly used Spanish and English, not Russian. Apart from these languages, she also spoke Catalan and German. Even though she considered Russian to be her mother tongue, she reported feeling more comfortable when using Spanish, as she said she did not use Russian often enough: she said she was not a member of any Russian association. This raises questions about what language might be her mother tongue:

> Interviewer: In what language do you feel most at ease?
> F21:   In Spanish. Roughly speaking, I only use Russian with my parents at home, that's it. I have no trouble reading a book or watching a movie in Russian, but if I need to talk about something smart then I lack words, although I know those words but when I need them they just won't come out. (our translation from Russian, here and throughout)

Due to the long duration of her stay, F21 said she did not need any assistance when communicating in the host country. However, when she first arrived in Spain she mostly relied on English, then gradually started using Spanish. In extreme cases (for example, she mentioned visiting the doctor), her family had relied on

Russian-speaking friends and family members who would interpret for them. Also, her family had used the services of professional certified translators to translate documents, which is a common practice for immigrants when dealing with local authorities. Later in her stay, F21 had also interpreted for others in informal situations from Russian into Spanish and vice versa. Our wider survey indicates that in this community it is quite common to assist friends and family in situations where an interpreter is needed but is not provided by an institution or the government, such that one generation provides interpreting for the next (for the same phenomenon in other language communities, see Hlavac, 2016).

When asked if it was important to speak the language of the host country, F21 answered that it should be a priority for recent migrants, out of respect towards the host community. This response was relatively common among interviewees in the wider survey, especially the idea that the host language should be learned out of respect rather than personal interest.

When asked to name her most important language, F21 responded that in her daily life it was Spanish, but for other purposes, like travelling or publishing texts, she needed English. She also stated she would like to speak French because it is one of the most widely spoken languages, but that knowledge of French would not change her quality of life. We mention this because, despite having completed her basic education in Catalan and spoken of respect for the host community, F21 never mentioned Catalan as a language of daily use and did not relate it to inclusion or exclusion. All her comments were about Spanish, leaving Catalan in an unspoken marginal space.

When asked whether she felt excluded from the host community, her somewhat surprising answer was that she did:

> Interviewer: Have you ever felt excluded in this community? Have you ever felt you're an outsider – for example, because of your language or your origin?
>
> F21: Of course, when you come to a foreign country and you don't understand people and people do not understand you, then they simply ignore you. They don't care about who you are and why you are here. But even when you have learned the language and you have achieved something, in some situations I feel like it's bad not to be Spanish. For example, not long ago the official exams for sworn translators were announced. I was very upset because I couldn't even take them as I didn't have a Spanish passport.

F21 had felt isolated in the initial stages of her arrival in Spain. Now, however, she considered herself to be integrated into the host community: she had finished her schooling in Spain, she was a proficient speaker of both Spanish and Catalan, and she was planning to stay and pursue a career in Spain. Despite all of that, she felt

excluded because there were restrictions on access to some jobs that are reserved only for Spanish nationals.

As it happens, the Spanish exam to be a sworn translator-interpreter ('traductor-intérprete jurado') is conducted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Successful candidates become nominal albeit unpaid operatives of the public service (they form the 'Cuerpo de Traductores e Intérpretes del Estado') in the sense that they are authorised to issue legally valid documents. Since this presupposes a high degree of official trust, the exam is only for citizens of Spain or any other member state of the European Union or the European Economic Area – citizens of other countries are indeed excluded. In this case, exclusion thus concerns citizenship rather than discrimination based on any degree of linguistic competence.

M47 (RUS, long term)

M47 was a 47-year-old male shopkeeper with a vocational diploma in mechanics. He owned a grocery shop that sold Russian products in Tarragona. He had arrived in Spain in 2000, having grown up in Russia and Uzbekistan. Like many other interviewees, he mainly came to Spain to improve his life in economic terms. He recounted how he struggled financially throughout the first three years of his stay.

M47 reported travelling to Russia from time to time. However, he was not a member of any local Russian association and his ties with the Russian-speaking population were limited to transactions with his customers.

While he reported using Russian with his family, watching television and using the Internet, in his work he found it more useful to speak Spanish. His main clients were actually Romanians, with whom he used Spanish as a lingua franca.

Russian and Spanish were thus the two languages that M47 knew and spoke. He declared that his knowledge of Russian was not perfect (although he said he had completed secondary education in Russian and had been living in Russia two years prior to his arrival in Spain), mainly due to his use of Anglicisms such as 'modernisation' and 'consensus'. Surprisingly, he considered Spanish to be easier than Russian.

Not being a completely proficient user of Spanish, M47 said he needed assistance when dealing with official transactions:

Interviewer: Do you ever use the services of a translator or an interpreter?
M47:   Today. I have been to the bank with my business adviser and I couldn't understand half of what the bank cashier was saying. Mainly because of the difficult words, for example the word 'deposit' might not sound the same in Russian. They put in their words there. Yes, sometimes I don't understand…

Later in the same conversation, M47 admitted he did not trust interpreters because they 'interpret differently depending on their mood'. He also understood only half of what he read in official letters because of technical terms. He did not use Google Translate for more than isolated words, arguing that the output was not true to the original.

At the same time, M47 found it extremely important to speak the host language, which, according to the responses he gave in the interview, he considered to be Spanish. He also found Spanish useful to him in his current situation because, as he put it, 'I live and work here'. M47 had nevertheless not taken any language courses to learn Spanish. According to his account, he had to pick it up in the street because he had no economic means or time to attend language courses. M47 expressed a desire to learn Spanish well. When asked whether he would like to learn any other languages, he said he did not have time but ideally he would like to learn English, because it is widely spoken and because it would make his life easier. He never mentioned Catalan as a language he might wish to learn to use.

M47 had quite a lot to say about incidents in which he had felt excluded:

Interviewer: Have you ever spoken Russian to a Spaniard?

M47:   Yes, when they do not want to understand you on purpose. Then I start speaking Russian. When you see they don't want to understand you, they don't understand you intentionally. You turn to another Spaniard they understand you, you turn to the person behind the counter they don't.

Interviewer: Have there been any other cases in which you have felt excluded just because you're Russian or you speak Russian?

M47:   The first three years, I didn't speak the language. I used to gesticulate, and who's going to speak to you when you only gesticulate… It's understandable that when you don't speak the language you're not needed.

Here M47 implies that the Spanish-speaking official 'behind the counter' had intentionally made him feel incompetent in Spanish. Also, as in the case of F21, he had experienced feelings of not being needed and ignored when he did not speak what he saw as the host language.

As a final comment, M47 complained that there was no possibility to take an exam in Russian to obtain a driving licence, even though it was possible to take the exam in other languages. (When we checked, we found that the local exams were only available in Spanish and Catalan.)

Despite the fact that he had been living for quite some time in the host community, M47 thus felt significantly excluded. A lack of some way to achieve advanced communication skills in Spanish would account for almost all the instances he described, since he still needed language assistance in certain situations. More important perhaps, that lack of empowerment formed the basis for his resentment of the local population, making the sense of exclusion far more than merely linguistic.

F22 (UKR, fixed term)

F22 was a 22-year-old Ukrainian woman who had come to Spain as an Erasmus student five months prior to the interview. She was taking classes in English at the university at the time of the interview. Back in Ukraine she was enrolled in a BA in Modern Languages, which would suggest she was open to other languages and cultures. She had been living in Ukraine since birth and Spain was the only other country she had lived in. She did not have any ties with the Russian-speaking population in Spain: she was not member of any Russian association and she reported not having any Russian-speaking friends.

F22 spoke many languages. Although she considered Russian her mother tongue, she switched between Russian, Ukrainian and English depending on the domain. In the home domain, she spoke Russian with her parents and English with her fiancé. Back in Ukraine, her studies had been in Ukrainian but at work she spoke Russian. She watched television in Russian and Ukrainian, and she navigated the Internet in Russian, Ukrainian and English. Apart from these three languages, she also spoke Polish and a little German. As she knew almost no Spanish or Catalan, she reported interacting with the local population mainly in English, which she also considered the most important and most universal language.

F22 depended heavily on online translation technologies for her daily interactions (as did most of the younger interviewees in the wider sample) and she frequently needed someone to interpret for her. Nevertheless, she agreed that it was extremely important to speak the language of the host society: "The host language is an inherent part of your stay here". She had taken fee-paying Spanish courses and she was willing to continue learning Spanish. However, when asked if she would still be motivated to learn Spanish in the hypothetical situation of having an interpreter available to her for all her social interactions, she said she would not continue learning Spanish. Given the limited time of her stay (Erasmus stays are usually for one semester), she considered that learning Spanish would be a waste of time.

When asked whether she had ever felt excluded because of her language or culture, F22 responded:

F22:   Yes, definitely. It happened in different situations, taking into ac-
            count that I am the only Ukrainian in my group, the only one
            who speaks Russian among the Erasmus students. … The Spanish
            should at least have a basic knowledge of English. When you speak
            English they respond in Spanish and that creates a huge language
            barrier.

F22 did not volunteer further information on this point, but her opinion would im-
plicitly be that speaking English as a lingua franca should be a mandatory skill for
intercultural communication, at least in the university setting.

The felt exclusion in this case was thus due to the lack of a fully operational lingua
franca. F22 used translation technologies and *ad hoc* interpreters in order to work in
a lingua franca, and she visibly refused opportunities for intercomprehension ("you
speak English, they respond in Spanish"). Remarkably for a language student, her
responses made no reference to the possible role of Catalan as a language of inclu-
sion. This might be all the more remarkable when one considers that her position as
a Russian-speaking Ukrainian could perhaps be mapped onto the identity politics
of Catalonia, where a smaller language is ideologically seen as fighting for a national
space alongside a larger language. No such connection was in evidence, however. At
the same time, she did not seek out any local speakers of Russian (there were indeed
other Russian-speaking students at the university), so she was not seeking inclusion
in that direction. Within the cost-benefit analysis F22 made on the basis of her fixed
mobility, inclusion should be in English as a lingua franca, and Spanish and Catalan
were thus seen in terms of exclusion.

M42 (ITA, fixed term)

M42 was a 42-year-old unemployed Moldovan who had been living in Italy and
then moved to Spain, where he had been living for eight months at the time of the
interview. His goal was to find a job, make some money and return home. He was
on his own, and he was not a member of any Russian-speaking association in Spain.

M42 knew and spoke a range of languages. He spoke Romanian with his par-
ents and had studied in Russian and Romanian. He also knew Italian, French and
German and understood a range of Slavic languages. He reported watching televi-
sion in Spanish and sometimes in Catalan but admitted that he was having a hard
time speaking and understanding Spanish because of interference from his Italian.
He considered Romanian to be his mother tongue, although he said he felt more
comfortable speaking Russian and Italian.

The interviewer presented M42 with a range of strategies to solve a hypothetical
language situation in Spain:

Interviewer: What do you do when you have a language problem here? Do you speak the main language of the country even if you speak it badly? Do you use English or French? Do you use intercomprehension? Do you try to find someone who can translate or interpret for you? Do you use translation technology?

M42:   I don't like it when they speak my language [presumably Romanian] badly. I pay attention to the length of stay. If someone has been living there for thirty years and he or she doesn't try, doesn't speak the language well, then he doesn't want to learn it and it doesn't bother him. I don't respect that kind of boorish people. If he or she has been living there for three months, that's excusable. Now I try to speak as I can, I always try to solve things on my own, without anyone's help.

To the interviewer's question about whether he had ever felt excluded from the host society, M42 responded:

M42:   Well, that's what you would expect. Of course you are obliged to speak the language that is spoken here.

In keeping with the short-time objective of his stay, M42 has minimal expectations of inclusion and thus seems not to be overly worried about any form of linguistic exclusion. He implicitly recognises a form of exclusion based on his imperfect usage of an unnamed host language, but he accepts this as a normal state of affairs – he would react the same way if someone was speaking his language badly.

This kind of rolling-stone mentality is not uncommon in short-term mobility within the wider sample. It accepts that exclusion comes with the territory; there is no plea for mediation of any kind as a possible remedy.

F26 (RUS, short term)

F26 was a 26-year-old woman who had come to Spain two years prior to the interview. She was taking a Masters at the university in Tarragona at the same time as she undertook studies at the Moscow Aviation Institute. Prior to her arrival in Spain, she had lived in the Czech Republic, Ukraine and Russia due to her family circumstances: her father was in the military. She travelled to Russia every two or three months and also to a wide range of European countries on a regular basis.

F26 spoke a range of languages. She considered her mother tongue to be Russian, which she spoke with her fiancé, although she spoke Ukrainian with her parents. She studied in Russian and Spanish, and at work in Moscow she spoke Russian and

English. Apart from Russian, Ukrainian, English and Spanish, she spoke German, Portuguese and Italian. F26 also reported that she understood Catalan but did not want to speak it. Her argument was "They should be able to understand me in Spanish". This implies that she perceived Spanish as the only pertinent host language. At the same time, F26 found it extremely important to speak the host language for a sense of cultural inclusion: "It gives you freedom, a sense of the local culture and way of thinking". Instead of learning Catalan, the interviewee preferred to learn French "for the collection". She said she considered Spanish and English the most important languages for her daily life: English because it is an international language, and Spanish "because I live here".

In the initial stages of her stay in Spain, F26 had made use of Google Translate and Multitran in all her language combinations, not just for her studies and work, but also in institutions, banks, real estate agencies and at university offices. She declared she did not use online translation services anymore because her level of Spanish was good enough to interact with the local population without additional help. She also complained that the level of English was too low in Spain and that it should receive more attention, especially in education.

F26 reported feeling excluded when she first arrived in Spain:

Interviewer: Have you ever felt excluded because of your language or culture?
F26:   Yes, when I first came here, I did not speak the language. I felt excluded in all areas of life: at university, at the students' residence, everywhere. Always. If you don't speak the language you feel excluded.

As can be seen from this interaction, F26 was a highly mobile polyglot who had lived in various countries and was acquainted with several cultures. The initial sense of exclusion was implicitly due to her lack of competence in Spanish, yet she had an impressive range of mediation solutions available to help her overcome that barrier, notably translation technologies, lingua francas and language learning. Yet learning Catalan was not on her bucket list.

M28 (UKR, short term)

M28 was a 28-year-old man who had come to Spain in 2014. At home in Ukraine he had been working as an English teacher at a university, but then he decided to move to Spain in order to improve his Spanish so as to become a teacher of Spanish. He had travelled as a tourist to various European countries and he had spent two months living in Turkey.

M28 did not belong to any Russian-speaking association. However, he stated that since his arrival in Spain he had been looking for a Ukrainian association but had not managed to find one. In his Spanish-language class, he had met a Ukrainian student whom he considered his support: "Since then we have been holding on to each other. When there are difficulties, we help each other". His friend had helped him when dealing with administrative bodies, especially by interpreting.

M28 said that in the home domain he code-switched a lot between Russian and Ukrainian, since his father was Russian and his mother Ukrainian. He considered both these languages his mother tongues. At school, the main language of instruction had been Ukrainian, but then Russian occupied a prominent role; he also had studied English and German as additional languages. At work in Ukraine he communicated in Ukrainian for official dealings but in Russian in less official settings. In Spain, however, he used Spanish, which he considered his most useful language for daily interactions. He also considered that immigrants should at least have minimal knowledge of the host language. When the interviewer asked whether he also spoke Catalan, he laughed and said, "It is too difficult to learn Catalan at the same time as Spanish". The interviewer then delved deeper into the issue of the Catalan language:

> Interviewer: Have you ever taken free courses to learn Catalan? Did you know they exist?
>
> M28:   Yes, they told me. I was offered free Catalan courses but I refused to take them because I have many problems with my Spanish. Well, not problems – it's just that I don't have the level I'd like to have yet, so I don't want to spread myself too thin and start learning Catalan now. I want to learn Spanish to perfection.
>
> Interviewer: But would your life be different or perhaps better if you spoke Catalan?
>
> M28:   Well, I'd have a closer relationship with Catalans, because there are people who don't have a good opinion of Spanish, especially in the administration at the university. They automatically speak Catalan to you. They are not going to switch to Spanish just for me.

M28 clearly considered learning two cognate languages at the same time to be too difficult a task. He was nevertheless aware of the possible benefits of speaking Catalan: for him it would enable closer ties with the local community. At the same time, he recognised that his inability to communicate in Catalan led to a certain sense of exclusion, as official information at the university is delivered first in Catalan – it is part of the university's language policy.

We asked directly about his feelings of exclusion:

Interviewee: Have you ever felt excluded because of your language?
M28:   It always happens, because you interact with native speakers. Not only at university, also in everyday life.

Here M28 implies that he felt excluded during his interactions with native speakers, although he did not specify whether this involved Catalan or Spanish. Later in the interview, M28 gave some inkling of the nature of the exclusion:

Interviewer: Is there anything you'd ask for as a final comment?
M28:   More support for Russian-speaking students, because Spanish or Catalan speakers do not always understand you as your compatriots do. Someone who would help you to get an identity card, for example.

This indicates that M28 would have benefited from mediation of some kind. In fact, earlier during the interview he mentioned that his Ukrainian friend occasionally interpreted for him in his interactions with the local administration. If he was trying to get an identity card from the university, the International Office could have attended to him in some form of English, although Catalan and Spanish do tend to be the only options in department-level administration. And if he was trying to get a foreign-resident card from the Spanish police, which is the one point of contact where all applicants are non-Spanish by definition, he would have received information in Spanish only. These forms of official exclusion go hand in hand with an almost entire absence of services to meet the mediation needs of foreigners.

M28 comes across as being fully aware of the language barrier that separates him from the local society. He made his calculated choice as to which of the two host languages to learn, and did so with a calculated economy of effort. Perhaps the fact that he planned to return to Ukraine once he finished his studies influenced his decision not to learn Catalan, at least not before his Spanish was perfect.

4.   Discussion

Two constants emerge from these six cases: exclusion due to questions of language policy, and the marginal status of Catalan.

Language policy without mediation policy

We have seen a series of situations where the mobile subject encounters the language of the state: when trying to sit the exam for sworn translators, when attempting to get a driving licence, or when seeking an identity card, one encounters the languages of the laws, since all these situations are regulated by laws. The felt exclusion in these cases is not just from Spanish, but also from the citizenship rights that accompany the language: the woman who wants to sit the sworn-translator exam is blocked by her non-citizenship, and the man who wants a driving licence similarly resents that he is not included in the rights of citizenship. In these cases where language intersects with citizenship, the exclusion may be attributed to language policies.

The 1978 Spanish constitution recognizes Spanish, Basque, Catalan and Galician as official languages, with the latter three being co-official in their respective regions. So in Catalonia, Spanish and Catalan are both co-official. There is no official policy regarding the use of other languages, however, and there are no national provisions for mediation services. Although it is in the public interest to ensure that all people living in Spain have access to health information and traffic regulations, for example, mediation services at those points are *ad hoc* at best. As mentioned, even at the police office that distributes foreigner identity cards, where all users of information are by definition non-Spanish, there are no mediation services – the information on the website is in this case in Spanish only. Far from being co-authors of the laws, immigrants in these cases are often subject to laws that they do not completely understand.

In the case of the public university, the current official language policy (Universitat Rovira i Virgili, 2019) states two objectives: first, to promote the use of Catalan, and second, to promote multilingualism (described as use of a 'third language', mostly English). (Remarkably, there is a first language and a third language, whereas nothing is said about the implied but discursively excluded second language, Spanish.) In certain sections of the university, administrative staff may indeed be instructed to address clients in Catalan first, before switching to other languages (resulting in the felt exclusion noted by M28 above). In other sections, notably the office responsible for welcoming foreign students, some kind of English will be used when necessary. But even then, as noted by F22 and others, the levels of English skills are not high: Spain regularly comes near the bottom in the European league tables of English competence.

Are inclusive languages excluded?

In our question on exclusion, we did not ask our respondents *which* society they felt excluded from. As we have seen, their responses almost exclusively concerned Spain and the Spanish language. The initial use of Catalan at the university was resented as a minor act of exclusion, but the language otherwise plays a very marginal, almost negligible role. And no comments were made about inclusion or exclusion with respect to Russian.

With respect to Catalan, our findings here are in keeping with general trends. Brugué et al. (2013: 48) observed a marked and growing tendency among immigrants to adopt Spanish rather than Catalan. Alarcón Alarcón & Parella Rubio (2013: 125) found that second-generation immigrants only tend to adopt Catalan when they interact with higher socioeconomic groups and when one of the parents was born in Spain.

The reasons for this are not hard to find. Spanish is considered a 'language of identification' by 46.6% of the population in Catalonia, as compared with the 36.3% who identify with Catalan (Idescat, 2018), so immigrants are adopting the predominant language. Additionally, Spanish offers mobility in both Spain and Latin America, which also increases its importance in the eyes of newcomers.

On the other hand, Catalan has historically been a language of strong local identification. The paradox, therefore, is when migrants decide that they should learn the host language 'out of respect towards the host community', they overlook the language that has the deepest roots in the territory. The Catalan government takes many steps to make Catalan inclusive: free language immersion courses are available largely to anyone, including migrants, and Catalan is the main vehicular language in all public schooling. Outside official domains, however, an immigrant is far more likely to be addressed in Spanish than in Catalan. As Pujolar (2010: 230) puts it, "Newly arriving immigrants find themselves in a situation where the administration seeks to treat Catalan as a fully functional public language while large sectors of the local population still treat it as a minority language not adequate to be spoken to strangers".

As a similarly unspoken blind spot, none of the interviewees complained about being excluded from the local Russian-speaking community. There is a community network available to them, with two associations basically dedicated to providing Russian-language classes to children. For those who seek a Russian-speaking community, it is there. But most of our interviewees were not seeking any kind of close-knit inclusion based on a shared language. The territorial concentration of Russian speakers was based originally on family networks that were able to help their members make a start in the new country, but over time those networks have weakened.

5.   Conclusion

Our case study here is far from the extreme drama of more recent waves of refugees and asylum seekers; we are dealing with groupings of relatively well-educated immigrants that have largely been able to construct their own support mechanisms when needed.

So what is linguistic exclusion in such cases? First, perhaps obviously, a degree of exclusion is part and parcel of most language policies, even those most intended to be inclusive, to the extent that they focus on language learning but have less to say about the more immediate forms of mediation, notably translation and interpreting. On all the policy levels we have been considering here, the deducible intentions are to promote language diversity and ostensible inclusion: Spain's co-official language policy, Catalonia's promotion of Catalan through free classes, and the university's simultaneous defence of a less diffused language (Catalan) and its promotion of lingua francas (English and Spanish) – all of these are designed to include subjects within language regimes based on diversity. Yet since the number of languages is restricted in all these cases, some exclusion of mobile subjects will be the inevitable result: social competence in lingua francas falls short of cosmopolitan ideals, the official defence of Catalan does not make economic sense to the immigrant, and at no level are representatives of the Spanish state or the Catalan social services constitutionally mandated to speak Russian.

So what kinds of policies could turn exclusion into inclusion? If the cogs of language dynamics are to run in this direction, they need the functional grease that mediation strategies can provide. Our data enable a few suggestions to be made.

The most obvious case is information on how to obtain identity cards for foreigners: as mentioned, the addressees are *by definition* non-Spanish, and successful completion of the process is in the interests of the Spanish state, so the provision of translation and interpreting services should benefit all concerned. This logic can be extended to most social services.

The same logic of mutual benefits applies to the university's reception of international students, where multilingual mediation is good for students and good for the university. Again, this trade-off can be extended to all similar situations.

A further policy element for the long term should be the teaching of Russian in local schools.[2] This should create a sense of pride in the language and thus enhance

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2.   There is no legal impediment to the teaching of any language in Catalan schools, although Article 14 of the 1983 *Llei de normalització lingüística* (Generalitat de Catalunya, 1983) prohibits the segregation of learners according to their home language. This means that Russian would have to be made available to all students, not just those with Russian heritage. Teaching staff can be recruited from the Russian-speaking community, but they have to pass an exam in Catalan in order to be employed on a full-time basis.

its maintenance among younger speakers. It should also increase the host communities' awareness of what might otherwise remain a basically unknown cultural and linguistic presence, subject to the stereotypes on which exclusion feeds. More important, the maintenance and development of Russian as transferrable cultural capital makes simple economic sense in a region based on tourism, much of it from Russian-speaking countries. A decline in the use of Russian in the home may thus have long-term economic consequences for the region as a whole, making the teaching of Russian a question of long-term investment of interest to all concerned.

Are policies really necessary in this regard? One might hope that the longer a person lives in a host country, the less they will feel excluded, since personal mediation strategies are developed over time and language learning does ensue. For the majority of migrants, such changes are clear enough when we compare the different periods of mobility portrayed above: people adjust, and the processes might be considered to some extent natural. At the same time, though, we have identified lingering feelings of exclusion in long-term migrants, variously related to individual learner difficulties when acquiring host languages, which in turn relates to factors of age, education and type of mobility. Exclusion can and does continue over time, and policies are thus required if inclusion is the long-term goal.

Of course, inclusion can come at the price of language diversity: we might all feel included when we all speak the same language. So what kind of diversity would we expect to find in this region in, say, 50 years' time? Our data suggest that Spanish will be dominant, while Catalan may make some minor inroads through marriages and the children of immigrants finding employment in official institutions.

So will the descendants of these immigrants really feel they are 'co-authors of the laws'? Probably yes, at least for the laws that are made in Spanish; but probably no, for the laws in Catalan. And will these families be speaking Russian? Some, certainly, but much will depend on which languages are taught in school.

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Migrants' attitudes towards community interpreting

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The aim of the chapter is to describe the attitude of different groups of migrants to community interpreting and the role of community interpreting in the inclusion process. The role of public-service translation and interpreting and attitudes towards community interpreting were studied in three groups of migrants in Slovenia: short-term (those who stay in the host country from one to 12 months), medium-term (those who intend to stay in the host country for a minimum of one year, but for a limited period of time), and long-term (those who intend to stay in the host country for the rest of their lives). The study covers 65 migrants from different language backgrounds (18 different L1s were identified) who intended to stay in the host country for various periods of time. First, the language profiles of migrants were defined on the basis of a questionnaire, then semi-structured interviews were conducted with 38 short-term, 9 medium-term and 18 long-term migrants. The results show that migrants, regardless of their country of origin, the status of their L1, their level of education and their intended length of stay in the host country, had a rather negative attitude towards interpreting. They were reluctant to use interpreters because they doubted the accuracy of this mediated transfer due to the fact that public-service institutions tend to employ unqualified interpreters for the languages of new migrants. In addition, migrants, regardless of the level of their education, gender and language background, mainly considered this mediation strategy to be a hindrance to their independence. However, they expressed the need to use interpreters and translators in the early stages of their stay in the host country, especially in high-risk situations such as multilingual encounters in health-care, court and police settings.

1. Introduction

According to Paul Ricœur, one of the central figures of 20th-century continental philosophy, translation facilitates 'linguistic hospitality', i.e. an act that demands responsibility toward others and leads to mutual recognition (Ricœur, 2004: 19–20, 42–43). Ricœur argues that translation is 'a matter of living with the other in order

to take that other to one's home as a guest' (1996: 5) and that it therefore represents an act of tolerance (Scott-Baumann, 2009: 107–108). Through translation, according to Ricœur, we breach the confines of our own linguistic traditions and open ourselves to those who speak other languages and have other traditions, beliefs and convictions, while preserving our differences (Ricœur, 1996: 4). Ricœur has not been alone in considering translation as an ethical task; indeed, performing an act of translation or interpretation is often seen as a positive gesture, an act of kindness and sometimes even charity; it is then not surprising that it is often performed by volunteers motivated by an altruistic response to humanitarian needs (see for example Olohan, 2012, 2014; Basalamah, 2018).

The aim of this chapter is to see whether this positive image of linguistic mediation in the eyes of theorists and practitioners of translation and interpreting also extends to users of these services. We will attempt to find out how newcomers to a certain linguistic community, who are potential or actual users of interpreting services, perceive interpreting support and its role in the process of their linguistic inclusion in society. Attitudes towards community interpreting will be studied with reference to a sample of 65 migrants from various language backgrounds (18 different L1s were identified) and with various lengths of stay in the host country, Slovenia.

The first section of the chapter provides definitions of some basic terms and concepts. The next section addresses theoretical considerations in relation to the translators' and interpreters' occupational status, their occupational prestige, and users' satisfaction with the services provided by translators or interpreters. The chapter then briefly describes migration flows in Slovenia. This is followed by a presentation of the methodology used for data gathering and data analysis. The chapter concludes with a presentation of the results, the discussion and the conclusion, in which some policy recommendations are made.

2.   Definitions of the terms used in the chapter

We use several terms, such as community interpreting, professional and ad hoc interpreters, short-, medium- and long-term migrants, that demand some clarification. The term 'community interpreting' is used to refer to the activity described in ISO standards as 'oral and signed communication that enables access to services for people who have limited proficiency in the language of such services' (ISO 13611:2014). The same activity is sometimes also described as 'public-service interpreting', 'interpreting in institutional discourse' or 'dialogue interpreting'. Community interpreting occurs in a wide variety of private and public settings and supports equal access to community and/or public services. These settings may vary and can include public institutions (schools, universities, community centres, etc.), human and social

services (refugee boards, self-help centres, etc.), health-care institutions, religious organisations, and emergency situations.

The term 'interpreter' will be used with reference to both professional and non-professional interpreters. Professional interpreters are trained individuals who are able to provide oral or signed translational activity, strive to ensure accuracy of linguistic transfer, maintain confidentiality and attempt to remain impartial to the best of their ability. The terms 'non-professional interpreter' or 'ad hoc interpreter' will refer to people who have received no training in interpreting but who may or may not practise interpreting as a full-time or part-time professional activity. This means that ad hoc interpreters may be family members or acquaintances of the user, other professionals with knowledge of two languages used in the communication (e.g. health-care workers), volunteers or individuals employed by various public-service providers, NGOs, government bodies etc., who have not received any interpreter training and were recruited because of the lack of qualified and trained professional interpreters for specific language combinations.

The term 'migrant' refers to anyone who resides outside the territory of the state of which they are nationals or citizens, irrespective of whether their migration was voluntary or involuntary (see European Migration Network Glossary, under the entry 'migrant').[1] We also use the term 'short-term migrant' to refer to a migrant staying at least one month and less than a year in the host country, the term 'medium-term migrant' a migrant staying in the host country at least one year and less than five years, and the term 'long-term migrant' those who choose the host country for their new home and intend to stay there permanently (see also Vargas-Silva, 2016 for definitions of short-term migrants).

3.   Research on the status, prestige and perception of interpreters

The focus of our research on the public image of the translator falls within a relatively new research field of Translation Studies that Andrew Chesterman calls the sociology of translators (2009: 16–17) and which covers research on interpreters' and translators' attitudes to their work, public discourse on the interpreter's and translator's professions, and users' and client's perceptions of the status or prestige of the profession in the society. Translation scholars who work in this field typically focus on the status of the profession, i.e. the position of the profession of translators and interpreters as determined by institutional and economic criteria, or on occupational prestige, i.e. the public perception of the social standing of translators and

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1.   https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/glossary_search/migrant_en Accessed 2 October 2019.

interpreters, in other words on whether or not the profession of translators and/or interpreters is admired and respected in a particular society (see Gentile, 2013: 65; Ruokonen, 2013: 327). Some of these studies focus more on the occupational status, i.e. professionalisation of the profession of translator or interpreter (e.g. Pym et al., 2012), others more on occupational prestige and social ranking (e.g. Navarro Montesdeoca, 2006), and some investigate both (e.g. Katan, 2011; Gentile, 2013). The vast majority of translatorial investigations study translators' and interpreters' self-perceived occupational status through online surveys and questionnaires sent to various categories of language professionals working in the field of translation and interpreting (e.g. Katan, 2011; Pym et al., 2012; Gentile, 2013; Dam & Zethsen, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013; Hale & Napier, 2016), however, some researchers also use interviews (Koskinen, 2009) or analyses of various written texts such as profile articles, newspaper interviews (Sela-Sheffy, 2008) or institutional texts (Koskinen, 2009) to gather their data. The findings suggest that both translators and interpreters feel that their work is not sufficiently recognised by the public and that the profession of literary translator is considered more prestigious than that of professional translators (Sela-Sheffy, 2010). Empirical data also seem to suggest that translators suffer from a lower social status than interpreters (Katan, 2011: 65; Dam & Zethsen, 2013), although the self-perceived status of conference interpreters is not as high as expected, since interpreters feel that the interpreting profession is underestimated in society today (Gentile, 2013).

The studies tend to gather data from practitioners, i.e. translators or interpreters (e.g. Gentile, 2013; Dam & Zethsen, 2011, 2012, 2013; Hale & Napier, 2016; Lee, 2017), and only a few of them, for example studies by Dam & Zethsen (2008, 2009), focus on the way other people, like translators' fellow employees, perceive translators. Although studies of users' or clients' perceptions of interpreters and translators are rare in Translation Studies, they are more frequent in the field of health-care studies, where the results show that users' attitudes towards interpreters are not uniform and depend on various factors. For example, empirical studies reveal that users above all rely on other criteria when choosing an interpreter and that patients therefore tend to prefer family members as interpreters (Edwards et al., 2005; Rhodes et al., 2003) or reject interpreters who do not belong to their ethnic group (see for example Fatahi et al., 2010). Not surprisingly, attitudes towards ad hoc interpreters tend to be rather negative. MacFarlane et al. (2009) studied Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian and Russian refugees in Ireland and their attitudes towards interpreters. The results showed that the services provided by ad hoc interpreters were perceived by the migrants as being inadequate and problematic because the patients were often worried, suspecting that the interpreters committed errors in their transmission and the patients consequently feared misdiagnosis. Other studies also indicate that users may

have mixed feelings about professional interpreters: for example, Hadziabdic et al. (2009) studied Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian-speaking migrants' perceptions of using interpreters in health care in Sweden. The results showed that although interpreters were perceived as communication aids and professionals who helped the migrants navigate through the health-care system in the host country, they were also seen as a hindrance. On the other hand, an investigation of perceptions by heads of medical and nursing departments in public health-care services in the Swiss canton of Basel-Stadt (Bischoff & Hudelson, 2010) showed that the majority of respondents felt that professional interpreters were beneficial for immigrant patients. They also felt that interpreters ensured immigrants were well informed, and helped them know their rights. This positive attitude among health-care professionals may also have been due to their knowledge of numerous studies in the medical field, indicating that it is vital that interpreting is provided by trained interpreters. For example, Flores et al. (2003) report on a study conducted over a seven-month period, in which they audiotaped and transcribed 13 paediatric encounters in a hospital outpatient clinic. In six encounters professional Spanish interpreters were used, and in seven encounters ad hoc interpreters such as nurses, social workers, and an 11-year-old sibling. A total of 474 pages of transcripts of these encounters were analysed focusing on errors: 396 errors were noted, with 63% of these errors having potential clinical consequences, such as omitting questions about drug allergies and omitting instructions on the dose, frequency and duration of antibiotics and rehydration fluids. The results of this analysis have shown that errors committed by ad hoc interpreters were significantly more likely to be errors with potential clinical consequences than those committed by hospital interpreters (77% versus 53%). Finally, positive attitudes have also been detected in a more recent study by Hadziabdic et al. (2014), describing the attitudes, opinions and preferences of 53 Arabic-speaking patients who used professional interpreters in health-care settings. The results obtained through a questionnaire showed that most participants perceived the interpreter's role as being mainly positive: they saw interpreters as their communication aid and trusted their expertise. The results of these studies showed a correlation between the use of professionally trained health-care interpreters and the positive perception of interpreters as communication aids.

4.   Migration flows in Slovenia

In the 1970s, the then-Yugoslav republic of Slovenia was transformed from a country of emigration to a country of immigration: economic immigrants from other Yugoslav republics mainly found employment as construction workers or seasonal workers in Slovenia. Immigration from the former Yugoslav republics (in particular Bosnia and Herzegovina) also continued after Slovenia became independent in 1991. These immigrants, however, did not present a considerable linguistic problem. since Serbo-Croat had functioned as an unofficial lingua franca in socialist Yugoslavia and was also understood by the majority of Slovene-speakers (see Gorjanc & Pokorn, 2013). After 2005, when Slovenia joined the EU, the situation changed. Slovenia experienced a considerable increase in immigration; for example, between 2006 and 2007 immigration to Slovenia increased by 127% (Vertot, 2009: 64–72). Linguistic problems associated with migration then started to appear, since numerous migrants no longer spoke any of the South Slavic languages. A recent nationwide survey of language contacts encountered in Slovenia's health-care system (Pokorn, 2019) gathered responses from 564 healthcare workers. Their answers show that 92% of respondents ($n = 520$) regularly care for patients who do not speak Slovene. Besides South Slavic languages (such as Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian and Montenegrin), the languages most commonly encountered among non-Slovene-speaking health-care users are English and Albanian (followed by German, Italian, Macedonian, Russian, French, Roma, Arabic, Chinese, Bulgarian, Ukrainian, Hungarian, Spanish, Romanian, Persian, Turkish, Urdu and Pashto; for more details see Pokorn, 2019). These results show that Slovene public services increasingly encounter more and more users who speak a variety of different languages, which is comparable to the situation in numerous other EU states.

5.   Data and method

In this section we describe the sample of interviewees and the method used to analyse the data.

Three groups of migrants were interviewed according to their length of stay in the host country at the time of the interview, as well as their intended length of stay: short-term, medium-term and long-term migrants. Interviews took place in English unless otherwise indicated; if not in English, the original utterance is provided in a footnote.

For short-term migrants, a group of 38 asylum seekers were interviewed at the Asylum Seeker Centre in Ljubljana. The group was chosen for three reasons: (1) according to the Slovene Ministry of the Interior, as many as 60% of all asylum

applicants leave the asylum seeker centres of their own accord, which indicates that more than half of those who apply for international protection regard Slovenia as a transit country and can thus be considered short-term migrants; (2) in accordance with the Slovene Rules on the Rights of Applicants for International Protection (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, 2017), asylum seekers are guaranteed interpreting support from the state during their asylum procedures, which means that all of them have used this type of communication strategy first-hand, regardless of the length of their stay; (3) according to the Slovene Asylum Law (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, 2016), asylum seekers also have access to free courses of Slovene, which means that they have all had the opportunity to learn the official language of the host country through explicit instruction regardless of their financial circumstances. The 38 asylum seekers were selected according to their regional origin and dominant languages in order to best represent the population of the Asylum Seeker Centre in Ljubljana: 7 from Syria, 1 from Egypt, 8 from Iran, 6 from Iraq, 5 from Afghanistan, 1 from Algeria, 1 from Cameroon, 2 from Nigeria, 1 from Bosnia, 2 from Kosovo, and 4 from Ukraine. The interviewees' languages, regional origin, gender and age were selected on the basis of a preliminary questionnaire consisting of 21 questions which collected data on the general demographic structure and language profiles of 46% (n = 107) of all the residents in all asylum seeker centres in Slovenia in October 2016. The group of interviewees consisted of native speakers of a total of 10 languages: Arabic, Kurdish, Farsi, Dari, French, English, Bosnian, Albanian, Russian and Ukrainian. By age, it mostly covered people from a younger generation in their twenties and thirties, most of them with secondary or tertiary education (for more details on the selection of interviewees, see Pokorn & Čibej, 2018).

For medium-term migrants, we interviewed a group of eight teachers (out of a total of 15 foreign teachers) working at the British International School of Ljubljana (BISL) and four teachers (out of a total of eight foreign teachers) employed at the French International School of Ljubljana (EFL). BISL provides primary and secondary education in English and employs native speakers of English from several countries where English is a (*de facto*) national or official language (the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, India). EFL provides primary education in French and employs native speakers of French, all of them from France. These two institutions were selected because their employees typically stay in Slovenia for a (sometimes fixed and contractually determined) period of several years (from 5 to 10), then move on to work at another international school in a different country. As such, they best represent the medium-term migrant profile. It should also be noted that EFL and BISL are the only international schools in Slovenia. Three interviewees at BISL were excluded from the medium-term group as they had been living in Slovenia for more than 10 years and were thus categorised as long-term migrants. The remaining nine medium-term migrants had a high level of education (three with secondary

and seven with tertiary), were mostly in their 40s, and had been living in Slovenia for an average of 3.19 years (BISL) and 3.56 years (EFL).

For long-term migrants, a group of 15 foreign-language teachers (out of a total of 38) employed at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana (FAUL) was interviewed. Unlike the groups from BISL and EFL, this group was much more diverse in terms of their linguistic backgrounds and regional origins, consisting of lecturers from Canada, the United States, France (2), the Czech Republic, Germany, Italy, Japan (2), Spain (2), South Korea, Russia, Poland and Bulgaria.

The medium- and long-term groups were selected because they shared a similar educational background and a working environment in which they could continue to use their dominant languages. The groups, however, varied in the type of mobility: the teachers at the Faculty of Arts were mostly migrants who did not intend to return to their home country (since the majority of them had founded a family in Slovenia). They generally had a high level of education (university-level or PhD), were in their 40s or 50s, and had been living in Slovenia for an average of 17 years.

The data were collected as follows: first, each subject was asked to answer a questionnaire consisting of 17 questions in order to collect general demographical information (age, level of education, length of stay in Slovenia) and quantitative data on their language profiles – the subjects provided information on their mother tongue, the languages they used with the people in their lives (partners, children, co-workers, parents), their preferred language, as well as a quantitative self-assessment (from 1 = poor to 5 = excellent) of their knowledge of other languages on four levels: writing, reading, speaking, and listening.

The qualitative data were obtained by two methods. With the asylum seekers from the Asylum Seeker Centre in Ljubljana, the language teachers at the Faculty of Arts and the teachers at the French school, semi-structured individual interviews were conducted, consisting of 12 questions regarding the interviewees' language attitudes and use of communication strategies. The staff of the British International School of Ljubljana, on the other hand, participated in a semi-structured focus-group discussion consisting of mostly the same questions. The participants were familiarised with the general purpose of the study and signed consent forms to allow the interviews and discussions to be recorded. Twenty asylum seekers, however, did not allow the interview to be recorded – in these cases, the interviewer summarised their answers in situ during the interview. The recordings and summaries were then transcribed and analysed using the computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software NVivo. The most important and commonly occurring patterns in the interviewees' answers were coded by two researchers using a bottom-up typology (see Table 13.1 below). Here, we focus on four questions pertaining to the subjects' perception of interpreting and interpreters.

Table 13.1 Coding typology for questions pertaining to interpreters

Interpreting settings	Interpreters' profile	Users' attitude towards interpreters
legal settings (e.g. asylum interview) medical appointments	professional interpreter family member	trust versus mistrust professionalism versus unprofessionalism of interpreters
administrative settings (often described by the interviewees as 'official settings')	friend	independence and freedom versus hindrance
everyday life (e.g. in shops, in the streets, public transport etc.)	peer (i.e. another asylum seeker or co-worker at the language school or university)	
communication with family members	NGO volunteer	

6. Analysis and results

In this section we describe the analysis of how users of community interpreters perceive interpreting and interpreters. We focus on whether users consider this linguistic support as a helpful mediation strategy that enables them to participate in important civic, social, economic, and political activities in the host country.

6.1 Frequency and context of interpreting services

The first question (see Table 13.2) concerns the frequency of use of interpreting or translation services in general. More than half of short-term migrants ($n = 20$) and two thirds of the interviewed medium-term migrants ($n = 6$) had relied on an interpreter to solve their language problems during their stay in the host country. In the group of long-term migrants, half ($n = 9$) stated that they also relied on interpreters, but only two stated they used them often, while the rest used them on rare occasions.

Table 13.2 Number of users of interpreting services by migrant group

When you have language problems in Slovenia, do you find someone to interpret or translate for you?	Short-term migrants*	Medium-term migrants	Long-term migrants
Yes	20	6	9
No	18	3	9

* The short-term migrants were asked if they used interpreters in addition to the asylum interview.

While all three groups seem to have used interpreting as a communication strategy during their stay in the host country, the situations in which they used them are different. All 38 short-term migrants had used an interpreter during their interview as part of the asylum procedure. Other situations they listed included *legal appointments* (seven interviewees), *medical appointments* (including dealings with the pharmacy; ten interviewees), and *administrative tasks* such as applying for residence permits (three interviewees). Only two interviewees stated that they also relied on interpreters in *everyday life* (e.g. when socialising with other people). In general, the use of interpreters with short-term migrants seems to be restricted to complicated, high-risk situations, as stated by [*Iran M33 Short-term ENG R*]:

> If it's a complicated situation… That I cannot use… Because my word in Slovene language is too small and I cannot tell the things that I need exactly.
>
> [*Iran M33 Short-term ENG R*, 5:34–5:55][2]

Administrative settings were also mentioned by five interviewees in the medium-term group. *Australia F52 Medium-term ENG R* from the British International School of Ljubljana pointed out that the use of interpreters is much more common in difficult, non-everyday situations: "It's probably fairly standard in difficult situations, like… not everyday language. This is wrong with my car or… You get other people to make phone calls" [15:54–16:34]. The staff at the British International School of Ljubljana also stated that they occasionally required translators to speak with the parents, while in their personal lives, *medical appointments* were indicated as particularly problematic:

> I find that sometimes I don't do things that I would easily do. I just don't do them, and I get my husband to do it. Because he… He's not Slovene, but his Slovene is much better than mine. So, when I want to make a doctor's appointment, it's complicated and I don't want to sort of have the discussion, and I get him to do it.
> It's the only thing I won't do in Slovene. I get my wife to call the doctor every time. It's SUCH a hassle.   [*Australia F44 Medium-term ENG R* &
> *Australia M49 Medium-term ENG R*, 16:37–17:12]

As mentioned, at the time of their interview the majority of long-term migrants stated they never or rarely used interpreting services, as all but one were fluent in

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2.   The interviewees were anonymised and given code names which consisted of the name of their country of origin, gender, age, the length of their intended stay in the host country (whether they were short-, medium- or long-term migrants), the language of their interview (with an asterisk marking that the interview was held with the help of an interpreter), and either R (if the interview was recorded) or NR (if the interviewee did not allow the interview to be recorded). The non-English passages were translated by the authors. Passages in italics indicate the interviewers' utterances.

Slovene. However, they had used interpreting services in the past, especially at the beginning of their stay in the host country. Their use of interpreters at the beginning mainly involved *communication with family members* (nine interviewees), especially non-English-speaking members of the Slovene partner's family. Two interviewees mentioned they required translation services from their family member or friend to translate the abstract of their PhD thesis into Slovene. Nine also required an interpreter in *administrative and legal settings* such as meetings with the notary, their wedding ceremony, and arranging documents with the local magistrate. Only two interviewees mentioned they sometimes required the help of co-workers (for instance, to provide sight translations of e-mails).

6.2   Professional and ad hoc interpreters

The interviewees were also asked *who* interpreted in the situations when they required interpreting services. With short-term migrants, all 38 interviewees had an *interpreter* employed by the Ministry of the Interior present at their asylum procedure interviews, while only eight mentioned ad hoc interpreters, e.g. *family members* (two interviewees; a daughter in one example and a brother in another), *friends* (five interviewees), *other asylum seekers* (one interviewee), or *NGO volunteers* (one interviewee). What is interesting to note is that ad hoc interpreters were also mostly used for medical appointments or administrative encounters, and rarely in everyday life (the only exception being the two interviewees who communicated with other people through their brother and daughter, respectively).

With medium-term migrants, only two interviewees stated they had used a *professional interpreter* (for a notary meeting), while almost all of them (eight out of nine) relied on *friends* at least once for help in everyday communication. Three interviewees relied on *family members*, but only in situations when they themselves could not handle the conversation (e.g. making a medical appointment by phone).

Long-term migrants also rarely used a *professional interpreter*: only two interviewees said they had used one, for their wedding (to interpret the ceremony from Slovene) and for a legal dispute, respectively. On the other hand, *ad hoc interpreters* seem to be more frequently used, particularly *family members* (six interviewees) – as mentioned above, their use was limited to family communication at the beginning of the interviewee's stay in the host country. Some interviewees also stated they had had help from *friends* (three interviewees) or *co-workers* (three interviewees) in administrative encounters at the beginning of their stay in the host country. The fact that all but one interviewee in the long-term group could speak fluent Slovene confirms that using interpreters was not their preferred communication strategy.

6.3   Attitude toward interpreters

In order to check the interviewees' attitudes towards interpreters and interpreting services, they were presented with a hypothetical scenario in which they had to choose their preferred communication strategy for the next three years: learn Slovene, use English or French, or use professional translators and/or interpreters (regardless of the costs involved). The results are shown in Table 13.3.

Table 13.3 Preferred communication strategy in the next three years

Which would you prefer to do over the next 3 years?	Short-term migrants	Medium-term migrants	Long-term migrants
Use professional interpreters	0	0	0
Learn/use Slovene	19	9	17
Use English or French	1	0	1
Learn/use Slovene and English	17	0	0

The question was mostly irrelevant for the long-term migrants, who were already fluent in Slovene (with one exception), but both the short-term and medium-term groups seemed to consider learning Slovene to be the best option. None of the interviewees, regardless of their length of stay in the host country, preferred to use professional interpreters. Approximately half ($n = 17$) the short-term migrants also emphasised the usefulness of English as an international language, which was expected since many of them regard Slovenia as a transit country.[3]

The short-term and medium-term migrants were asked a follow-up question (see Table 13.4) that described another hypothetical scenario in which the interviewees could use an interpreter in all their official dealings free of charge. The question aimed to check the influence of interpreting services on their motivation to learn the language of the host country.

The results show that none of the interviewees stated that the availability of an interpreter would hinder their motivation to learn the language of the host country. They were also asked to explain the reasoning behind their decisions. Two interviewees in the short-term migrant group, who had also worked as interpreters for other asylum seekers, emphasised that the interpreters used in the asylum procedures were not always fully qualified or competent, especially in the case of languages of newly arrived migrants, when the government is forced to use *ad hoc interpreters*. Because of this, in some cases, asylum seekers show feelings of *mistrust* toward interpreters. This was not mentioned by medium-term migrants, however. The much more

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3.   According to the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Slovenia, between March and December 2016, 548 (60%) out of the 908 asylum seekers left the asylum centres in Slovenia voluntarily (Čebokli, 2017).

Table 13.4 Influence of interpreting services on the motivation to learn slovene

If you could use an interpreter in all your official dealings (e.g. at the doctor, at the lawyer), would you still want to learn Slovene?	Short-term migrants	Medium-term migrants
Yes	35	6
No	0	0
No reply*	3	3

* Some interviewees did not explicitly reply to the specific question (in case of group interviews in the short-term group or the focus group method in the group of medium-term migrants).

frequent reason – stated by a total of 30 interviewees in both the short-term and the medium-term groups – is that the presence of an interpreter hinders *independence*. Twelve interviewees in the short-term migrant group expressed this implicitly (e.g. by stating they do not want to have another person present all the time), while 15 in the short-term group and three in the medium-term group expressed it explicitly (e.g. by clearly stating that they did not want to be dependent on a translator), as in the following examples:

> Because I translated for the psychologist also. Sometimes I couldn't transfer the feeling that the person had. I just, I should… Because the person told the story about his feeling, but if I translate the story, the doctor cannot understand the feeling. So I should interpret the things that I understand from the story for the doctor. So if I would be with an interpreter, I would have the same problem. I would prefer to speak alone. [*Iran M33 Short-term ENG R*, 6:44–7:28]

> No, because I want to fend for myself. No, but only for everyday life. Besides that, when we have difficulties, well, if we do not speak the language of our environment, English as an international language can suffice.
> [*France F26 Medium-term FRE R*, 5:21–5:41][4]

> My husband might have helped me in the beginning if I had difficulties, or my co-worker, if there was a complicated thing I didn't understand, a more complicated text. I would ask them what it meant. But I never went anywhere with someone else [acting as my interpreter].
> *Not even to the doctor or…?*
> No. To the doctor, no, I went there myself and handled it.
> [*Czech F45 Long-term SLO R*, 11:23–12:14][5]

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4. Non, parce que je veux me débrouiller toute seule. Non, mais uniquement pour la vie courante. Après le reste je trouve que quand on est en difficulté, bon ben si on ne parle pas la langue de notre environnement, cette langue internationale qu'est l'anglais peut nous suffire…

5. Mogoče na začetku mož, če je bilo kaj takega, ali pa sodelavka, če je bilo nekaj bolj tako, kompliciranega, da nisem razumela, če so kakšna taka besedila, bolj zapletena, pa sem sigurno kdaj kaj vprašala, kaj to pomeni. Ampak da bi tako v celoti, da bi nekam šla z nekom, to pa ne.
Niti na primer k zdravniku ali pa …?
Ne ne. K zdravniku, ne, to sem sama hodila in obvladala.

7.   Discussion

The results of our study show that 53 (87%) out of 61 migrants had used interpreters as a communication aid in the new linguistic environment. Support from interpreters therefore seems to be an important communication strategy used by migrants, regardless of the length of their intended stay in the host country.

All interviewed short-term migrants used interpreters in their asylum interviews, and more than half of them used interpreters' support also in other settings that involve high-risk: in legal settings, in hospitals and pharmacies, and in administrative settings. However, only two of the interviewed short-term migrants (5%) also tended to rely on the assistance of interpreters in their everyday contacts with other people in the new linguistic environment.

Teachers in international schools, which formed our group of medium-term migrants, were also quite frequent users of interpreters: two thirds of them used interpreters, mainly in administrative and health-care settings. And finally, half of the long-term migrants admitted that they had used interpreters in the initial stages of their stay in the host country, particularly in administrative and legal settings. Half of them relied on interpreting help from their partners when they met their partner's family members, and only a few of them (11%, $n = 2$) occasionally asked their co-workers to help them out.

As far as the profile of interpreters is concerned, all short-term migrants were assisted by interpreters provided by the state, although some of these were ad hoc interpreters. The Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Slovenia employs untrained interpreters if no trained interpreters are found in the market, which is usually the case with almost all non-European languages. Interpreter training for language combinations with Slovene has up to now been provided only for English, German, French, Italian and Spanish;[6] translator training has further been provided for Russian, Croatian and Serbian. This means that all interpreters of Arabic, Kurdish, Farsi, Dari and Albanian used in asylum interviews had received no training in interpreting to and from Slovene. The interviewed short-term migrants then also used other ad hoc interpreters such as family members, friends, other asylum seekers and NGO volunteers, in all sorts of settings, including those involving high risk (e.g. health care).

Medium-term and long-term migrants rarely used professional interpreters, and then only in high-risk (mainly legal) settings – they preferred using friends or family members to help them establish contacts with their new linguistic environment. All but one of the long-term migrants spoke Slovene fluently, which was a visible

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6.   Training is provided at the University of Ljubljana, the University of Maribor and the University of Graz.

mark that they did not rely on interpreters in their everyday dealings in their new country of residence.

Finally, all interviewed migrants, regardless of their intended length of stay in the host country, expressed rather negative attitudes towards interpreters. When they were presented with a hypothetical scenario whether they would use free-of-charge professional interpreters during the next three years of their stay in the host country, all interviewees said that they would not use interpreters' support; in fact, the vast majority of migrants (74%, i.e. 45 out of 61), regardless of their intended length of stay, expressed a preference for learning the dominant language of the host country. When asked to further explain their negative attitude towards interpreters, they provided two reasons: some of them rejected interpreters' assistance because they had encountered only ad hoc interpreters and felt that the interpreting was not accurate and therefore could not be relied upon; a much larger group of short- and medium-term migrants (49%), however, rejected interpreters' assistance because they felt that this kind of linguistic help reduced their independence and freedom when directly engaging with other partners in a conversation.

8. Conclusion

Although interpreting is regarded by many practitioners of the profession as 'one of the fairest and loftiest occupations in the world' (Herbert, 1952: 3), this admiration is not always shared by their users: not only are ad hoc interpreters mistrusted because of inaccuracy, which often leads to frustration among the participants in the interpreted communication, but the help of professional interpreters is not always appreciated since it is regarded as a restriction of independence and freedom of communication. The data show, however, that interpreters' assistance is still considered crucial in high-risk situations, for example legal, police and health-care settings.

To conclude, because errors by ad hoc interpreters are more likely to have potentially damaging consequences for all participants in the interpreted communication (including the client, the migrant, the health-care provider, the social worker, the police officer, the lawyer), the public financing of training programmes for community interpreters to and from the languages of new migration and funding of the provision of trained interpreter services in high-risk communicative acts should be considered. In addition, specific attention should be paid to the migrants' negative attitudes towards interpreting support: relevant stakeholders in the public service (from those working in education and training of interpreters to those using interpreters in the provision of their services such as health care, courts and police) should address this issue and explain to clients the advantages of high-quality interpreting support, which may, if performed professionally, be a welcoming gesture of 'linguistic hospitality'.

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The language choices of exchange students

Between "After all, I'm here to learn Spanish" and "You get along very well without speaking Lithuanian"*

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The Erasmus Programme is the flagship of the EU's academic exchange programmes. Taking as a point of departure that language proficiency is a key factor of a successful stay abroad, this research focuses on exchange students' language learning and language choices. It draws on data collected between autumn 2015 and spring 2018 by means of online questionnaires and interviews with more than 500 participants. A major finding is that a large majority of exchange students consider learning the language of the host country an important incentive for their stay. In practice, however, student enthusiasm is often stymied by a lack of adequate language courses and/or poor organisation, leading to students spending most of their time with other exchange students, as opposed to with locals. Countries with popular languages, especially English and French, performed very well in raising linguistic proficiency, while the results in other countries, especially those with less widely spoken languages, where the language of instruction is usually English, varied significantly. The chapter also includes a discussion of the *Online Linguistic Support (OLS)*. It concludes by addressing the question of how the potential of the Erasmus Programme can be better exploited to support multilingualism and language diversity.

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*   In the German original, these two quotes read "Ich bin ja quasi hier, um Spanisch zu lernen" and "Man kommt halt auch wirklich gut ohne Litauisch klar". In this chapter, all the quotes from students' narratives are translated into English.

1.   Introduction

This chapter addresses the language use and communication practices of exchange students, especially those travelling via the Erasmus Programme. Erasmus (originally an acronym of **EuR**opean Community **A**ction **S**cheme for the **M**obility of **U**niversity **S**tudents) is the oldest academic exchange programme of the European Union. Launched in 1987, it has helped more than 4,400,000 young people and adults gain new knowledge, experience and skills through transnational mobility and cooperation. Our study refers to the Erasmus+ Programme, the 'EU Programme in the fields of education, training, youth and sport', which is the result of the integration of previous European programmes implemented by the Commission, such as Comenius (related to the field of school education), Erasmus (higher education), Erasmus Mundus (Joint Masters Degrees), Leonardo da Vinci (vocational education and training), and Grundtvig (adult learning).[1] For the period between 2014 and 2020, the Programme has a total budget of 14.7 billion euros. The largest and best known part of the Programme in terms of participants and financial support is the student exchange programme (the previous Erasmus programme). With general financial and organisational support (covering tuition fees, pocket money, counselling, organisation of events), a large number of young Europeans have had the opportunity to spend one or two semesters at a university abroad.

The starting point of our study is the multilingual character of Europe and European politicians' oft-repeated goal of maintaining this linguistic and cultural diversity as an essential component of European identity through the EU's policy of multilingualism and the promotion of foreign language learning. Furthermore, we are convinced that language proficiency is of the utmost importance for students abroad, both as a precondition for studying at the host university and for managing their everyday life in the host country. It is therefore to be expected that the acquisition and use of foreign languages take centre stage within the Erasmus Programme. In its basic legal document, EU regulation 1288/2013,[2] there are three passages that address acquisition of the language of the host country.

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1.   See Erasmus+ Programme Guide 2019: https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/resources/documents/erasmus-programme-guide-2019_en. All links mentioned in this article were last accessed on 1 September 2021. As the Erasmus+ Programme will be called Erasmus Programme again (i.e. without +), we use both names interchangeably here.

2.   Cf. REGULATION (EU) No 1288/2013 OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 11 December 2013 establishing 'Erasmus+', the Union programme for education, training, youth and sport, and repealing Decisions No. 1719/2006/EC, No. 1720/2006/EC and No. 1298/2008/EC (https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2013:347:0050:0073:EN:PDF.

Firstly, in Chapter 2 of this document, which defines 'learning mobility', we find that this 'may include preparatory activities, such as training in the host language'. Secondly, Article 5, paragraph 1(e) of the regulation explicitly states that one of the 'specific objectives' of the Programme is 'to improve the teaching and learning of languages and to promote the Union's broad linguistic diversity and intercultural awareness'. Finally, Annex I contains, as one of the 'indicators for the evaluation of the Programme', '[t]he percentage of participants in long-term mobility declaring that they have increased their language skills'.

This chapter examines to what extent the Erasmus Programme meets its language-related objectives. It is based on a three-year investigation (2015–2018) that draws on data collected by means of online questionnaires and on semi-structured interviews. The participants were students of both philological and non-philological subjects (see 3.2), who were investigated in two separate groups, as their attitudes towards language learning can be assumed to differ from each other. The main focus of the study is on the students' use of languages inside and outside the university and the question of how their language skills influence the success of their studies and their social inclusion in the host country.

2. Mobility and inclusion in student exchange programmes

The study is part of the 'Mobility and Inclusion in Multilingual Europe' (MIME) research project financed by the European Commission under Framework Programme 7 (2014–2018) that explores possible solutions to the challenges of multilingualism caused by the two not easily reconciled goals of mobility (citizens can freely move between member states for work, study and leisure) and inclusion (they want to be integrated into their new places of residence). Student mobility is a classic and very widespread example of the new opportunities people have and at the same time a type of mobility that points to the key role language skills play in this context.

The use of English as a lingua franca is ubiquitous in European higher education today. Its spread and acquisition as the first foreign language in a majority of countries makes a stay at universities in another country possible, as these provide a part of their courses in English. Furthermore, students decide to spend a period of their studies in another country because they intend to become acquainted with a new country and its people, for which learning the local language would seem to be required. How do students cope with this linguistic diversity? What are their experiences in host language learning? And how do their language skills help them to become familiar with their fellow students and the local population to feel socially included? Questions like these are at the heart of the MIME project and they are the main focus of our research.

When facing communication problems in multilingual settings, people use various mediation strategies. They rely on their foreign language skills, on translation or interpretation provided for them, a shared language serving as a lingua franca, the use of receptive skills in languages closely related to their mother tongue (a method that is often called intercomprehension), and they use machine translation. Within the MIME project, these choices have been studied as mutually complementary strategies. The data we gathered in this study suggest that, while intercomprehension and interpretation and translation seem to be of minor importance in stays abroad, the majority of students make use of translation technologies (Google Translate and smartphone apps). The foci of our research on student exchange have been language learning and the use of English as a lingua franca. For reasons of space, this chapter is confined to the results of these two aspects.

3.   The role and use of languages in studying abroad

3.1   Literature review

The literature on studies abroad can be divided into two main areas. The majority of research addresses the experiences of US-American students. Studies concentrate on factors that can have an impact on successful language learning during a stay abroad, such as age, gender, duration of stay, level of language proficiency prior to the stay, conditions of housing, contacts to native speakers and other students (see for example Baker-Smemoe et al., 2014; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012). Concerning the variables analysed, individual studies yield a wide range of different, partly even contradictory, results which provide us with the insight that studies abroad are complex experiences strongly influenced by each individual participant's ability to make profitable use of existing conditions. Recent work explores stays abroad in their totality as foreign language socialisation keeping the foreign language learner and user in focus (see for example Block, 2007; Wang, 2010; Kinginger, 2013; see also the survey by Isabelli-García et al., 2018).

The second focus of attention is the European exchange programme Erasmus, with a much larger scope of research topics. The impact of Erasmus on employability is a frequent issue (see for example Jahr & Teichler, 2002; Teichler & Janson, 2007; Klose, 2013; Cairns et al., 2018). Furthermore, the acquisition of intercultural skills plays an important role, including language skills as one constituent (see Hiller & Vogler-Lipp, 2010; Norvilienė, 2012). A further research question concerns the extent to which the Erasmus programme contributes to the development of a European identity among its participants (see for example Sigalas, 2010; Duczkowska-Piasecka & Mazurkiewicz, 2012; Van Mol, 2013; Feyen & Krzaklewska, 2013; Jacobone & Moro, 2015).

Among the studies that address Erasmus students' learning and use of foreign languages, we see parallels to the works by Papatsiba (2006), Tragant (2012) and Klapper & Rees (2012), which include the topic of students' integration in and outside universities as part of their investigation. For instance, Klapper & Rees (2012) examine the influence of accommodation on the use of the local language. In several studies, e.g. those by Papatsiba (2006) on French participants, by Tragant (2012) on Spanish students in Great Britain and by Kováčová & Kopčová (2018) on Slovak Erasmus students, participants complained that they did not have as much contact with local people as they had desired. Recent studies describe the emergence of Erasmus communities, so-called 'Erasmus bubbles' (see Kováčová & Kopčová, 2018: 17; Ehrhardt, 2018: 8; Cairns et al., 2018: 103; Earls, 2018), in which predominantly English is spoken.

A number of authors within the research area of English as a lingua franca (ELF) analyse the use of English in networks of international students that emerge at universities (e.g. Kalocsai, 2009, 2014; Kaypak & Ortaçtepe, 2014; Jokić, 2017; Martinović & Dumančić, 2018). Kalocsai's description of the linguistic socialisation of Erasmus students in Prague and Szeged, for example, focuses on the following three themes: (1) the use of a specific ELF repertoire ('Erasmus English'), (2) the emergence of a particular identity as non-native speakers of English, and (3) the students' desire to have closer contact with local students, summarised by the author with the statement "I would like to try to discuss more with Hungarian people" (Kalocsai, 2009: 31). Identity construction in lingua franca contexts is also the focus of Virkkula & Nikula's (2010) interview study with Finnish engineering students working in Germany. The authors report an identity shift from 'learners of English' (focusing on linguistic correctness) before a period spent abroad to 'legitimate users and speakers of lingua franca English' after their stay.

We will return to some of the abovementioned studies in connection with the discussion of our findings in Section 5. All in all, the short literature review confirms Kováčová & Kopčová's (2018) evaluation that exchange students' everyday multilingual behaviour has so far been largely neglected as a research topic. With our specific orientation towards Erasmus students' language choices during their stay abroad, i.e. the question of how they interact with teachers and staff at their host university, local students, other exchange students, including co-nationals (i.e. those from their own home country), and the local population, this study will help close this gap. Before presenting our findings, however, we will describe our methodological framework.

3.2 Methodology

In order to acquire a profound understanding of students' experiences we decided to adopt a combination of quantitative and qualitative investigation methods, as this has proved successful in previous studies in the field (see Dörneyei, 2007; Van Mol & Michielsen, 2015) and used online questionnaires and semi-structured interviews as research instruments. The respondents to our questionnaire study were participants in the Erasmus+ Programme (and a small number of other exchange programmes)[3] from German universities who studied abroad (so-called outgoing students) and those who came from other countries for a study period in Germany (so-called incoming students). The outgoing students' destinations encompassed 33 countries, which enabled us to take into account a large number of local languages and to study to what extent the status of a host country's language, its position as 'prestigious' or 'small', has an influence on students' motivation to learn it.

After the successful completion of a pilot study in 2015 confined to the University of Leipzig, the survey was expanded to include another 230 German universities in 2016 and 2017. The investigation encompassed a first online questionnaire prior to the stay abroad which focused on the students' ideas, motivations and plans, a recorded semi-structured interview during their study period (mostly conducted via Skype) and a questionnaire after their stay to obtain information on the extent to which their expectations were met. In a complete run, one year after the second questionnaire, students were sent a third one to gain insight into the long-term effects of their stays.[4]

The online questionnaires, created using the Limesurvey software, were sent with the help of the universities' International Offices. From the group of outgoing students we obtained 466 replies to the first questionnaire, 235 to the second questionnaire and 41 to the third questionnaire; from the group of incoming students, we received 84, 23 and 20 replies respectively (for more details, see Table 14.1).

Outgoing students received them together with an invitation to participate in German, while incoming students were given the opportunity to choose between English and German. The online questionnaires were completely anonymous, so that the respondents' answers before and after their stay abroad could only be compared within groups, but not for individual students. This was a deliberate decision made for reasons of data privacy.

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3.   Among the respondents to the first questionnaire ($N = 466$), the number of students who stayed abroad via a programme other than Erasmus (e.g. a bilateral university partnership) was less than 5%.

4.   This was not possible with the students in the third year of investigation, as the third questionnaire would have fallen within a period after the conclusion of the MIME project.

The 78 interviews, with an average length of 40 minutes, enabled us to gain further insight into particular themes. They were analysed using methods of qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2015). Table 14.1 gives an overview of the methods of investigation and research periods. The figures mentioned in the summary lines reflect our basic distinction between students of non-philological subjects (the most frequent were economics, law, medicine, marketing, biology, and political science) (in the summary lines: the first digit), who are our main focus of attention, therefore forming the largest group of participants, and students of philological subjects (e.g. translation studies, Romance studies) (the second digit). Our research hypothesis was that these two groups of students would differ fundamentally as regards their motivation in taking part in an exchange programme.

Table 14.1 Overview of methods of investigation and research periods

	Incoming students 2015 Leipzig	Outgoing students 2015 Leipzig	Incoming students 2016 Leipzig	Outgoing students 2016 Germany	Incoming students 2017 Leipzig	Outgoing students 2017 Germany
Autumn 2015 Winter 2015/16	Q1, $N = 58$ Interviews (7)	Q1, $N = 22$ Interviews (11)				
Spring 2016	Q2, $N = 10$	Q2, $N = 16$				
Autumn 2016 Winter 2016/17			Interviews (6)	Q1, $N = 346$ Interviews (23)		
Spring 2017	Q3, $N = 20$	Q3, $N = 12$		Q2, $N = 154$		
Autumn 2017 Winter 2016/17					Q1, $N = 26$ Interviews (4)	Q1, $N = 98$ Interviews (27)
Spring 2018				Q3, $N = 29$	Q2, $N = 13$	Q2, $N = 65$

Incoming students: 84 (37+47) responses to the first (Q1), 23 (6+17) responses to the second (Q2) and 20 (7+13) responses to the third questionnaire (Q3); 17 (11+6) interviews.

Outgoing students: 466 (348+118) responses to the first (Q1), 235 (178+57) responses to the second (Q2) and 41 (30+11) responses to the third questionnaire (Q3); 61 (50+11) interviews.

3.3   Major findings

Due to space limitations, we have to confine the presentation of our results in this section to the most important findings. For more detailed information, including in-depth analyses of the various questionnaires and the interviews presented in chronological order of the investigation, the reader is invited to consult Fiedler & Brosch (2019).

Participants' language knowledge and motivations
As for the countries of destination, our study is consistent with previous research (see DAAD 2017): The most frequent target countries for the students of non-philological subjects are France (14.9%), Britain and Spain (9.9% each), Sweden (8.2%), Norway (7.0%), Italy (6.7%), the Netherlands (6.1%) and Ireland (4.7%) and for the students of philological subjects Britain (22.9%), France (22.0%), Ireland (8.5%), Spain (7.6%), and Sweden (5.1%). Language skills seem to be important for the students' choices, as English, French and Spanish are the foreign languages in which they indicated they were able to have a conversation, with English spoken by all participants. There are, rather unsurprisingly, differences between the students of philological and non-philological subjects as regards proficiency levels. Concerning English, within the group of students of philological subjects, levels A and B1 are hardly relevant, and the highest level (C2) is reported by a larger number of respondents (18.1% philologists compared with 12.0% non-philologists). Furthermore, there are differences as regards level of proficiency and the number of languages spoken besides English, as Table 14.2 shows. Interestingly, 22.3% of students of non-philological subjects report that English is the only foreign language in which they are able to communicate. For the group of students of philological subjects, this figure is 10.4%.

Table 14.2 Proportion of students who speak languages besides English (%)

	English	Foreign language 2	Foreign language 3	Foreign language 4
Students of philological subjects	100	89.6	44.0	14.0
Students of non-philological subjects	100	77.7	33.7	8.5

As Figures 14.1 and 14.2 indicate, with respect to their knowledge of the local language, students begin their stay with very different linguistic preconditions. Among students of non-philological subjects, more than one third (33.7%) reported that they did not have any knowledge and 15.8% that they had basic knowledge (A1/A2) of the local language. Among students of philological subjects, these figures were only half as high (14.4% and 6.8%), and 42.4% had C1/C2 level proficiency.
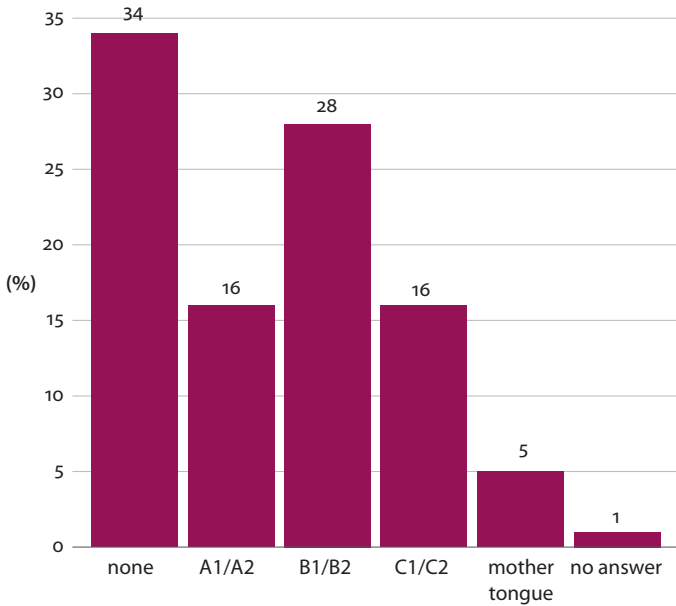
Figure 14.1 Knowledge of the local language prior to the stay abroad (Students of non-philological subjects, 347 participants)
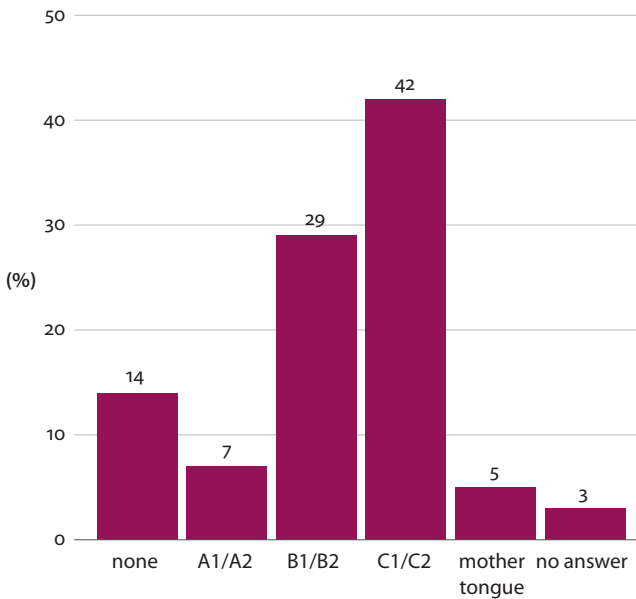
Figure 14.2 Knowledge of the local language prior to the stay abroad (Students of philological subjects, 118 participants)

In questionnaire 1, participants were asked about their *motivations* for going abroad. They were offered the following options and asked to respond using a five-point scale ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree' (Likert scale):

– get to know other cultures
– learn a language
– build up a network of international contacts
– gain required experience abroad
– gain new perspectives on their subjects
– gather life experience abroad
– make friends
– improve their future career opportunities
– increase their self-confidence
– develop intercultural skills.

The students' answers suggested that 'learning a language' was of utmost importance to them. Altogether, 82.6% 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed', only 6.0% did not ('I strongly disagree', 'I disagree'), and 11.4% were undecided. In this result, for students of both non-philological and philological subjects, the goal of language learning ranked fourth, after the goals of gathering life experience (94.2%), getting to know other cultures (89.5%) and developing intercultural skills (84.7%).

One of the findings of our study is that the students' motivation for language learning decreased over the course of their stay abroad. When we asked the participants in questionnaire 3 (after their stay) which of these goals they were able to achieve, 'language learning' ranked among the lowest, with 70.6% (compared to the 82.6% prior to the stay, a decrease of 12.0%).

Nevertheless, most students managed to acquire some knowledge of the local language or to improve their proficiency, as Figures 14.3 and 14.4 show. Among non-philologists, the number of students without any knowledge of the host country's language dropped to a third and the number of students who passed an A1/A2 course more than doubled. Every tenth student, however, returned home without any knowledge of the local language. Among students of philological subjects, the group of people without any knowledge fell to almost zero, and more than half of all students were proficient users of the local language (having reached C1/C2 level) by the end of the stay.

The findings in Table 14.2 and Figures 14.1 to 14.4 confirm that it was right to analyse students of philological and non-philological subjects as different samples. For students of philological subjects, language acquisition was the top priority, which also led to better results in learning the local language.
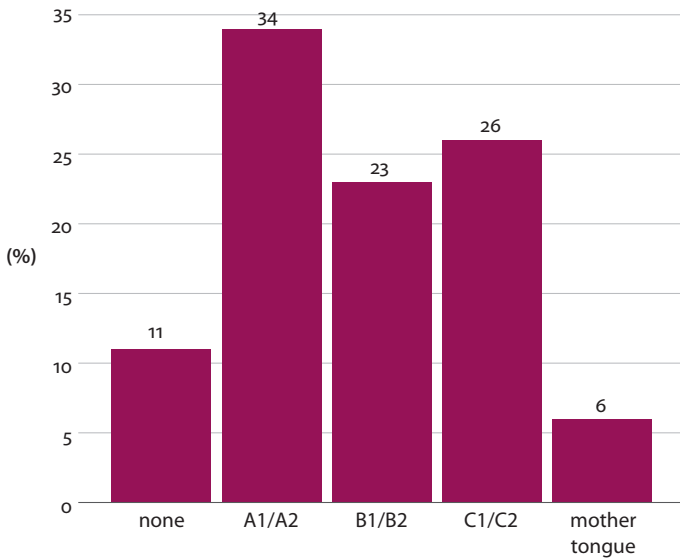
Figure 14.3 Knowledge of the local language after the stay (Students of non-philological subjects, 178 participants)
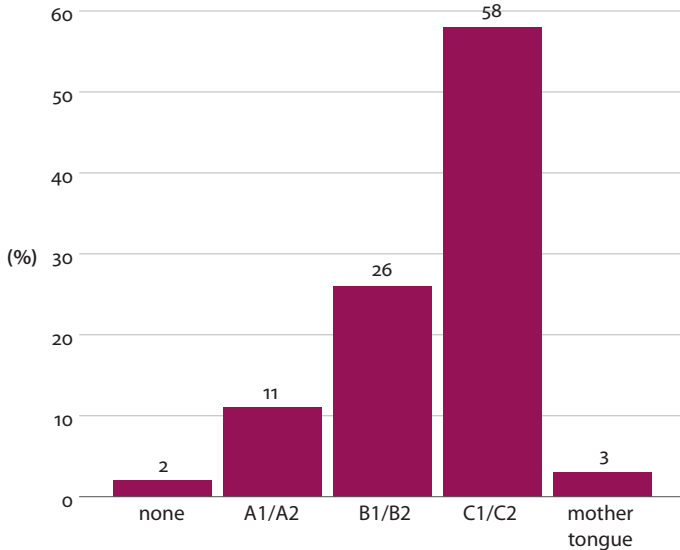
Figure 14.4 Knowledge of the local language after the stay (Students of philological subjects, 57 participants)

Online Linguistic Support

In form of *Online Linguistic Support (OLS)*,[5] the Erasmus+ Programme provides, in principle, an effective tool for the promotion of foreign language learning in the context of studies abroad. Its central element is an online test in the language that is the students' main working language ('language of mobility') at their host university. The test is obligatory before and after their stay. The participants who pass it at levels A1 to B1 (according to the categories of the Common European Framework of References) prior to their stay are invited to take an online language course. Those reaching a higher level (B2 to C2) can optionally take an online course in the local language or the tested language of mobility.

In the course of our investigation, the number of languages supported by the OLS was steadily enlarged. Until 2016, OLS was available in the five largest EU languages English, French, German, Spanish and Italian only. During 2017, another thirteen languages were added, and were followed in 2018 by the six remaining EU member-state languages Estonian, Irish, Latvian, Lithuanian, Maltese and Slovenian. As we found in a test run, the OLS test, which can dynamically adapt to the language user's proficiency, is capable of assessing language proficiency in several skills, although the respondents to our questionnaires had varying opinions about this (see below). The majority of our participants took the tests: 59.4% of the students of non-philological subjects and 59.2% of the students of philological subjects prior to their stay, and 60.1% and 55.9% respectively after their stay.[6] In the majority of cases, for German students, the tested languages were English (66.5%), followed by Spanish (14.0%) and French (12.9%) (DAAD 2017: 57).

The participants could state their opinion about the OLS test in a free text answer in questionnaire 1, and 211 students did so. Another 28 students addressed the topic in the interviews. We encountered diverging views with diametrically opposed opinions (e.g. 'great', 'very helpful' versus 'superfluous', 'too easy' and 'too difficult'). Overall, more positive evaluations (50.5% of all comments) predominated over more negative ones (38.3%). The most frequent reason for positive evaluations was the assumption that the OLS test provides students with an opportunity to self-assess their language proficiency and to make progress achieved during the stay abroad visible. Several students explicitly pointed out that they felt correctly evaluated by the test or that it gave them an additional motivation to improve their knowledge.

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5. See https://erasmusplusols.eu/.

6. These relatively low figures can be explained by the gradual introduction of the tests and the fact that at the specific time of our survey some of the students might not yet have taken it.

The negative evaluations focused on the skills that were tested, and above all the fact that speaking skills were left out of the assessment:

(1) "quite useful, although speaking was not tested, which is the most important skill for Erasmus"

(questionnaire 1, respondent 316, student of sociology in Spain)

(2) "I don't find the test sufficient, as … much is asked about grammar … you also go abroad to communicate and this was hardly tested. There was too much focus on reading and listening comprehension"

(interview 25, student of geography in Ireland)

Additional criticisms were that the test left a lot of room for dishonest behaviour, e.g. use of dictionaries.

(3) "it [the test] can be easily manipulated, because there's no time limit, so that you could google everything"

(questionnaire 1, respondent 294, student of chemistry in Ireland)

(4) "I'd say that the information you can deduce from this for your language is not relevant, and if you want to cheat, which of course wouldn't make sense, as you want to improve, this can be easily done."

(interview 3, student of law in Britain)

The combination of the test with a subsequent online language course was generally welcomed by several students, but hardly anybody used the opportunity. Their main reasons for this were lack of time, problems in motivating themselves for individual language learning and the much better opportunity for immersion provided by their stay in the country.

Language choices and development of language skills
In questionnaire 2, we asked respondents about the languages they used in particular contexts: at the university (in seminars and lectures), talking to other exchange students or to local students, in university institutions, and in their everyday life outside the university (e.g. in shops, restaurants or the street). As Figure 14.5 about the students of non-philological subjects shows, English predominated in all these situations (with a proportion of 66.2% in seminars and lectures at the university, 60.0% when talking to other exchange students and 56.2% to local students, and 60.0% in university institutions). It was only in their everyday life outside the university that the proportion of English was considerably lower (33.7%) and that local languages played a more important role. This is the context in which students applied the knowledge of the local language that they had acquired, however rudimentary this might be.
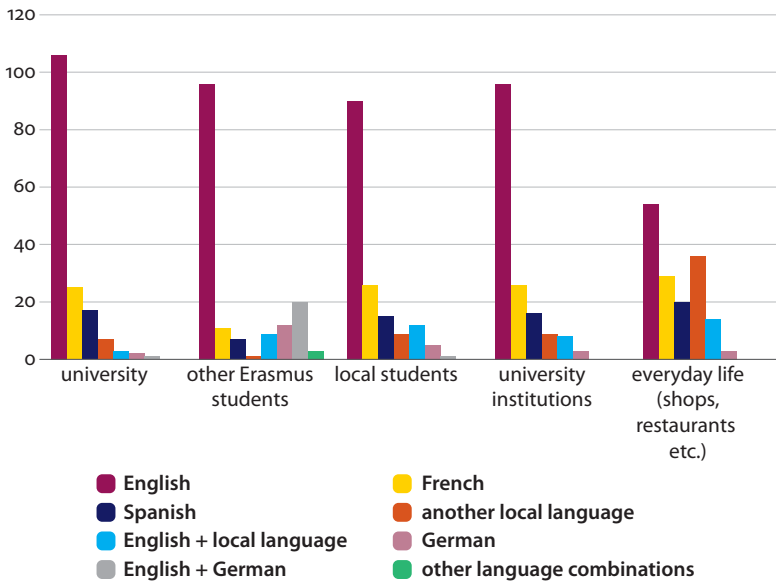
Figure 14.5 Language choices in specific situations (outgoing students, 160 participants)[7]

The predominance of English established by means of the questionnaires was confirmed in the interviews. Asked about their language choices, the interviewees gave three major reasons for their frequent use of English. Firstly, they often joined groups of other Erasmus students, who had different linguistic backgrounds, so that English turned out to be their only common language, their common denominator. Its use is then motivated by both practical reasons and politeness ("when we are in a group, we use English, so that everybody can understand" – interview 27, student of European studies, Israel). Secondly, as described above, the students' knowledge of the local language is insufficient ("With my knowledge of Hungarian I'm not able to keep a conversation running" – interview 51, student of education, Hungary). As a third reason, convenience or laziness were frequently mentioned ("At the beginning we practiced the tandem strategy German-Greek, but meanwhile we have become lazy and speak English" – interview 6, student of social work in Greece).

Figure 14.5 also indicates that German plays a more important role in the students' communication with other exchange students than in all other situations, which confirms our finding that outgoing students are frequently in contact with fellow nationals and then use their mother tongue.

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7.   The results about the group of students of philological subjects do not differ much from those in Figure 14.5, although the proportions for English are slightly lower.

In the interviews, the students were asked how they assessed the influence of their stay abroad on their language proficiency. It seems appropriate to analyse the results according to the two language constellations in which the students find themselves. In the first scenario, which applied to about 50% of the students who accepted our invitation to an interview, the local language is also the students' working language. These are the students whose university courses are taught in English, French, Spanish (and in one case Italian) and for whom these languages are those of their own environment/setting. These participants reported for the most part that they were satisfied with the development of their language knowledge and that it is the best way to acquire a foreign language living in the country where it is spoken. Some of them highlighted the fact that their linguistic behaviour was consciously oriented towards improvement of their proficiency:

> (5) "Well, there are many Erasmus groups here, they speak only English. But I try to kind of stay away from them, because in a way, well, finally I'm here to learn Spanish and not to speak English"
>
> (interview 41, student of medicine in Spain)

The findings regarding this scenario, especially with students in Spain or France, suggest that it is quite possible to spend a successful Erasmus stay studying by means of foreign languages taught at school besides English ('a second-rank language' in Ammon's 2012 terminology) if the students' knowledge is supplemented by intensive courses or tandem partnerships, as examples show.

In the second scenario, which holds true for the second half of the interviewees, the students are mainly in contact with two languages: English as their working language, and the particular language of the host country. The majority of these students reported that they encountered no particular difficulties using English at their host universities and had improved their knowledge during the stay abroad. Some of the interviewees explained their trouble-free communication and the resulting increase in their self-confidence in using English by the fact that the language functioned as a lingua franca, i.e. that it was used by non-native speakers.

> (6) "I can follow very well. [...] at the uni where I am there are almost exclusively international professors, who don't speak English as their mother tongue, so you are surrounded all the time by people who also speak acquired English, which makes everything easier."
>
> (interview 28, student of economics in Russia)

However, we have also encountered students who criticised their fellow students or teachers for the poor English that they speak, as this had negative consequences for the quality of the classes.

The students in scenario 2 were also asked about their progress in learning the local language. The resulting picture is diverse.

Fifteen participants acknowledged that they did not invest effort in learning the local language, arguing that this language was not necessary for their studies and that they were sure they would no longer use it after their Erasmus mobility. The remaining group of participants reported that they attended a course to learn the local language, at the same time admitting that they possessed only basic knowledge of it. Among the reasons for this situation they mostly mentioned that the local languages were difficult to learn and that the length of their stay (mostly one semester) was too short. Nevertheless, the students' answers to our question about the influence of their stay on learning the local language were predominantly positive. They stated that without Erasmus mobility they would never have considered learning the language.

Other students expressed disappointment and dissatisfaction about the provision and organisation of language courses both at their home and host universities:

(7)   "I think it would have been great if I were given the chance to learn some Lithuanian before in <name of university town> but it was not offered, which is a pity … On the other hand, you get along very well without speaking Lithuanian."   (interview 32, student of sociology in Lithuania)

(8)   "I had imagined it differently, to what extent I would master Hungarian at the end of my stay. I had actually considered whether I should take a more intensive course, but in fact there wasn't one and I could only do the basic course … It was rather bad … But otherwise I'm quite satisfied, as I noticed that there's no problem with English."   (interview 29, student of psychology in Hungary)

There is one point of criticism that was frequently addressed in the interviews and that also permeated the students' answers to the open questions in the questionnaires in the context of language learning. This is the lack of contact with local students. The majority complained about their isolation, which, in some cases, was enhanced by the organisation of separate courses for exchange students and housing conditions.

(9)   "But especially with the selection of courses at the beginning, when they said "No, no, this is a foreigner course and this is an Erasmus course" and so on. I see this as a pity and a bit difficult to understand."
                                                    (interview 22, student of law in Poland)

(10) "There were two more seminars with Norwegian students, many, but it is nevertheless a bit difficult to get into contact with them. They have their own lives, their friends, whatever, so it is – I share a flat with other exchange students here and so you get to know other exchange students, and you live as it were in this bubble of exchange students […] It is then a bit difficult to get to know local people."   (interview 14, student of history in Norway)

With the little contact that Erasmus students have with local students (and the local population), an important motivational factor for learning the host language is lacking, especially for those with English as their working language. Also, separate accommodation for Erasmus students, as reported in the previous excerpt, may be a factor that makes students stay among themselves, within their Erasmus communities.

4.   Discussion

Erasmus mobility means studying in a multilingual setting. Participants encounter the language of their host country, they continue their studies in this language or – in the majority of cases, as our investigation has shown – in English, and they meet, in addition to local students, other Erasmus students from various linguistic backgrounds. Such a situation should not come as a surprise in multilingual Europe, but it is indisputably an enormous challenge to the students. The EU's educational policy, which is oriented towards multilingualism, aims to prepare young people for those tasks. It encourages citizens to develop competence in two languages in addition to their mother tongue (the 'M+2 formula'). Reality shows that we are far away from this goal,[8] as our study also confirms. Although its participants reached considerably higher levels than the average population, as can be expected with such a group of highly educated people, more than 10% of the students of philological subjects and more than 20% of the students of non-philological subjects reported not being able to communicate in a second foreign language.

Our investigation reflects the present situation of European language policy as regards both formal and practical criteria. The Erasmus programme highlights language diversity, but there is mainly one language that is at the centre of many students' stay abroad – English. For example, the language chosen for the obligatory Online Linguistic Support test, which relates to the students' main working language, is predominantly English. As pointed out above, Online Linguistic Support was introduced in English and then expanded over the course of several years to include other languages. Only since 2018 (i.e. after two thirds of the programme period) were its resources available in all 24 official EU languages. The analogous approach in the translation of EU documents – starting with the 'big' languages and adding the 'small' ones step by step – has frequently been criticised as an infringement of the principle of equal treatment of EU languages (cf. Piron, 2002; Nißl, 2011; Biel, 2017). It is also worth remembering that the Erasmus+ documents for 2014 (including the

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8.   Cf. Eurobarometer (2012) indicating that 54% of European citizens are able to communicate in one foreign language and 25% in two; for Germany, the figures are 66% and 28% (see *https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/1049*). See also Hadzidaki (2016).

calls for proposals) were available only in English for several months, although the first deadline for submitting Erasmus+ projects fell on 17 March 2014.[9]

English, which has developed into Europe's *de facto* lingua franca, plays a decisive role in the Erasmus programme. It was the language spoken by all the participants in our study, with 18.1% of students of philological subjects and 12.0% of those studying non-philological subjects having already reached the highest level of proficiency (C2) prior to the stay. The spread of English in European higher education is the precondition for the Erasmus programme to be established in its present form, given the multitude of countries that are involved. English is not only the basis for European student exchanges, however. The Erasmus programme itself also strengthens the role of English as a lingua franca (see Cojocaru, 2018). Our study shows that this is based on three factors. The first and most important one is the use of English as the students' working language at host universities. The participants in our study did not report difficulties in this context. Secondly, English has a significant impact as the dominant means of communication among Erasmus students. Students resort to it as a common means of communication whenever people from various linguistic backgrounds come together. Its use is perceived as easy and convenient, especially in comparison with the local language, which they have often started to learn only in their host country. Common goals and interests as well as the frequently regretted isolation from local students, which can be partly attributed to organisational circumstances (such as separate courses and accommodation for Erasmus students) favours the emergence of self-sufficient Erasmus communities with English as their common language. The third factor, which is closely related to the previous two, is students' experience of having successfully managed their stay abroad by means of a foreign language. They may not have achieved their goal of learning a new language, as this turned out to be too difficult in the time they had at their disposal, as the conditions to do so were not favourable, or because it did not prove necessary. Nevertheless, the use of English made their stay abroad successful from a linguistic perspective (see Examples (7) and (8)). From a psychological point of view, this positive personal experience is an important reason why the Erasmus programme strengthens the status of English.

Having said that, our study also provides evidence that the use of foreign languages within Erasmus mobility is not restricted to English. A considerable proportion of students have learned languages other than English, so that they are able to continue studying abroad with these as languages of tuition. This is especially

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9.   Cf. the concerning question to the European Commission: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=WQ&reference=P-2014-000721&language=RO. See also Hadzidaki (2016) and https://www.liberafolio.org/arkivo/www.liberafolio.org/2014/esperantistoj-protestas-pri-eu-diskriminacio%231389574089103349.html.

true of French and Spanish and – as the analysis regarding incoming students showed – German.

Students' attitudes towards 'small' languages tend to vary. As the interviews in particular revealed, many students conduct a deliberate cost-benefit analysis, in which prestigious languages such as English and also French, Spanish and German perform well, while other languages for which there is no prospect of further use are not considered worth learning. Foreign language skills are a form of human capital and have a certain market value (Gazzola et al., 2018). In view of all this, acquiring basic knowledge of a language such as Latvian, Lithuanian or Polish during Erasmus mobility can already be considered an achievement, and students who are prepared to do so should be supported.

Taking into account the high levels of motivation for language learning that we found among Erasmus students prior to their exchange period, which are consistent with other investigations (see Murphy-Lejeune, 2002; Krzaklewska, 2008), existing opportunities in the Erasmus programme should do more to improve students' foreign language skills, so that the programme can achieve its goal of the "promotion of language learning and linguistic diversity" (Erasmus+ Programme Guide 2019: 11). For example, students need to start learning the local language prior to their stay abroad, so that language immersion can start right after their arrival at the host destination, accompanied by further formal learning. Also, Online Linguistic Support should be expanded to provide language tests and online courses for languages that are seldom taught at universities. The organisation of separate courses, accommodation and leisure activities for Erasmus students, which is often intended to meet their needs and to make their stay easier especially at the beginning of the exchange period, may result in involuntary segregation (see Van Mol & Michielsen; 2015: 439). Adequate mixing enables exchange students to practise their language skills and become familiar with the culture of the host country.

5.   Final remarks

We started this chapter with an overview of the development of the Erasmus programme and its integration into efforts by the EU to maintain its linguistic and cultural diversity. The programme's success has to be measured in terms of the actual achievements of its objectives. The existence of a single common language, as represented by English in the academic field, is an enormous advantage for international communication. The use of this single language as a lingua franca, however, cannot be reconciled with the language diversity which the EU has made its motto. As regards the promotion of multilingualism – it is necessary to be clear on this issue – the Erasmus programme is failing to achieve its full potential.

In May 2018 the European Commission decided to double the budget for the Erasmus programme, which will then have 30 billion euros available for the years 2021 to 2027. With these financial resources and more effort to embrace multi-lingualism, Erasmus could achieve great things not only for mobility, but also for inclusion in Europe.

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The role of intercomprehension in short-term mobility experiences in multilingual contexts

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Intercomprehension is a common and well-known mediation choice in estab-
lished contexts of multilingualism such as bilingual families or neighbouring
languages. However, in the context of mobility experiences this multilingual com-
munication strategy is relatively rarely used and almost unstudied. The aim of this
chapter is to verify if and how oral intercomprehension is used in non-established
multilingual contexts. The study covers the very specific case of two Italian adop-
tive families whose parents are involved in a short-term mobility experience to
the child's home country (Chile) before going back to Italy together as a family.
The conversational analysis of the families' interactions in Chile reveal that both
families spontaneously resort to intercomprehension as one of their main media-
tion strategies, especially in the family where mutual intelligibility between Italian
and Spanish had been reinforced by previous language learning. In addition, our
findings show that the use of intercomprehension favours the children's participa-
tion in family interactions over the use of other mediation choices. Since the use
of intercomprehension spontaneously decreases over time in favour of the child's
use of the parents' language, this mediation choice can be considered as a tran-
sitional and propaedeutic communication strategy whose cooperative character
creates strong cohesion between speech participants.

1. Introduction

Intercomprehension can be defined as the (approximate) understanding of languages
one does not speak or write, or only barely. The term was first used by Ronjat (1913)
as an umbrella term referring to both oral and written understanding of unfamiliar
but mutually intelligible languages. More recently, these phenomena have also been
called *Receptive Multilingualism* (Ten Thije & Zeevaert, 2007) and *Lingua Receptiva*
(Rehbein et al., 2011). The latter two concepts differ slightly from intercomprehen-
sion in that they include the understanding of unrelated languages which speakers
may have developed due to regular contact as in the case of a neighbouring language.

In theory, both oral and written intercomprehension can refer to either a situation of asymmetrical interaction between two or more individuals using their own L1 or the use of receptive skills in non-interactional contexts allowing non-mediated access to authentic documents or recordings. However, ever since Ronjat (1913), the literature devoted to intercomprehension has tended to approach both oral and written comprehension in only one specific dimension, either interactional or merely receptive. On the one hand, oral intercomprehension is mainly considered as an interactional communication strategy which spontaneously arises in situations of language contact, whether or not the languages are mutually intelligible languages. On the other hand, written intercomprehension tends to be studied in its non-interactional dimension with respect to the possibility and difficulties of spontaneous understanding of closely related languages and the role of teaching methods that can enhance its intrinsic potential (Blanche-Benveniste & Valli et al., 1997; Klein & Stegmann, 1999; *Common European framework of reference for languages: learning, teaching, assessment*, with Council Of Europe, 2001; Doye, 2005; Conti & Grin, 2008; Escudé & Janin, 2010).

In its interactional dimension, intercomprehension is a well-studied multilingual communication strategy especially within the European context. Several studies have pointed out its regular and efficient use in neighbouring states or regions such as Scandinavia (Börestam, 2002), the Dutch-German border (Beerkens, 2010) or Switzerland (Lüdi, 2013), international work places such as the European Commission (van Klaveren et al., 2013) or the Goethe Institute in Amsterdam (Ribbert & Ten Thije, 2007), and bilingual families (Herkenrath, 2011). All these studies share the characteristic of concentrating on well-established multilingual contexts, be it for historical and geographical reasons or as a result of mid- or long-term mobility experiences such as expatriation or immigration. Little is known, however, about the role of oral intercomprehension in short-term mobility experiences, such as tourism, professional travelling, etc. The aim of our contribution is to fill that gap and to highlight the assets and challenges of oral intercomprehension in more or less non-established multilingual and intercultural contexts.

In order to shed light on the specificities of oral intercomprehension in the context of short-term mobility experiences both as a single multilingual strategy and in combination with other mediation strategies, this chapter presents an empirical study of adoptive families whose parents travel to their allophone child's home country. This is a very particular non-established multilingual context, since the first interactions between the adoptive parents and their child take place in the social process of initial family bonding, and at the same time in the linguistic process of language learning by the child who will soon engage in a long-term experience of mobility to the parents' home country.

Below we will provide the chapter's positioning within the MIME project (Section 2), an overview of what is known on intercomprehension in established multilingual contexts (Section 3) and our empirical analysis (Section 4) necessary for the discussion (Section 5) and conclusions (Section 6).

2.   Intercomprehension, mobility and inclusion

Within the trade-off model between mobility and inclusion, intercomprehension has great *a priori* potential as an oral mediation strategy in mobile contexts, especially when compared with the more conventional mediation choices, which are (1) foreign language speaking (FLS), i.e. interaction between a native and a non-native speaker of a particular language, (2) use of a common *lingua franca* (LF), i.e. a language which is the L1 of none of the speakers (Brosch, 2015), and (3) interpreting and translation (IT), i.e. a form of mediated or indirect communication between several speakers each using their own language.

Of course, all these strategies present specific strengths and weaknesses in intercultural and multilingual communication. Below we will briefly compare the use of intercomprehension with the three other mediation choices mentioned above according to two main criteria:[1] (a) the quality of the interaction in terms of accuracy, autonomy and inclusive potential, and (b) the required investment in the short run as well as the potential cumulative benefits in the long run. The first variable is crucial when evaluating the adequacy of the mediation strategies for the purpose of inclusion, while the second variable is more linked with their potential value in terms of mobility. This analysis does not presume to cover all aspects concerning the use of language strategies, but rather focuses on those aspects which are more 'measurable' when planning short-term mobility.

When it comes to evaluating the quality of a multilingual interaction, foreign language speaking at first sight allows the highest quality of interaction since it allows for reliable access to the participant's message, full autonomy and confidentiality. However, expression and comprehension by the L2 speaker always run the risk of being somewhat approximate and may lead to ambiguity or even misunderstanding. In addition, even if the native speaker has to perform at least some perceptual adaptation to foreign-accented speech (Bradlow & Bent, 2008), the full linguistic

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1.   For a more detailed comparison of communication strategies in both oral and written mediation (including human and machine translation, see Pym (2018: 236). Note that where we speak about 'foreign language speaking', Pym uses 'Learning Host Language'. Both mediation choices are roughly the same, but the latter implies the perspective of a local language, while the former is independent of the geographical situation of the speakers.

and cultural adaptation of one of the participants may lead to an unequal power relationship in terms of linguistic comfort and mental fatigue. This lack of parity is absent in the case of the use of a common *lingua franca*, which has roughly the same quality advantages as FLS, but it has the further advantage of implying a continuous effort on both sides. The negative side is then that all manner of ambiguities may arise and that awareness of specific cultural patterns is reduced. All these problems disappear if we make use of professional interpreters who offer very high linguistic accuracy and continuous cultural adaptation. The main problem here is potential lack of confidentiality, as a third party is always involved in the interaction. Finally, if we look for a strategy that combines full confidentiality, relatively fair parity with respect to the speakers' linguistic comfort and increased intercultural awareness, intercomprehension turns out to be the best choice. However, in intercomprehension as in foreign language speaking and the use of a *lingua franca*, quality standards with respect to information accuracy highly depend on respective levels of receptive skills.

The second factor we would like to identify here has to do with the investments required for the use of each strategy. What are the costs in the short and the long run? If foreign language speaking involves no direct costs once the language is mastered, it is clear that learning a foreign language is highly problematic as a long-term investment: the training process is very long (especially for productive skills) and the potential need to adapt to new demands and learn sometimes completely different languages makes the qualitative advantages rather temporary.

With regard to this point, the use of a widespread *lingua franca* seems a more convenient solution, since it can be used by all L2 speakers of a particular *lingua franca* and thus in many varying cross-linguistic settings. However, the difficulties of attaining sufficient productive skills in a new *lingua franca* are basically the same as in the case of learning a new foreign language. In the case of interpreting, on the other hand, language learning efforts do not represent a hindrance as this form of mediation allows full flexibility without any training since it has virtually unlimited scope with respect to the possible language combinations. However, direct costs are not negligible. As for intercomprehension, it allows maximum flexibility and adaptation to changing demands, as training for comprehensive skills is very short: less than 50 hours are needed for attaining high-quality understanding of languages closely related to one's L1 and no more than 100 hours for languages closely related to one's L2's or less closely related but neighbouring languages (Castagne & Meulleman, 2016). In addition, intercomprehension training has many cumulative benefits, as it consists mainly of acquiring general procedures in handling approximation and ambiguities. It cannot of course be exercised easily for all language combinations, but at least in a regional context it may be very functional.

In short, oral intercomprehension has great theoretical potential as a mediation choice in contexts of mobility, since it allows fairly equal interactions based on mutual

adaptation and cultural awareness despite a relatively small investment in terms of necessary training. Its great potential for inclusivity may indeed explain its regular use in established multilingual contexts where mutual receptive skills are usually very high. However, although oral intercomprehension potentially allows high flexibility (since receptive skills can be mastered relatively quickly), it seems not to be used frequently in non-established or ever-changing multilingual contexts which arise typically as a result of individuals' mobility. In fact, according to O'Driscoll, although "the most practical course would be for interactants to talk to each other in their respective L1s … it is rarely done." (2001: 251). Citing among others Dürmüller (1994), who reports that in Switzerland many German-speaking and French-speaking Swiss prefer to choose one language of conversation, rather than opting for intercomprehension, even when they are perfectly capable of understanding each other's languages, O'Driscoll postulates the existence of a general tendency to prefer 'code uniformity' (2001: 252). Although the example provided here comes from a long-established multilingual state and not from a context of mobility, the question arises whether oral intercomprehension is really under-used in the context of short-term mobility experiences, and if so why this would then be the case. Before tackling these questions, we will first provide an overview of the literature on the precise conditions in which intercomprehension is used in established multilingual contexts.

3.   The use of intercomprehension in established multilingual contexts

In this section we aim to briefly sum up the findings of previous studies on the particular characteristics of situations in which oral intercomprehension is chosen as a mediation strategy in the contexts of mid- and long-term mobility (immigration, established multilingual communities, etc.). According to Lavric & Bäeck (2009), in order to describe language and code choice in multilingual interactions and to determine why a multilingual communication strategy is more frequently used than another, we need to observe in detail how multilingual communication takes place in concrete settings within a macro, meso and micro framework. Therefore, we will now consider the use of intercomprehension from these three perspectives.

At macro level, most modern European states mainly support the use of the national language(s), and the use of intercomprehension is only very rarely encouraged. The best-known exception is the 'Swiss model', involving an official intercomprehension policy supported by language teaching (see Lüdi, 2007). At a regional level, several authorities in multilingual provinces, such as Friesland in the Netherlands or Valle d'Aosta in Italy, try to preserve the prestige of their local languages by adopting them alongside majority languages during official meetings, by means of intercomprehension and without the help of translation (Cavalli et al., 2003).

At meso level, people may be restricted in their code choice by existing institutional rules or practices. In some companies, for instance, workers are given specific guidelines with respect to the languages to be used, generally the local or a vehicular language, most frequently English (Dresemann, 2007). Interestingly, some Scandinavian institutions and companies actively promote intercomprehension: the Nordic Council's official working languages are, indiscriminately, the three continental Scandinavian languages (Danish, Norwegian and Swedish) as well as Icelandic for some written publications; in the Nordic public service broadcasters in Brussels everyone speaks their own native language: Danish, Norwegian or Swedish (the Finns speak Swedish); SAS (*Scandinavian Airlines*) encourages its staff to communicate in their respective Scandinavian languages (Danish, Norwegian and Swedish). However, outside the Scandinavian context, the use of intercomprehension in professional contexts seems to be limited to informal encounters (see van Klaveren et al., 2013) and must therefore be situated at micro level.

At micro level, the individual's choice to use oral intercomprehension seems to be conditioned by various factors. First, reciprocal language proficiency has been shown to favour the use and confident implementation of intercomprehension (Ribbert & Ten Thije, 2007; Blees, Mak & Ten Thije, 2014). Second, several studies have pointed to the importance of social representations in the perception of intelligibility (Beerkens, 2010; Gooskens & Hilton, 2013). Biichlé (2014), for instance, shows that detachment and affiliation play a major role in mutual intelligibility: the use of intercomprehension between Tunisian and Moroccan varieties of Arabic is observed in France, where the Arabic-speaking community is experienced as an in-group, while it tends to be refused in Africa, where the interlocutors are perceived as belonging to different national groups. In a similar vein, Dresemann (2007) showed that alternation between the use of English as a *lingua franca* and intercomprehension during business negotiations depends on the wish to exclude or include an interlocutor from the negotiation. Third, individual personality factors play an important role in the use of intercomprehension. Börestam (2011) defines two different types of non-native speakers involved in intercomprehension: 'purists' who prefer to stick to the foreign language, and 'mixers' who are open to mixed codes and intercomprehension.

Thus the use of intercomprehension cannot be satisfactorily explained by linguistic intelligibility alone. Important conditions for the use of intercomprehension in an interactional context seem to be the belief in the possibility of mutual intelligibility and willingness to accept the use of one's native language in interaction with a speaker of another language and thus to welcome that speaker into one's own linguistic sphere. In order to study the use of oral intercomprehension in short-term mobility contexts, we will therefore study a specific context in which we can accept the idea that there is reciprocal willingness to meet, as in the case of adoption.

4. The role of intercomprehension in adoptive families' short-term mobility experiences

Transnational adoption is a complex social process often involving two successive mobility experiences: first short-term mobility by the parents who travel to the child's country of origin in order to meet them and finalise the adoption, and then long-term mobility by the child moving to the parents' country of origin, their future new home. If the transnational adoption takes place between countries with a different linguistic background, the different family members are in an extreme 'exolingual situation' (Lüdi, 2013), i.e. where there is no common language. Their initial conversational interactions therefore represent an interesting case of multilingual communication involving both mediation choices and language learning.

4.1   Multilingualism in the context of adoption

In the first stage of mobility, the child's language can be considered to be in a dominant position and, especially in case of long stays, the parents are prompted to attain a rudimental level of linguistic competence in this language. Once the family goes home, the situation is reversed. Nevertheless, the parents' knowledge of their child's L1 remains useful as it may help them to facilitate their integration into the new environment and, in the long run, show a positive attitude towards their bicultural identity. Adoptive parents are generally aware of the importance of maintaining a connection with the child's culture and language of origin (Smith et al., 2008) and recent studies have shown how some of them even engage in language learning activities to build a multilingual identity for their family (Shin, 2013). However, especially older adoptees seem willing to keep the two languages separate and do not always appreciate their parents' efforts to maintain their native language (Fogle, 2012; Fiorentino, 2017).

Compared with other sequential bilinguals who learn their second language when the first one is already established, adopted children display very rapidly arrested language development in their first language, to the extent of almost losing it. Hyltenstam et al. (2009) defined this shift from L1 to L2 as dominant-language replacement, i.e. 'the linguistic effects for the individual child who is moved from one monolingual situation into another' (p. 123). Language maintenance in transnational adoption is therefore far from self-evident, not only because of the progressive disappearance of the child's L1 from the linguistic input, but also because of the attitudes of both the parents and the children towards language shift, which may be perceived as simultaneously regrettable and inevitable (Fiorentino, 2017; Fiorentino, forthcoming).

Although the analysis of micro-interactions in family communication has been very revealing especially for the study of early bilingualism (see Duranti, Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012), to our knowledge the relationship between communication strategies, language learning and language attitudes in adoptive families has not yet been largely explored. In order to fill this gap, our research will focus on family communicative practices during the first stages of adoption.

4.2   Data and method

Based on 25 hours of data, we studied the interactions of two Italian families – the Arduinis and the Giulianis – who were in the process of adopting their children, Luis and Juan, when we first interviewed them. To be eligible for the research, the two families had to have adopted a child older than 5 years who already had a first language established in his or her repertoire. The two observations took place during the two months after the first meeting between the parents and the child, at two different moments between August 2016 and November 2017 in Chile, the children's country of origin. All participants have been given pseudonyms, including for their family names:

Table 15.1 Background information on the parents and their relationship to the child

Speaker	Family	Relationship to the child	Age	Profession	L1
Laura	Arduini	mother	41	restaurateur	Italian
Giovanni	Arduini	father	45	worker	Italian
Elsa	Giuliani	mother	39	employee	Italian
Alessio	Giuliani	father	43	employee	Italian

Table 15.2 Background information on the children and their adoptive families

Speaker	Family	Relationship to the child	Age	L1
Luis	Arduini	adopted child	6	Spanish
Josefina	Arduini	(previously adopted) sister	10	Spanish/Italian
Juan	Giuliani	adopted child	8	Spanish
Jacopo	Giuliani	brother	13	Italian

According to the adoption agency, Luis and Juan met the age-level standards of cognitive and linguistic development in their native language. Concerning the language knowledge of the other participants, the two families had different levels of language competence. As for the Arduinis, only the sister had some basic knowledge of Spanish, since she herself had been adopted 8 years before Luis at the age of two in Bolivia. Although she had stated she could no longer speak Spanish, her L1, she showed that she could brush up on her linguistic skills in this language

during the observation period. As for the Giulianis, Elsa, the mother, had attended an elementary course of Spanish two years before and Jacopo, the brother, had had Spanish as a regular subject at school for the previous two years.

The interactional data were transcribed manually, whereas we used the NVIVO software (https://www.qsrinternational.com/nvivo/home) for the analysis itself. This software allowed us to examine oral interactions by encoding predefined categories that remained liable to change during the analysis. Before tackling the analysis, we considered three potential configurations of multilingual communication:

a. *Intercomprehension*: the speaker speaks solely in his L1 and tries to make himself or herself understood, i.e. the parents speak Italian and the child speaks Spanish;
b. *Code-mixing* or *intrasentential code-switching*: the speaker mixes the two languages within one sentence in order to occasionally clarify the meaning of one or more words;
c. *Code-switching* or *intersentential code-switching:* the speaker alternates sentences in L1 with sentences in L2 in order to facilitate communication, i.e. the parents occasionally use Spanish and the child occasionally uses Italian;

Below we will present a quantitative (4.3) and qualitative (4.4) analysis of the various communicative approaches that characterise the child's acculturation process within his or her new family.

4.3   Quantitative analysis

For the quantitative analysis, we used turns of speech, their number and average length, as a unit of conversation in order to capture each family member's rate of the participation according to both the language and the strategy of mediation used.

First, we compared the child's rate of participation with those of the other family members in order to verify their role in building up family communication (Figure 15.1). As may be expected, our study revealed that communication in both families was strongly geared towards the new child's participation, especially in the Giuliani family, with rates of up to more than one third in the whole corpus of interactions. The parents participated in up to one third of all interactions, whereas the siblings' participation remained quantitatively more marginal, suggesting that the links that develop first are those between children and parents.

Second, we found no particular difference between the length of participants' utterances, which were fairly homogeneous within each family (Table 15.3). This means that not only the two children participated in communication as much as the other family members in terms of number of utterances, but also that the complexity of their utterances was not affected by the fact that the parents were speaking another language.
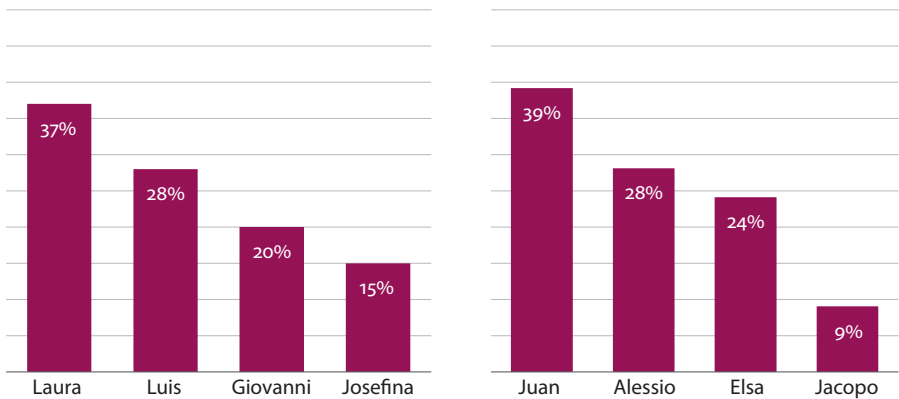
Figure 15.1 Rate of participation in family communication

Table 15.3 Children's mean length of utterances (mlu) compared with other family members (number of words per utterance)

	MLU	Mother's MLU	Father's MLU	Siblings' MLU
Luis	2.9	6	5	4
Juan	4.1	3.7	4.7	4.3

Third, communication was examined according to the participants' language choice. As can be seen in Figure 15.2, in family communication within the Arduini and the Giuliani families, the use of L1 was the first option for all participants. Their communication therefore fell within spontaneous *intercomprehension*, i.e. participants relied solely on an intuitive and impromptu understanding of the partner's language (see the concept of inherent *lingua receptiva* in Verschik, 2012).

In the Giuliani family, both parents very often resorted to intercomprehension. Yet at various levels they used Spanish to communicate with Juan, who instead relied almost entirely on his L1. Not so in the Arduini family, where the two parents displayed various behaviours: whereas the mother, Laura, almost entirely used Italian as the language of communication with the child, Giovanni, the father, occasionally resorted to *code-switching* and *code-mixing* to clarify his message for their adopted son.

It is worth highlighting the behaviour of Jacopo and Josefina, the two siblings, whose use of Spanish exceeded that of their parents. While Jacopo's use of Spanish was explained by his language learning at school, Josefina's was entirely unexpected and probably represented its revival after years of disuse. Although Italian remained the main language of their exchanges, Jacopo and Josefina used Spanish both in mixed sentences and in entire turns in Spanish.
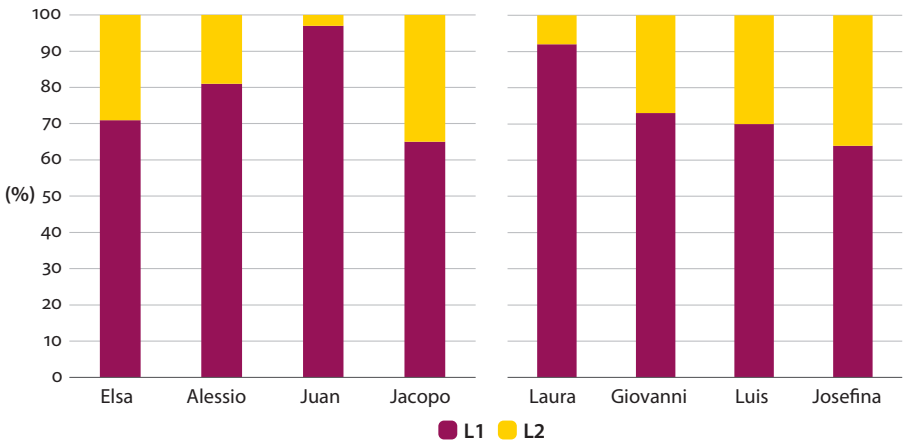
Figure 15.2 Language choice by the Giuliani and Arduini family members

In conclusion, in quantitative terms, linguistic diversity does not seem to have a negative impact on participation by the family members who resort most of the time to their L1 to interact with other participants. This preference for the L1 reflects a high percentage of oral intercomprehension: approximately 30% of the whole corpus:
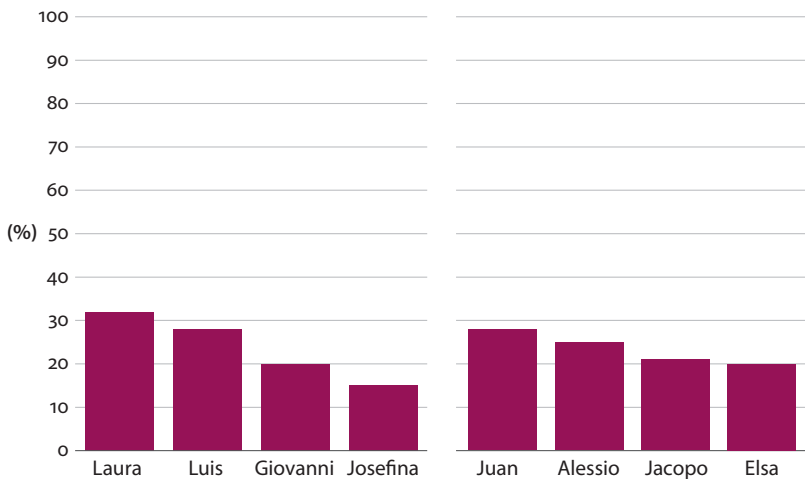
Figure 15.3 Proportion of oral intercomprehension in the Arduini and Giuliani families

Thus, even though communication between participants fell within spontaneous *intercomprehension*, the total number of interactions presented a combination of several phenomena of multilingual communication such as code-switching, a form of language accommodation.

4.4   Qualitative analysis

In our qualitative analysis, the family conversations have been analysed in terms of patterns of multilingual communication, strategies to overcome potential problems and role negotiation within the newly formed family. Below we will provide a qualitative analysis of two excerpts from our corpus of conversational interactions in the Giuliani family.

In terms of multilingual communication patterns, our analysis has shown that, most of the time, conversation via *intercomprehension* seems to flow quite easily thanks to the mutual intelligibility of the Romance lexicon (Table 15.4: *pollo*, which is phonetically read as [ˈpo.ʎo] > IT *pollo*, phonetically read as [ˈpol.lo] and ES *dame* > IT *dammi*), but also thanks to support from the context.

As regards the strategies used by the participants to overcome problems of communication, we noted that, since lexical transparency is not always sufficient to understand what has been said, as in (G3), *code-switching* can be used as a strategy for repair comprehension: (see also Bahtina, Ten Thije, and Wijnen, 2013) the Chilean idiomatic expression *al tiro* ('quickly') confuses Alessio, who relates it to the literal meaning of the Italian verb *tirare* ('throw').

Table 15.4 Giuliani. Excerpt 16 (22.09.2017): 'dinner'

G1	JUAN	**Spanish**	**pollo dame pollo al tiro**
		[English]	chicken give me chicken quickly
G2	JACOPO	Spanish	por-
		[English]	plea-
G3	ALESSIO	Spanish/Italian	al tiro? te lo tiro in testa?
		[English]	al tiro? I throw it at your head?
G4	JUAN	Spanish/Italian	por favor mamá uno por favore
		[English]	please mommy one please
G5	ELSA	Italian	si un attimo
		[English]	yes one second
G6	ALESSIO	Italian	un attimo un momentino passa piatto
		[English]	one second one moment pass the plate
G7	JUAN	Spanish	un momento un momento
		[English]	one moment
G8	ALESSIO	Italian	passa il piatto
		[English]	pass the plate
G9	ELSA	Spanish	el plato
		[English]	the plate
G10	JUAN	Spanish	el plato
		[English]	the plate
G11	ELSA	Italian/Spanish	Si
		[English]	yes

To avoid breakdowns due to the exolingual conditions, the participants spontaneously resort to synonyms in their L1 which happen to be completely transparent with the L2. In (G6) Alessio performs a self-repair and uses the word *momentino* (ES *momentito*) which is easier than *attimino* for the Spanish-speaking child (see how Juan incorporates the word *momento* into his sentence, as a sign of positive feedback). Another way to avoid disruption is the use of the other language as in (G9), in which Elsa rephrases the Italian sentence into Spanish (*el plato?*).

In terms of role negotiation, the analysis shows that *code-switching* (either inter- or intraphrasal) helps to show convergence with the interlocutor as in (G4), in which the child tries to mediate for himself by means of Italian (*por favore*). However, Juan's moments of language convergence towards his parents are not frequent. In the second excerpt (Table 15.5) this child, who resorts almost completely to his L1 during the observation, resists his parents' request to switch language:

Table 15.5 Giuliani. Excerpt 16 (22.09.2017): 'dinner'

G12	ELSA	**Italian**	**chiedi la coca cola a Jacopo**
		[English]	ask Jacopo for the coke
G13	JUAN	Spanish	me dai* la coca cola por favor
		[English]	give me the coke please
G14	JACOPO	Italian	No
		[English]	No
G15	JUAN	Spanish	ya? vale? vale?
		[English]	ok? right? right?
G16	ELSA	Italian	per- per-
		[English]	ple- ple-
G17	JUAN	Spanish	-miso
		[English]	-mission**
G18	ELSA	Italian	per per pia per pia
		[English]	plea- plea- plea-
G19	JUAN	Spanish/ Italian	No
		[English]	No
G20	ELSA	Italian	per piace
			[…] per piacere dai chiediglielo
		[English]	plea-
			[…] please ask him
G21	ALESSIO	Italian	[…] parlagli in italiano 'Jacopo per piacere mi dai un po'
		[English]	[…] speak to him in Italian 'Jacopo please give me a little bit of'
G22	JUAN	Spanish	ah yo no sé en Italia
		[English]	ah I don't know in Italy

(*continued*)

Table 15.5 (*continued*)

G23	ALESSIO	Italian	si tu sei bravo a parlare in italiano ieri dicevi tutte le cose che diceva la mamma non ti ricordi più 'per piacere mi dai' dai di quello che dice papà
		[English]	yes you are good at speaking Italian yesterday you said all things that your mother was saying you don't remember anymore 'please give me' come on say what daddy says
G24	JUAN	Spanish	no importa
		[English]	it doesn't matter
G25	ALESSIO	Italian	ma sei capace
		[English]	but you can
G26	JUAN	Spanish	no tengo ganas
		[English]	I don't feel like it

* This form represents the Chilean Spanish morphological variation of *das*, the Spanish second person singular of the Spanish verb *dar* ('give'). The literal transcription shows that, unlike the standard form, the non-standard form *dai* is completely transparent with the Italian equivalent (i.e. *dai*).

** Here the English transcription does not help to understand the interplay between Elsa and Juan which revolves around two words: Italian *per piacere* ('please') and Spanish *permiso* ('I beg you pardon'). Since both words start with the syllable *per* Juan can avoid pleasing the mother by producing the complete word in Italian, whether willingly or not.

In (G16) and more explicitly in (G21) of the excerpt, both parents perform an explicit medium request, i.e. an interactional practice whereby they try to orient language choice (Gafaranga, 2010), trying to induce their son to speak Italian. In a way, by refusing to accomplish the parents' requests about the language ((G17); (G22); (G26)), Juan negotiates his role within the family. Moreover, by expressing resistance, the child seems to indicate that he is not ready to embrace the new language.

4.5   Main findings

In our data, we have observed a general orientation towards an intercomprehensive model of interactions, which is favoured by at least three factors. First, the corpus shows how the lack of a common language is compensated for by mutual intelligibility between standard and non-standard varieties of Spanish and Italian which allows the flow of conversation. Second, family communication is typically very context-oriented and daily routines allow a great number of clues that support comprehension, especially when the languages are not easily intelligible. Third, the use of intercomprehension seems to be linked to the parents' empathy towards their child, since empathy clearly leads the parents either to speak the child's language (FLS) or to exhibit comprehension towards his or her L1 (intercomprehension). In

other terms, when the child is reluctant to adopt his or her parents' language in the early stages of adoption, orientation towards the intercomprehensive model often seems related to the parents' wish to ease their process of acculturation without forcing it (see the *laissez-faire* approach in Fiorentino, 2018). However, the traditional intercomprehension model is often infringed by resorting to other multilingual strategies in order to avoid breakdown in communication or seek convergenge or divergenge between speech participants. Thus our empirical analysis shows how communicative strategies are not merely due to linguistic skills, but also serve to negotiate social roles within multilingual groups and to orient the acculturation of mobile individuals.

5. Discussion

In the light of our empirical study, we challenge the idea that intercomprehension is an avoided practice in non-established multilingual contexts, as one may guess from its under-representation. The fact that in our data mutual intelligibility between Spanish and Italian is spontaneously used by all family members in combination with other strategies such as code-switching and code-mixing suggests that intercomprehension is a fully operational mediation choice, at least between speakers of mutually intelligible languages.

The spontaneous use of this asymmetrical mediation strategy is certainly prompted by the extreme exolingual situation where no common language is available (since the children do not yet master English as *lingua franca*). However, the use of intercomprehension is by no means a necessary mediation choice in transnational adoption: our previous study comparing the mediation choices by Italian families adopting children from Chile and Russia revealed that the use of asymmetric communication does not arise when the languages involved are not mutually intelligible (Fiorentino, 2020). Thus, if intercomprehension is not used more frequently in short-term mobility experiences, it cannot be due to its lack of code uniformity, as has been suggested by O'Driscoll (2001).

An element that may be more useful in explaining why intercomprehension is often considered to be underused in non-established multilingual contexts is its extreme cooperative character. In order to avoid communicative breakdowns all participants need to make continuous efforts in terms of acceptance of approximation, demands for clarification and code negotiation. These accommodation strategies have been well-described by the literature on *Receptive Multilingualism* and *Lingua Receptiva*. It is indeed likely that these conversational features are largely common to asymmetric interactions between both related and unrelated languages. In the context of short-term mobility experiences, however, where mutual intelligibility

between the languages involved seems to be a necessary condition for this asymmetric mediation strategy to be used, the term *intercomprehension* seems more appropriate.

Even when intercomprehension is spontaneously used, it is not necessarily an easy mediation choice. Apart from the above-mentioned need for all participants to actively cooperate during the interaction, approximative understanding of unfamiliar but related languages is far from obvious. In this respect, our quantitative analysis suggests that intercomprehension is more frequently used and brings about more active participation by the child in family conversations in which spontaneous intelligibility between cognate languages has been reinforced by some previous explicit learning of the child's language by the adoptive parents. Since it is well known that training in interlingual receptive strategies results in greater success (Meissner & Reinfried, 1998; Marx, 2010), it could therefore be useful to support the use of intercomprehension by explicitly teaching receptive language skills, even in closely related languages.

Although our qualitative analysis gives the impression that the use of intercomprehension can result in children sticking to their L1, it should be pointed out that this is only a temporary behaviour, since adoptive children are generally known to acquire their parents' language (which can be considered their future host language in Pym's analysis (2008)) extremely quickly (Hyltenstam et al., 2009; see also Fiorentino's forthcoming follow-up study on the Giuliani family). In our data, the parents indeed resort to intercomprehension in order to actively encourage their child's participation in family conversations and at the same time expose them to Italian without imposing this new language in a brusque manner. In the light of this, the use of intercomprehension at the initial stage of a long-term mobility experience such as transnational adoption should not be considered as delaying the child's learning of the parents' language but rather as a transitional and propaedeutic strategy preparing for full language learning.

6. Conclusion

Unlike previous studies, this chapter reveals not only that asymmetrical communication is a common operational mediation choice in long-established multilingual settings, but that it can also be spontaneously used in non-established multilingual settings that arise in the context of short-term mobility experiences. This is especially the case in private settings where speech participants are willing to communicate and empathise, and are open to combining several mediation strategies. However, in the case of non-established multilingual settings, *intercomprehension* typically takes place between related languages that are mutually intelligible without

explicit training, whereas in the case of established multilingual settings *Lingua Receptiva* is possible between virtually any languages, as long as they are contact languages to which the speakers involved are exposed on a regular basis.

Another new finding of our study is that an elementary knowledge of the other speech participants' native language positively influences their participation in the conversation and supports the use of intercomprehension in general. In fact, if participants do not know their interlocutors' language, the use of intercomprehension is not necessarily the easiest choice, as it requires acceptance of approximation and a continuous effort to understand and to make oneself understood. However, these cognitive efforts definitely pay off in any communication context where speech participants wish to foster active cooperation and in-group cohesion. It may be this extremely cooperative character that makes the use of *Lingua Receptiva* so frequent in established multilingual contexts where strong in-group cohesion already exists. In this connection we stress the importance of training in both specific intercomprehensive language skills and more general cooperative communication strategies when preparing for short-term exolingual mobility experiences.

The use of intercomprehension may also prove a valuable asset in the long run, since it allows smooth and gradual learning of new host languages in the context of long-term mobility experiences or immigration. Although there is no doubt that adoption is a very specific case and its data cannot be immediately generalised to the entire population, our study shows that the use of oral intercomprehension with immigrants does not necessarily hinder full acquisition of the host language as a desired outcome. To determine the potential beneficial effects of asymmetrical communication in other contexts of language learning, it may be useful to conduct additional studies on the impact of the use of *intercomprehension* and *Lingua Receptiva* on language acquisition by immigrants, and even by language learners in general.

Even though our study deals solely with oral intercomprehension, it is clear that the potential of intercomprehension in multilingual contexts goes well beyond the types of situation discussed in the paper. Since training courses in written intercomprehension are nowadays more and more common, there is no reason why it would not be advantageous to adopt it also as a mediation strategy in written contexts, whether in email interactions or understanding of street signs, newspapers or more formal documents.

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Policy

Effectiveness of policy measures and language dynamics

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The effect of a given language policy can be very different in the short, medium and long run. We illustrate this, looking at the effects of language planning on inclusion given different mobility patterns. The choice is between different status and acquisition planning measures. This choice gives rise to different degrees of inclusion (in the form of bilingualism) given the costs of the policy and the linguistic environment. In a mobility/inclusion trade-off, a higher level of inclusion can be reached for a given amount of migration through a well-designed language policy. Different scenarios require different policy measures in the cost-effectiveness analysis. The effects of status and acquisition planning are modelled in a dynamic setting, where language learning depends on compulsory measures as well as voluntary decisions by the individuals involved based on their individual cost-benefit calculations (or those of their parents). The effects on inclusion are simulated in various scenarios when language skills are transferred from one generation to the next. The scenarios include migration of majority-language speakers into a region with a strong minority language (Spanish-speakers migrating into the Basque Country) and migration of speakers of a 'foreign' language into a country with enclaves of speakers of this language (Spanish-speakers in the USA).

1. Introduction

Language planning is the set of measures explicitly or implicitly adopted by the government to address a language issue. Traditionally, language planning is divided into two components: corpus planning and status planning. Whereas the former refers to direct interventions on a language, e.g. the choice of script system, the latter refers to interventions aimed at modifying its functions in society. Many authors use the term 'acquisition planning' to denote language planning in education and adult language training. Status and acquisition planning in practice consist of

allocating functions to (or removing them from) a language in different areas of public intervention such as public administration, public signage, broadcasting, education, and the judicial system. In these areas the government intervenes and regulates the (rights to) provision of goods and services in one or more languages (Wickström, Templin & Gazzola, 2018). Status planning is expected to modify the development of speakers' practices and representations in order to strengthen (or weaken) the use and the knowledge of a language in a society. As "it is status planning, not corpus planning, that is the engine of all language planning success" (Fishman, 1991: 347), in this chapter we focus on acquisition and status planning and its dynamic effects.

As Cooper notes, "language planning is directed ultimately towards non-linguistic ends" (Cooper, 1989: 35), for example promoting nation-building and political unity, supporting ethnic minorities and the social integration of migrants, and facilitating economic development, but also implementing imperial or colonial strategies. Status planning, therefore, can influence the well-being (or welfare) of individuals in very different ways. For example, it can expand the set of official languages of a regional government, providing material and symbolic benefits for the speakers of a minority language (and this even if such speakers are fluent in the majority language). It can improve migrants' set of skills (and therefore their human capital), thereby facilitating their integration in the society of the host country. Language planning can reduce tensions among linguistic communities in a multilingual state by making it possible to participate in democratic deliberation processes and to access public services in more than one language.[1]

In order to plan meaningful policy we must develop a sound understanding of the variables that affect language dynamics, i.e. in the shortand long-term development of language use by speakers in a given territory. Language shift, for example, is a type of language dynamics whereby a language gradually loses functions, domains, and speakers in a society, increasing the importance of another language. Language policy aims at influencing language dynamics by acting on variables that can accelerate, reduce or reverse the spread or the decline of a language. In practice, this means intervening on factors that influence individuals' decisions as to which languages to learn, transmit and use. This can be carried out by policy measures that affect, on the one hand, the real and perceived material and symbolic value that speakers attach to a language and, on the other hand, the costs of learning the language in question. For example, giving official status to a minority language in

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1.   See Gazzola (2016). Of course, the goal of some members of the majority may also be the suppression of the minority. Language rights for a minority may then lead to resentments on the part of the majority. For a discussion of the political economy of language rights, see Wickström (2020).

public administration is a policy that aims at increasing the utility of the language in society. This can affect the expected future benefits accruing to its speakers and their children, and therefore their language choices. Teaching the language at school or using it as a means of instruction will lower the individual's learning costs.

This chapter examines the question of language dynamics from a quantitative point of view. It presents models that describe the likely evolution of two languages in a society given a certain set of demographic and contextual variables and parameters. Such variables and parameters can be influenced by language policy. The results of language policy are described in the short, medium and long run. Its effects on individuals' welfare are also examined, and the aggregate benefits and the costs of a language policy are evaluated.

The relationship between status planning and individuals' welfare is of course complex and multidimensional.[2] In the context of the MIME project we focus on one specific benefit, namely inclusion. Given a certain level of mobility among speakers of different languages into and out of a jurisdiction, language policy can influence the language repertoire of the people living in a jurisdiction. Inclusion is not a well-defined technical term. The notion of inclusion is context-dependent and it is ultimately defined by the views and opinions of policymakers. In this chapter, we define inclusion as the degree to which the members of a community can communicate with each other. In practice, inclusion is then operationalised in terms of bilingualism, but no restriction is put on which type of societal bilingualism we are dealing with. Policymakers can push the speakers of the minority language to become bilingual in the majority language or the other way around. Symmetric bilingualism for all (i.e. everyone must speak the language of the other community) can be a perfectly legitimate policy goal. It is worth stressing that skills in the relevant languages spoken in a territory are a necessary but clearly not a sufficient condition for social integration.

Different types of language policy result in different levels of inclusion, and of course different levels of aggregate costs. Generally speaking, the higher the level of inclusion, the higher the costs of a language policy, because more resources are needed to implement status and acquisition planning. In this chapter, the trade-off between mobility and inclusion is studied in terms of cost-effectiveness analysis. Given a certain level of mobility, policymakers can aim at different degrees of inclusion and different corresponding levels of costs in the short, medium and long run. In the medium and long run, feed-back mechanisms also become important and we focus on these to make the analysis dynamic. The result of the chapter is therefore a comparative analysis of the cost effectiveness of alternative scenarios. We study the relationship between effects and costs of language policy in situations of

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2. For a general discussion and application, see Gazzola (2014).

high and low mobility.[3] In our analysis, we assume that the degree of mobility may be high or low, and that it is an exogenous variable. It can be treated as endogenous if the level of mobility is set by the government through immigration policy. This will be further discussed in the conclusions (Section 6).

2.   Modelling language dynamics

In their often-cited paper, Abrams & Strogatz (2003) analyse a situation in which two languages compete for monolingual speakers. The attractiveness of a language is determined by the number of its speakers as well as its 'perceived status'.[4] The authors develop a simple mathematical model that describes how the number of speakers of both languages changes over time. They are able to adopt their model to aggregated empirical data of endangered languages, but the model neglects bilinguals and always predicts the extinction of one of the two competing languages. The fairly accurate projections of the model as well as its obvious shortcomings motivated a certain amount of new research on language competition modelling. Later models consider monolingual as well as bilingual language repertoires and provide more realistic models of the transition process from one language to another. The role of bilinguals in language shift is crucial, since in practice individuals do not normally change from being monolingual in one language to being monolingual in the other. Instead, it is more realistic to consider transitions from being monolingual in one language to being bilingual and – in a second step – from being bilingual to being monolingual in the other language. Another mode of transition is the intergenerational one. Parents who speak a minority language in a context dominated by a higher-status majority language do not always successfully transmit

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3.   In our modelling as well as in the cases we present, we start out with a situation of two languages being used in a certain jurisdiction, one a relatively high-status majority language and the other a relatively low-status minority language. There is migration into the jurisdiction. In one case the migrants belong to the low-status minority (Spanish-speakers in the United States of America) and in the other to the high-status majority (Spanish-speakers in the Basque Autonomous Community in Spain).

4.   The relative rate of change of the number of speakers of the two languages is determined by the proportions of speakers of the two languages at any one time – an endogenous variable – and by an ad hoc variable, the relative status of the languages. With a given distribution of the languages on the population, the higher the relative status of one of the languages in comparison to the other, the slower the decline if the language is declining in use or the higher the growth if the language is growing.

the minority language to their children. This is the case for autochthonous minority languages as well as the languages of recent migrants.[5]

Intergenerational language transmission is the driving force in the language competition model proposed in Wickström (2005). Adults form families, have children and transmit languages to them. Family formation depends on the distribution of language repertoires in the population. Language transmission depends on the decision of parents. They gain utility from transmitting languages with a wide communication range as well as from the transmission of languages to which they are emotionally attached. In case of speakers of a small minority language, e.g. an autochthonous minority, say, there is a trade-off between the rather small communicational value of that language and the emotional attachment to it. It is assumed that the higher the status of the language, the higher the utility parents obtain from transmitting it. Parents choose the language repertoire that yields the highest utility.[6] Minett & Wang (2008) also model intergenerational language transmission, using a single-parent model. Such a model entails assuming that in every family both parents have identical language repertoires; see Wickström (2014). The model presented in Minett & Wang (2008) also features horizontal language transmission – in other words, during their lifetime monolingual adults can learn a second language and thus become bilingual. The incentive to learn a second language increases with the number of speakers of that language and its status. Fernando, Valijärvi & Goldstein (2010) adapt the two-parent family transmission model in Wickström (2005). For language acquisition within the family, their focus is not on the parents' decision, but on the child who is exposed to conversation in both languages at home as well as outside the home. A result of their model is that it is the extent of the exposure to a language that determines whether or not the child will acquire that language successfully. Fernando, Valijärvi & Goldstein (2010) also model language learning in formal education. Moreover, the authors argue for models "characterised by parameters that are measurable in the field" (p. 52) and therefore have more 'predictive power' (p. 49). Such measurability is not shared by the previous papers. In Templin, Seidl, Wickström & Feichtinger (2016), Templin (2019) and Templin (2020), we adapt and extend the above models.[7] In Templin (2019) and Templin (2020), we add language education, adult language learning

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5. See, for instance, Dorian (1981) for Gaelic in Scotland, Gal (1979) for Hungarian in Austria, or Portes & Hao (2002) for immigrant languages.

6. Real-life examples range from Cornish in Cornwall (once virtually dead, but revived and slowly growing) through Sami in Sweden (endangered) to Basque in Spain (flourishing).

7. In these papers we provide a more extensive review of the literature on language competition models.

and mobility to the model in Wickström (2005). Following Fernando, Valijärvi & Goldstein (2010), we suggest model parameters that can be estimated from empirical data. In the following, we give a brief discussion of the extended model.

3.   Key concepts and tools

We model the evolution of the linguistic composition of societies with two languages: a higher-status majority language H, and a lower-status minority language L. The linguistic composition of the society is defined as the distribution of language repertoires. It is determined by the number of H-monolinguals, L-monolinguals and bilinguals. We use the following notation:

– N_H: number of H-monolinguals; X_H proportion of H-monolinguals in the total population
– N_L: number of L-monolinguals; X_L proportion of L-monolinguals in the total population
– N_B: number of bilinguals; X_B proportion of bilinguals in the total population
– $N = N_H + N_L + N_B$: total population, hence $X_H + X_L + X_B = 1$

We speak of monolingual and bilingual repertoires. Our language-dynamics model describes how N_H, N_L and N_B change over time. Time t is measured in years. Based on the linguistic distribution at year t as well on relevant information on the linguistic environment, the model produces an estimate of the composition in the following year $t + 1$. In mathematical terms, this reads as

(3.1) $N_R(t + 1) = F(\text{environment parameters}; N_H(t), N_L(t), N_B(t))$

In the formula, N_R is the number of people with language repertoire R. Repertoire R could be monolingualism in H or L, or bilingualism. The two interrelated ingredients of the model are the function F and the choice and construction of the environment parameters.

3.1   Dynamics

The function F expresses how the linguistic composition of the society changes over time. The easiest function one could think of here is the identity function. In other words, everything stays as it currently is. Nothing ever changes. Except for some extreme cases,[8] this is obviously wrong. We develop a function F that models

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8.   If for example, the minority language eventually dies out and only monolingual speakers of H are left, the linguistic composition will not change anymore.

some central social processes essential to language dynamics. To obtain a realistic but manageable mathematical model, we take four key processes into account:

– Population dynamics
– Intergenerational language transmission
– Language education
– Adult language learning

Population dynamics comprises births, deaths, and inward and outward migration. The first two can for our purposes be taken as exogenous and independent of language policy.[9] Migration, on the other hand, may be influenced by public policy. Discrimination against a linguistic minority that constitutes the majority population in another country may lead to an increase in emigration of members of the minority to the country where their language is a majority language. Conversely, extensive minority rights may increase immigration of other speakers of the minority language.

Intergenerational language transmission comprises several sub-processes. The first is family formation. All other things being equal, it is reasonable to assume that the transmission of a minority language is higher in families where both parents speak it. To what extent people from different language groups mix depends on a number of factors.[10] Generally speaking, the match is a stochastic process. However, the frequency of different family types emerging from random encounters depends on the linguistic and social environment. If the minority population is concentrated only in certain areas, mixed couples are less frequent in comparison to a situation where it is evenly distributed over the whole country. Similar effects can be expected if the minority and majority population are socially or religiously segregated. The characteristics of the linguistic environment and the strength of the speakers' social and ethnic identity will determine whether or not a language is transmitted. Status planning may be important in this process. Parents may be more inclined to transmit a language with a high status. Hence, language policy regulating the status of the minority language will have an influence on the dynamics of language use.

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9. Generally they are different for different groups and may vary with income or other variables. For the modelling purposes, it is often useful to assume the demographic characteristics to be constant and the same for all groups. One can then more easily work with the speakers of the various groups as proportions of the total population instead of absolute numbers of speakers. In the cited literature this is generally the case.

10. Given that there are three types of language repertoire – monolingual speakers of one of the two languages as well as bilinguals – there are twelve possible family types. However, we assume that interchanging the types of the father and the mother in a family does not affect family behaviour. Hence, there are six distinguishable family types with two parents in the model.

Language education strongly depends on language policy, especially acquisition planning. The use of languages in school, both the language of instruction and the teaching of 'second' languages have a strong influence on the main language adopted by native speakers of minority languages. Here, government policy plays one of the main roles. Curricula in both public and private schools are generally determined by governments.

Finally, adult language learning is also at least partially influenced by language policy. The government can give direct (or indirect) support to adults taking language classes or itself offer such courses.

3.2   Linguistic environment

These four processes are affected by the linguistic environment and, at the same time, they shape it. This brings us to the second ingredient in the model, the parameter and variable values that make up the linguistic environment. The linguistic environment is a theoretical construct. "It subsumes in an extensive (but obviously not exhaustive) fashion all the relevant information about the status, in the broadest sense of the word, of the various languages present in a given polity at a certain time" (Grin & Vaillancourt, 1997: 49). In our model, we consider six dimensions of the environment:

– Current linguistic composition of the population
– Territorial concentration of the users of both languages
– Status of both languages
– Language education policy
– Adult language learning support
– Internal and external migration

The current linguistic composition of the population in society is an essential part of the linguistic environment and influences population dynamics. It is also one of the important factors influencing intergenerational transmission. It influences both the frequencies of the family types and their inclination to transmit the languages. Generally, the more widespread a language is, the more useful it is in communication. In our model, it is an endogenous variable, but it is also strongly and directly influenced by language policy.

Territorial concentration tells us how spatially close the members of the minority live. The higher the concentration, the greater in general intergenerational transmission will generally be in the areas where the minority lives. Urbanisation is likely to reduce the concentration of the minority and transmission of the minority language between generations (see Wickström, 2022). For our model, the

concentration is assumed to be an exogenous parameter and it is approximated by a concentration index.[11]

The relative status of both languages in society consists of the socioeconomic status of the speakers of the respective language as well as the official status of the language. The socioeconomic status of the speakers, of course, can only be defined in the context of the society analysed, and the factors determining it may vary considerably from one society to another.[12] Official status reflects the number of public domains, such as public services or courtrooms, a language can be used in. It is assumed that the status influences the outcomes of intergenerational transmission process, the language education process, and the adult learning process. Both status aspects, socioeconomic and official, are weighted to obtain a single status parameter for our model. Official status is as a rule directly determined by language policy. Since socioeconomic status is strongly influenced by official status, it is indirectly influenced by language policy.

Acquisition planning, for instance which languages are taught in schools, is to a very large extent the result of language policy. This policy not only influences the status of the languages, but also has a strong impact on students' linguistic skills and hence on the future linguistic composition of the population. Adult learning may also be important. Locals as well as newcomers may learn new languages to improve their human capital or to preserve their cultural heritage. Adults may also lose their skills in a language over time. This is often the case if a language is learned at school, but is never used thereafter. Especially important here is teaching the majority (or minority) language to newcomers. This can be directly influenced by the public sector and has a major impact on newcomers' integration and inclusion as well as indirectly on cohesion in society.

Internal and external migration alter the population structure. Urbanisation, for instance, as well as migration to and from other countries will influence population dynamics and intergenerational transmission. Internal migration of majority speakers into an area of speakers of the minority language or of minority speakers into areas dominated by the majority language is bound to weaken the minority language. Immigration from outside the country may involve speakers of the minority language, the majority language, or a third language. The effect on the strength of the minority or majority language in the first two cases is obvious; in the third case the effects may go in either direction, and here language policy in favour of the minority language may have a decisive influence. Finally, emigration may lead to weakening of the minority language by reducing its demographic base.

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11. The index of isolation. For a detailed discussion of this measure and others, see Morrill (2016).

12. In some societies, belonging to a traditional upper class may be important; in others, being wealthy is what matters. Of course, in many places these factors go hand-in-hand.

3.3   Costs of different policy measures

For our purposes in this chapter, we will discuss two types of language planning measures, whose cost structures are very different. The first is status planning in the strict sense of the word; the second is acquisition planning. The costs of language planning measures can be characterised according to two dimensions: the number of beneficiaries, and the geographical area of implementation. This is discussed in some detail in Wickström (2017) and Wickström, Templin & Gazzola (2018).

Some typical status-planning measures, such as using a minority language in public documents or providing radio and television programmes in a minority language, will generate the same costs regardless of the number of speakers or their geographical patterns of habitation. In our model we assume that status planning is of this type.[13] In other words, the status of the minority language is a function of the budget used for status planning.[14] Assuming that status influences the processes discussed in Section 3.1, especially intergenerational transmission, an increase in status will affect each minority-language speaker in the same way, on average. That means the aggregated effect will depend on the size of the community. The costs necessary to produce a given effect, however, are independent of the size of the community.

The second type of language planning measure that we consider is acquisition planning. In our model, this form of planning generates costs that are more or less proportional both to the number of individuals being affected and to the size of their habitation area. An increase in the amount of acquisition planning per capita will here also produce an aggregated effect that will depend on the size of the community. In this case, however, the costs will also depend on the size of the community.

With a given budget the planner will have to choose a mix of status and acquisition measures to produce the highest possible effect on the minority community, for instance the number of bilingual speakers. This is a typical cost-effectiveness analysis; a given goal – the number of bilinguals – should be achieved at the lowest cost. From what has been said above about the structure of costs, it follows that an increase in status will affect all the individuals concerned, but expenditure is independent of their number. With acquisition planning aimed at a certain number of individuals, on the other hand, expenditure increases with their number. It follows that if there is a trade-off between the positive effects of status and acquisition measures affecting a typical individual, one should put more stress on status planning than on acquisition

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13.   In reality, of course, there are many types of status planning that depend both on the area of application (street names in the minority language), the number of beneficiaries (right to receive answers to queries in public offices in the minority language), or both (right to receive social services at home in the minority language).

14.   Of course, the question of which status-planning measures should be chosen is a non-trivial optimisation problem.

planning in the big community, since expenditure per person on status planning will be lower in the larger community than in the smaller one.[15] In a dynamic analysis with its feed-back mechanisms, the general conclusion may, however, be slightly different, because the reciprocal feedback mechanisms between social status and an increase in the number of speakers are generated in a different manner than the more direct connection between the number of speakers and acquisition-planning measures; see also Templin (2020) and Wickström (2013, 2016, 2021).[16]

4. Dynamic language policy analysis

Since language competition models provide projections of the future development of linguistic composition, they can "be useful in the design and evaluation of language-preservation programs" (Abrams & Strogatz, 2003: 900). In this section, therefore, we first review a few relevant theoretical models before presenting the case studies.

4.1   Some dynamic models

Different models help us analyse language policies at different levels of abstraction. Minett & Wang (2008) analyse the effects of a simple language revitalisation policy. The authors "assume that a community can bring about a change in the value" of relevant model parameters whenever the number of speakers of the minority language falls below some threshold (Minett & Wang, 2008: 29). They show that with such a policy in place, the minority language can be maintained. Templin, Seidl, Wickström & Feichtinger (2016) analyse the effects of investments in status planning on the survival of the minority language and show that it may be optimal – from the point of view of welfare economics – to invest in status planning in order to keep the minority language alive. Fernando, Valijärvi & Goldstein (2010) emphasised that more abstract or theoretical models limit the analysis to theoretical

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15. For more details, see Wickström (2021).

16. To find the optimal mix of status planning and acquisition planning in a static setting, one has to look at the marginal change in effectiveness of the same budget increase in the two types of planning activities and equate those marginal effects. In the dynamic analysis, the number of speakers of the various types and the status of the languages are known as 'state' variables, i.e. their size (or level) reflects the whole accumulated history of language policy, whereas the acquisition planning has a direct influence and is known as a 'flow' variable. The budgets for the two types of planning are 'control' variables (also flow variables). The values of the latter are instantaneous and independent of history. Because of this there is no simple instantaneous trade-off between the effect on language use of status and acquisition planning. Only in a long-term steady state can one find easy expressions comparable to the marginal impacts in the static case.

language policies. If a model is to allow the analysis of more specific and realistic policies, it should build on measurable parameters. The model parameters in Templin (2019) and Templin (2020) are designed so that they can be obtained from empirical quantitative data on the languages in question. The collection of parameters reflects the characteristics of its linguistic environment. For some countries and regions, the required data are collected in censuses and language-related quantitative studies. For many countries, however, sufficient data are not available. Only a few censuses, for example, ask for individuals' full linguistic repertoire. Most only ask for the mother tongue or first language. Without a sufficiently clear picture of the linguistic environment, projections of the future development of linguistic composition are practically worthless.[17]

Of course, there are specific language-planning measures that directly affect the parameters influencing language dynamics, i.e. the linguistic environment. Policies may include increasing the number of languages on bank notes or street signs, introducing different language education programmes, supporting language courses for newcomers or setting up a new television programme in a minority language. They may also include support for the symbolic status of a language, as in Templin, Seidl, Wickström & Feichtinger (2016). It is important to note that most policy measures cannot be modelled directly, because this would not only make the formal analysis intractable but would also blur the essential structure of the dynamic analysis. Neither street signs nor teacher-training curricula are therefore explicitly used in the models, although they are implicitly present as inputs in the status or acquisition planning variables. What the model considers is the effects of language policies on the linguistic environment. Adding the minority language to previously monolingual street signs, for example, can increase the status of the minority language, but this result can also be achieved by other measures, e.g. direct promotion of the minority language via a public information campaign. For our analysis, what matters is the fact that a measure has a positive impact on the status of the language. An education policy can alter the linguistic outcomes of education. Consequently, we model language policies as a change in corresponding model parameters. If parameters are estimated carefully from empirical data, the model enables us to derive projections of the future development of linguistic composition for various policy options, one of which is to maintain the status quo. In this way we can compare the effects and costs of various policy options.

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17. This yields an argument for collecting more information on languages in quantitative surveys. To evaluate language policies, one has to know what kind of environment they are operating in. See Gazzola (2014).

4.2 Case studies

In Templin (2019) and Templin (2020), we apply the model to two contexts for which all relevant data are publicly available.[18] We modelled English (*H*) and Spanish (*L*) in the United States in Templin (2019), and Spanish (*H*) and Basque (*L*) in Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) in northern Spain in Templin (2020). We show that the model informed by empirical data is able to reproduce observed developments in linguistic composition in the US and in the BAC. In other words it is adapted to existing data and therefore can be used to make forecasts.

In this section, we analyse the effects of status planning and language acquisition policies and mobility patterns (or migration policies) on inclusion. We consider the two language competition situations studied in Templin (2019) and Templin (2020).

1. Situation 1. English and Spanish in the United States
   – In the United States, English is the dominant majority language. Being spoken by about 35 million people, Spanish is by far the largest minority language in the US.[19] It owes its vitality and spread to a large extend to the continuous influx of new people from Spanish-speaking countries, cf. García & Mason (2009) or Carreira (2013).
   – *De jure*, the US does not have an official or national language. Nevertheless, English is the *de facto* official language in US government and administration.[20] Moreover, in the US Spanish-speakers generally have a lower socio-economic status than many English-speakers. For the situation and history of Spanish speakers in the USA, see, for instance, Sáenz & Morales (2015).
   – English is the dominant language in education. As a result, US-born children of migrants are mostly bilingual or even monolingual in English. Over subsequent generations, English becomes the dominant language among the descendants of Spanish-speaking migrants. See Sáenz & Morales (2015).

2. Situation 2. Spanish and Basque in the Basque Autonomous Community.
   – Basque is a minority language within the BAC, where it is spoken by approximately one third of the population. The majority language is Spanish.
   – On the territory of the BAC, both languages have official status, i.e. citizens have the right to use both languages in official communications. Moreover,

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18. For both contexts, all model parameters could be estimated from census data and quantitative surveys on language issues.

19. The census data being somewhat unreliable, the estimates vary considerably. Instituto Cervantes, for instance, estimates the number of native Spanish-speakers in the USA in 2018 at more than 42 million; see Instituto Cervantes (2018).

20. Spanish has official status only in Puerto Rico, but has 'special' status in New Mexico. For an overview of the legal status of various languages in the USA, see Faingold (2018).

the Spanish Constitution of 1978 states that all Spanish citizens have a responsibility to know Spanish, cf. Zalbide & Cenoz (2008).
- The vast majority of Basque-speakers also speak Spanish. They are bilinguals.
- The theoretical goal of the Basque education system is that all students should learn Spanish and Basque. There are predominantly Spanish-speaking, bilingual and predominantly Basque-speaking schools. The Spanish-dominated schools, in particular, often fail to achieve the theoretical goal. Nonetheless, the BAC is a positive exception in terms of successful minority language revitalisation. And education in the minority language is central for the vitality of Basque.
- Most newcomers to the BAC are speakers of the majority language, i.e. Spanish. They come, for example, from Spanish-speaking regions of Spain and South America. Basque-speaking newcomers are from Navarre in Spain or the northern Basque Country in France.

5.   Results and discussion

5.1   Situation 1: Status planning

In Situation 1, we are dealing with a context with a high-status majority language and a low-status minority language. Newcomers speak the minority language. Some of them are bilingual. We investigate the effects of increasing the status S of the minority language. The status S reflects the socioeconomic standing of speakers of the minority language as well as the status of the language in public domains.[21] We investigate the effect of a status-planning policy that increases the status S of the minority language on the development of the linguistic composition. We consider three cases for migration: no migration, low migration and high migration.[22] For each migration scenario, we investigate the case of a low status S (no policy) and the case of a high status S (status planning policy). This yields six scenarios. The development of the linguistic environment in all six scenarios is presented numerically in Table 16.1, and graphically in Figure 16.1. In the tables and the figures we can see that migration as

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21. It is difficult to define language status, let alone measure it objectively. As shown in Section 3.2, official status is reflected in the number of public domains in which a language can be used. At the same time, official status does reflect the political and demolinguistic weight of a language community, which is why speakers' socioeconomic status is a relevant variable to consider. It can be proxied by their average labour income, wealth, or educational level. In the model, however, it is indirectly defined as the effect that status-planning measures have on linguistic behaviour. See also the discussion in Wickström (2005) and Templin, Seidl, Wickström & Feichtinger (2016).

22. In all three cases, migration is assumed to be constant over time. The language-use data are taken from Ortman & Shin (2011). For low migration, we use migration figures estimated for the US in Templin (2019). For high migration, we double those figures.
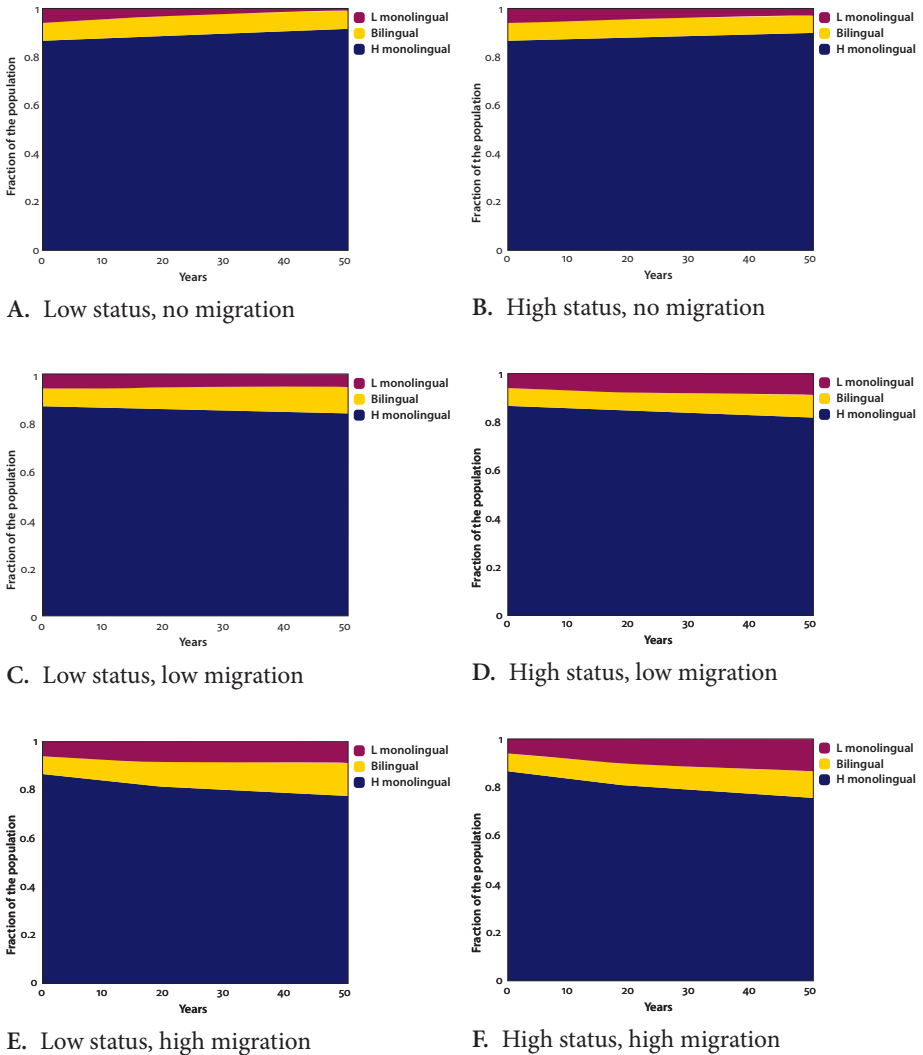
Figure 16.1 Development of linguistic composition in all six scenarios in situation 1 (USA example)

well as the language planning measure affect the linguistic composition of the society. As one would expect, the more migrants enter the population each year, the faster the population grows. After 50 years, we end up with a total population of 362 million for no migration, 401 million for low migration and 440 million for high migration. Our starting date ($t = 0$) is the year 2010. Furthermore, we only consider individuals claiming English or Spanish as language(s) spoken at home. In addition, Puerto Rico is excluded. Hence, the numbers are not exactly in agreement with the total recorded population of the United States of America.

Table 16.1 Development of the linguistic environment in situation 1 in the US example

	LOW STATUS, NO MIGRATION					**HIGH STATUS, NO MIGRATION**			
	$t = 0$	$t = 10$	$t = 25$	$t = 50$		$t = 0$	$t = 10$	$t = 25$	$t = 50$
N	264	281	309	362	N	264	281	309	362
X_H	0.866	0.876	0.890	0.913	X_H	0.866	0.873	0.883	0.900
X_L	0.061	0.041	0.022	0.008	X_L	0.061	0.052	0.041	0.027
X_B	0.073	0.084	0.087	0.079	X_B	0.073	0.075	0.076	0.073
	LOW STATUS, LOW MIGRATION					**HIGH STATUS, LOW MIGRATION**			
	$t = 0$	$t = 10$	$t = 25$	$t = 50$		$t = 0$	$t = 10$	$t = 25$	$t = 50$
N	264	288	327	401	N	264	288	327	401
X_H	0.866	0.855	0.845	0.838	X_H	0.866	0.852	0.836	0.819
X_L	0.061	0.059	0.055	0.047	X_L	0.061	0.072	0.083	0.089
X_B	0.073	0.086	0.101	0.115	X_B	0.073	0.076	0.081	0.091
	LOW STATUS, HIGH MIGRATION					**HIGH STATUS, HIGH MIGRATION**			
	$t = 0$	$t = 10$	$t = 25$	$t = 50$		$t = 0$	$t = 10$	$t = 25$	$t = 50$
N	264	295	345	440	N	264	295	345	440
X_H	0.866	0.835	0.803	0.775	X_H	0.866	0.832	0.794	0.753
X_L	0.061	0.076	0.085	0.084	X_L	0.061	0.091	0.119	0.139
X_B	0.073	0.088	0.112	0.141	X_B	0.073	0.077	0.087	0.108

For years 0, 10, 25 and 50 the population size N is given (in millions) as well as the proportion of H monolinguals (X_H), the proportion of L monolinguals (X_L) and the proportion of bilinguals (X_B).

In the case of no migration, no new speakers of the minority language enter the population. Many of the monolingual speakers of *L* learn the majority language, and become bilinguals. As a consequence, the proportion of *L*-monolinguals drops, and – at least in the short run – the proportion of bilinguals increases. It can be seen from Table 16.1 that a policy increasing status can slow down the decrease in *L*. Without the policy (low status), the proportion of *L*-monolinguals falls from 6.1% to 0.8% within 50 years. With the policy (high status), the proportion only falls to 2.7%. Hence, after 50 years the policy has tripled the proportion of *L*-monolinguals. This effect can be explained by the incentive structure of individuals and families. The lower the status *S*, the greater the incentive for *L*-monolinguals to acquire the majority language *H* and hence to become bilingual. Moreover, the higher the status of *L*, the greater the incentive among *L*-speaking parents to transmit the minority language to their children. Language planning leads to comparable effects for low and high migration. In both cases, due to a steady inflow of newcomers, the proportions of *L*-monolinguals increase or show only a small decline over time. For low migration, this proportion decreases by 23% (1.4 percentage points, from 6.1% to

4.7% of the population) in 50 years without the policy (low status) or increases by 46% (2.8 percentage points, from 6.1% to 8.9% of the population) if the policy is in place. For high migration, we even end up with an increase of 38% (2.3 percentage points, from 6.1% to 8.4% of the population) without the policy and by a factor of 2.28 with the policy (high status).

The policy has the opposite effect on the proportions of bilinguals. With no migration, the number of bilinguals first increases and then starts to decrease both with and without the policy. This is the typical picture of a language shift. The proportion of speakers of the majority language steadily increases, whereas the proportion of speakers of the minority language decreases. At first the number of monolinguals decreases and the number of bilinguals increases, but after some time, the proportion of bilingual speakers declines and the minority language will eventually no longer be used. Bilingualism is only a period in history. The policy slows down this process but does not stop it.[23] In the two cases involving migration, the proportion of bilinguals increases over time, and the policy slows down this increase. For high migration, for example, the proportion of bilinguals increases from 7.3% to 14.1%, i.e. an increase of 93%, without the policy. With the policy in place, it only increases by 48% (3.5 percentage points, from 7.3% to 10.8% of the population). This negative effect of the policy on the proportion of bilinguals can also be explained – at least partially – by the incentive structures. Increasing the status of the minority language lowers the incentive for L-monolinguals, who are mainly first-generation migrants, to learn the majority language. Hence, fewer of them become bilingual. Conversely, an increase in status yields higher incentives for parents to transmit L to their children. But in the empirical example studied in Situation 1, the lower incentive for adult newcomers to learn H outweighs the higher incentive for parents to transmit L. Another reason for the relatively low number of bilinguals, compared to L-monolinguals, is the dominance of the majority language in the education system. Many bilingual children become primarily English-speakers, and do not transmit the Spanish language to their children. A policy aiming at promoting inclusion in the long term would therefore not increase the status of Spanish. Of course, this conclusion is based on a context-specific definition of inclusion that speakers of the minority language are required to become bilingual, whereas nothing is expected of the members of the majority-language community.[24]

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23. For a discussion of this case and the the cases in which the status of the minority language is high enough to lead to permanent societal bilingualism without migration, see Wickström (2005).

24. Such a suggestion for Canada can be found in Carr (1985).

Table 16.2 Situation 2 with low and high migration in the Basque Autonomous Community

			$t = 0$	$t = 10$	$t = 25$	$t = 50$
low migration	population	N	2 169 038	2 196 271	2 237 222	2 305 747
	status quo	X_H	0.680	0.648	0.605	0.547
		X_B	0.320	0.352	0.395	0.453
	policy I	X_H	0.680	0.642	0.592	0.525
		X_B	0.320	0.358	0.408	0.475
	policy II	X_H	0.680	0.647	0.603	0.543
		X_B	0.320	0.353	0.397	0.457
high migration	population	N	2 169 038	2 219 161	2 294 534	2 420 659
	status quo	X_H	0.680	0.651	0.613	0.562
		X_B	0.320	0.349	0.387	0.438
	policy I	X_H	0.680	0.645	0.600	0.540
		X_B	0.320	0.355	0.400	0.460
	policy II	X_H	0.680	0.650	0.611	0.558
		X_B	0.320	0.350	0.389	0.442

Population size N increases independently of the acquisition policy. For the status quo, as well as for both education-policy options, the evolution of linguistic composition is given for a time span of 50 years starting in year 2010.

The recommendation derived from a cost-effectiveness analysis is thus clear. If the status-increasing policy is costly and the policymaker's goal is to maximise the sum total of the number of H-monolinguals and the number of bilinguals, the analysis tells us that the cost-efficient policy is doing nothing. Of course, this policy is not necessarily in the interest of the speakers of the minority language, and a cost-benefit analysis including the preferences of the members of the minority could come to a very different conclusion.
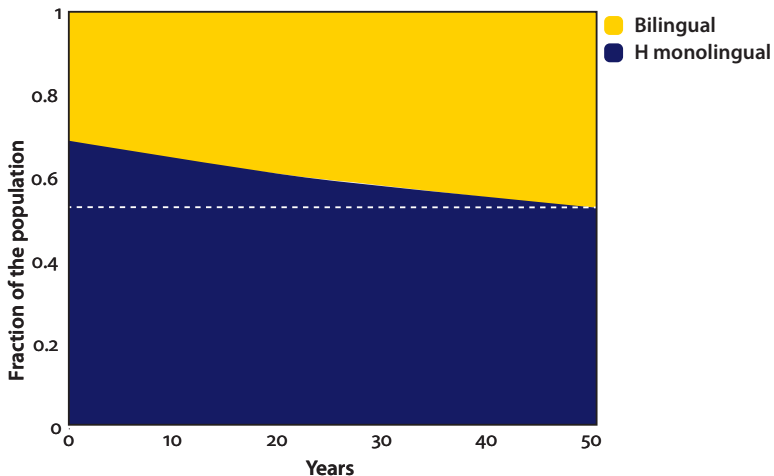
A. Status quo, high migration
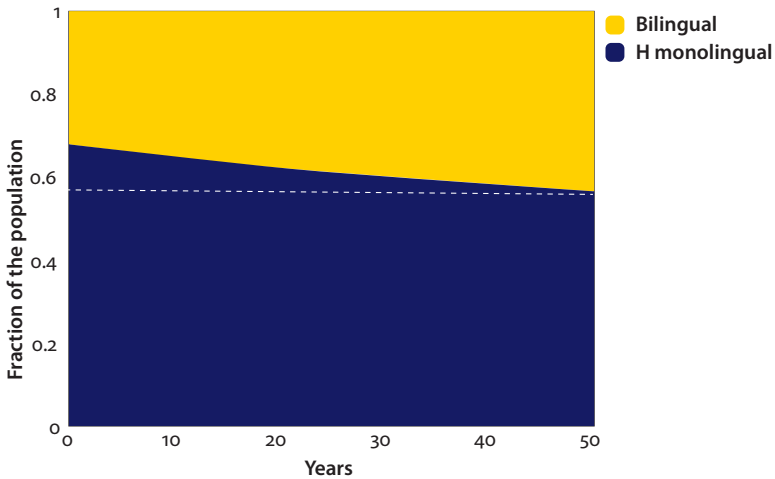
B. Education policy I, low migration

Figure 16.2 Development of linguistic composition in the two extreme cases of situation 2 in the Basque Autonomous Community

5.2   Situation 2: Acquisition planning

In Situation 2, we are dealing with a traditional minority language almost only spoken in the region under consideration. The local majority language is also the dominant majority language of the wider state (Spain). Therefore, only a small proportion of newcomers speak the minority language. We investigate the effects of two different education polices. In Templin (2020), we estimated that 20% of all *H*-monolingual students acquire *L* through education, and that 24% of all bilingual children who enter school as bilinguals lose their ability to speak *L* fluently during their time at school. This is our status quo example. The first language education policy (education policy I) strengthens the teaching of the minority language to *H*-monolingual children. We assume that education policy I increases learning of the minority language *L* by *H*-monolingual children from 20% to 30%. The second policy (education policy II) that we investigate decreases *L*-language loss for bilingual children from 24% to 14%. For the status quo and both policy options we consider one case of low and one case of high migration figures,[25] and apply the model to derive projections for development of linguistic composition in Situation 2 over a 50-year time span. Again, the starting year (*t* = 0) is 2010 and the initial data come from Eusko Jaurlaritzaren Argitalpen

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25. For the low migration case, we use the migration figures for the BAC estimated in Templin (2020). According to these estimates, about 2300 newcomers move to the BAC every year. For the high migration case, we double this figure.

Zerbitzu Nagusia / Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco (2013). This is presented in Table 16.2 and Figure 16.2. In the figure we have only presented the most extreme cases, since the dynamics are of all cases qualitatively very similar.

It can be seen in Table 16.2 that in both migration scenarios the proportion of bilinguals increases over time. Within 50 years, this increases by between 37% (11.8 percentage points, from 32% to 43.8% in status quo with high migration) and 48% (15.5 percentage points, from 32% to 47.5% with policy I and low migration). This is due to the language education policy and other language policies in favour of *L* already in place (status quo). As one would expect, the increase in the proportion of bilinguals is lower for the higher migration case, since in this case more *H*-monolingual newcomers enter the population every year. The effects of both language policies are comparable for low and high migration. Compared with the status quo, in both migration scenarios education policy I increases the proportion of bilinguals by 2.2 percentage points in 50 years, about 51000 and 53000 people respectively. Education policy II is not as effective in increasing the number of bilinguals. It only increases the proportion of bilinguals by 0.4 percentage points over the status quo in 50 years, about 9500 people. This difference in effectiveness of the two policies can be explained by higher numbers of *H*-monolingual children compared with bilingual children entering school. We can conclude that the negative effect of higher mobility, i.e. less bilinguals in the case of higher migration, can be somewhat mitigated by language policies strengthening the minority language in education. A policy aiming at promoting inclusion in the long run, therefore, would aim at strengthening Basque in the educational system. This conclusion is based on a context-specific definition of inclusion whereby speakers of the majority language become bilingual, just like the members of the minority-language community.[26]

The cost-effectiveness of the two policies, of course, depends on the costs of the two policies. If both policies generate equal costs, policy I is clearly preferable. Only if policy II is considerably less costly than policy I, would it make sense to promote policy II, since policy I is almost five and a half times as effective as policy II in increasing the number of bilinguals. Given that the proportion of bilinguals, at least in later years, approaches 50% it is likely that the costs of the two policies are comparable. In this case, policy I is to be preferred by the policymaker. Since the costs of the polices can be assumed to depend on the number of monolinguals and bilinguals respectively, we cannot rule out that policy II is optimal in early years and that policy I becomes optimal after the number of bilinguals has reached a certain level. In that case, the optimal policy changes over time.

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26. It is important to note that we are talking about language knowledge and not language use. In social interaction the majority language tends to be dispropotionally used.

6. Concluding remarks

The medium and long-term development in the linguistic repertoires of individuals in a society emerges as the result of several processes. A crucial role is played by the family and schooling. The first languages are determined in earliest childhood in the family and stabilised by primary schooling. Bilingual families are especially important in transmitting languages to the next generation. Here, the status of the language is a prime source of pride for the parents and their offspring. This, together with practical usefulness, influences their language choice.

The policymaker can influence both the status and practical usefulness of a minority language through various policy measures. Some planning measures, such as using the language in some symbolic functions, for instance on banknotes, have a positive influence on its status. Providing public education in the language will influence both the status of the language and lower the learning costs for the individual, thereby contributing to the stabilisation of the speaker's language skills. Using the language in public administration or to support cultural activities in the language will contribute both to the status of the language and its usefulness as a means of communication.[27]

The policymaker's function here is similar to that of Ulysses sailing between Scylla and Charybdis. On the one hand, he wants to use the policy measures that have the strongest effect on the policy goal; on the other hand, he wants to keep the budget as low as possible and still achieve a certain effect, and both the size and structure of the costs of the various measures vary widely. As if that were not enough, the demographic makeup and the habitation patterns of the language groups to be influenced also vary considerably in the real world. Assume that two different planning measures have the same effect on fulfillment of the policymaker's goals. The implementation costs of one measure may vary greatly with the size of the territory (street signs), whereas in the other case they may greatly depend on the numerical size of the relevant group (the real possibility of addressing government service institutions in your own language). If the budget is limited, the policymaker should be more inclined to use the first measure for a concentrated minority and the second one for a more extensive one, assuming that the size of the costs is comparable. If one measure generally has lower costs, of course, this measure would be used for all types of language groups. In effect, the policymaker is facing trade-offs between the effects of different measures and their implementation costs that are different for different target groups.[28]

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27. Compare the analysis in Grin (1992).

28. For a more detailed discussion, see Wickström (2021).

In this essay, we have provided an illustration of how language dynamics can be analysed in general models with feedback mechanisms. In real situations, however, many factors that we have ignored in our simple examples are important, and our streamlined transparent models will have to be made much more complex. In other words, these models pave the way for an analysis of a very wide spectrum of problems of practical relevance. Our goal was to present some stylised situations. To include the high number of relevant factors needed for a more detailed analysis is not a matter of principle, but of computing.

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The ontology of the linguistic territoriality principle

A conceptual roadmap

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The linguistic territoriality principle is popular both among theorists and practitioners of language policy. But its precise content is notoriously vague. A plethora of different meanings have been attached to it, leading to conceptual and normative confusion. This chapter proposes a novel conceptualization of this principle, in order to operationalize it both for theory and practice. It elaborates a proper definition of the LTP, illustrates its numerous versions and offers a state-of-the-art overview of justifications for and critiques of the LTP. The chapter works out, in short, a full ontology of the LTP, against the background of notions of mobility and inclusion. Our main research question is the following: what is at the conceptual and moral core of the territoriality principle? What are the crucial notions that need to be present in order to meaningfully speak of linguistic territoriality, and why do these notions matter morally? To address these questions, we offer and discuss two metrics that could constitute the core of the LTP: the linguistic coerciveness metric and the linguistic diversity metric. We argue that, although the coerciveness metric is relevant, the diversity metric is at the conceptual core of territoriality, such that we ought to understand linguistic territoriality as fundamentally characterized by linguistic monism, or monolingualism. Finally, we draw implications that such a view of LTP might have for the key concepts of mobility and inclusion.

1. Introduction

A simple definition of the linguistic territoriality principle (LTP) states that language policy rules ought to apply to the particular territory in which people live. In multilingual societies, this could mean that the state delineates multiple sub-territories in which different language policies are applied.

As stated by De Schutter (2008: 106), "the LTP as a language regime option has typically been contrasted with a language regime based on the *personality* principle (LPP)."[1] The latter states that individual language rights follow the speaker: wherever speakers find themselves within the political unit within which the LPP is instantiated, they can claim language rights, such as public education in their own language or the right to communicate with civil servants in that language. By contrast, the LTP stipulates that language rights vary from one political unit to another. In Kenneth McRae's (1975: 33) words, "the rules of language to be applied in a given situation will depend solely on the territory in question". The rules of each polity unit – be it a municipality, canton, province or sub-state region – determine whether an individual within the unit can claim language rights.

However, it is unhelpful to approach the distinction between territoriality and personality in this way, since this formulation of the LTP allows sub-state polity units that choose to prescribe "institutional bilingualism (or even multilingualism)" to still fall within the remit of the LTP (De Schutter, 2008: 106). Where the sub-unit chooses to implement institutional monolingualism – whereby only one language receives official status – the distinction between an institutionally monolingual LTP and an institutionally bi- or multilingual LPP is conceptually crystal clear. But if the territorial sub-unit chooses to endorse institutional bi- or multilingualism – whereby public support is granted to more than one language within the territory – then the distinction between territoriality and personality is no longer clear, since the resulting language policy regime can then be seen as displaying both a territoriality and a personality principle. So the LTP is conceptually defined as compatible with both institutional monolingualism and bi-or multilingualism, its contrast with the LPP being blurred.

In this chapter, we argue that territoriality should be understood in a different way, namely as a territorial language regime stipulating that each territory should contain and officially recognise only (or predominantly) one language, and is thus characterised by institutional monolingualism. To do so, this chapter works out a novel conceptualisation of linguistic territoriality. It proposes a clear definition, delineates multiple versions of the LTP as outlines in the literature, in the realm of conceptual options and in practice, and offers a state-of-the-art overview of possible justifications for and critiques of the LTP. In short, it presents a full ontology of the LTP, so as to operationalise it for theory and practice, especially considering two fundamental concepts for this edited volume: mobility and inclusion. Our

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1.   This chapter is the end-product of our task within the MIME-project, as well as of several years of thinking about this issue. As such it borrows heavily from, while also further developing, earlier parts of our work on the linguistic territoriality principle, in particular De Schutter (2008) and De Schutter (2014).

main research question is the following: *what is at the conceptual and moral core of the territoriality principle?* What are the crucial notions that need to be present in order to meaningfully speak of linguistic territoriality, and why do these notions matter morally?

In Section 2, we present our analytical framework. In Section 3, we provide an overview of the LTP: state-of-the-art, main definitions and arguments for and against it. In Section 4, we discuss two metrics (the *linguistic coerciveness metric* and the *linguistic diversity metric*) that may constitute the core of the LTP and we explore their mutual compatibility as well the different language regimes that may arise from them. In Section 5, we argue that, although the coerciveness metric remains important, the diversity metric is at the conceptual core of territoriality, so that linguistic territoriality should be seen as fundamentally characterised by *linguistic monism*, or *monolingualism*. We then identify the implications that such a view of LTP may have for mobility and inclusion.

2. Political philosophy as an analytical framework

The ultimate aim of any linguistic territoriality principle is normative: the LTP is a normative principle, a principle determining the right policy. It is therefore widely discussed within the linguistic justice field, a branch of political philosophy concerned with morality and justice as these pertain to language policy. Whereas political science typically seeks to describe and analyse society and political institutions as they are, normative political philosophy deals with how societies and political institutions ought to be. Normative political philosophy is therefore fundamentally concerned with political morality. This concern, central throughout the history of political ideas (from Plato to the present), was reinvigorated and reshaped in the 20th century by John Rawls (1921–2002) and his seminal work *A Theory of Justice* (1999a [1971]). In that book, Rawls offers a framework for conceptualising and analysing our contemporary reality and finding fair solutions to many social concerns. Contemporary political philosophy in the Rawls tradition aims to provide tools for moral guidance when discussing how people should live in common.

More importantly, Rawls elaborated a novel philosophical method that is still widely used today: *reflective equilibrium* (Arnsperger & Van Parijs, 2002, 16; Scanlon, 2003; Pettit, 2012: 20–21; List & Valentini, 2016; Knight, 2017). This is the method we use in this chapter. For Rawls, its main premise is that "we start from the thought (included in the idea of free and equal persons) that citizens have a capacity for reason (both theoretical and practical) as well as a sense of justice" (Rawls, 2001: 29). So, apart from being equal and free persons, individuals are also capable of developing their capacity to reason and their own conception of what justice is. Reflective equilibrium

uses this intuition to mediate the relationship between *principles* and *judgments*.[2] Specifically, it confronts the various normative principles that one can propose (for instance, "inequality is morally bad") with one's *considered* moral judgements[3] (for instance, "although inequality might be bad, this is not the case when individual A freely chooses to work more hours and receives a bigger salary than individual B, who decides to work fewer hours"). In Knight's (2017: 46) words, "[t]he basic idea of reflective equilibrium is to bring principles and judgments into accord. This can be achieved by revising the principles and/or the judgments". In the repeated confrontation of both (normative principles and moral intuitions/judgments) and their mutual (and coherent) adjustment we can reach normative guiding principles of justice. According to Philip Pettit:

> The idea is to set out general principles for the domain investigated, whether it be justice or legitimacy or sovereignty; to use empirical assumptions to derive their implications for specific cases; to see how those implications fit with what we find credible on reflection; and to go back and forth in the search for adjustments at either end that can promote overall coherence.   (Pettit, 2012: 20)

Step by step, this method consists of (a) identifying a morally problematic situation (for example, with one or more moral principles that seem to be appealing but pose difficulty in being compatible with each other. That would be the case when endorsing efficient communication as against promoting multilingualism: both look appealing, but they may have some compatibility problems); (b) developing one or more norms in order to deal with that situation; (c) checking the implications of those norms against our considered judgments; (d) after this confrontation of our normative proposals and principles with our considered judgments, reforming or discarding our normative proposals. We need to remember that the main objective of normative political theory is to establish guiding ethical norms for people in moral and political debates in order to help those individuals to propose institutional arrangements based on these normative principles.

While relying on Rawls, we should be aware that he constructed his theory of justice without being particularly sensitive to language politics and cultural pluralism (Kymlicka, 1989). In drawing up his theory, Rawls explicitly disregards issues of national-cultural and linguistic diversity. But Rawls is aware that this is unrealistic, although he does express the hope that his favoured principles of justice, which he

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2.   Carl Knight defines the two concepts as follows: "Principles are relatively general rules for comprehending the area of enquiry. Judgments are our intuitions or commitments … regarding the subject matter" (Knight, 2017: 46).

3.   Considered judgments are "those judgments in which our moral capacities are most likely to be displayed without distortion … conditions favourable for deliberation and judgment in general" (Rawls, 1999a: 42).

has developed on the basis of unrealistic abstraction, can still provide guidance in multinational and multilingual settings. For instance, in *The Law of Peoples* he states: "My hope is that, if we begin in this simplified way, we can work out political principles that will, in due course, enable us to deal with more difficult cases where all the citizens are not united by a common language and shared historical memories" (Rawls, 1999b: 24–25). So Rawls thought of his theory and methodology as capable of dealing with multilingual polities, even though he himself did not delve into the subject.

3.   The linguistic territoriality principle: An overview

Using the aforementioned methodology, normative political philosophy aims to establish reasonable and acceptable criteria for assessing whether language policies are legitimate and just. One point of discussion in the linguistic justice debate concerns the proper normative reaction to the fact that many people derive identity from their native language: is this fact compelling enough to warrant recognitional measures? A second key issue is central to those who answer this question positively, and focuses on the various political methods and strategies for politically recognising language identity (De Schutter, 2014: 1034).

In this section of our chapter, we are concerned with the second discussion. A large part of the second discussion has taken place as a debate between the LTP and the LPP. Let us first focus on those scholars within the linguistic justice debate who have argued that languages ought to be recognised through the establishment of an LTP (Laponce, 1984, 2001; Van Parijs, 2000, 2008, 2011; Kymlicka, 2001a: 124–127, 2001b; Stojanović, 2010; Grin, 2011; Velaers, 2011; Bauböck, 2015).

Defenders of the LTP argue that languages should be territorially maintained, so that a state is divided into several territorial zones, whereby in each zone recognition is given to the language(s) of the majority of the territory. Language rights do not follow individual speakers, but are granted to territorial linguistic majorities. Within this school, three sub-models have been outlined:

–   The most popular version of the LTP is the **strictest**. It stipulates that each territorial unit should give public support to *only one* (non-immigrant)[4] language group (see also Grin, 2011: 29). The official language of the territory then becomes the

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4.   Whether languages of recent immigrants should be awarded the same status that established languages enjoy is a thorny issue on which an interesting debate has emerged (see for example Patten, 2014: 269–298), but which we leave aside here. The point of discussion is whether the model is the LTP or the LPP; whether one wants the recipients of either principle to include all groups of people or only some requires an extra, additional argument.

only admissible one for, for instance, policy domains such as public administration, parliamentary discussions, legal procedures and public education. Speakers of other languages do not receive public support for their language. This strict version is exemplified in most parts of Belgium and Switzerland (De Schutter, 2014: 1034–1035).

– A **weaker** version in which territorial units extend language rights to multiple groups, while still granting recognitional priority to some groups. The underlying principle is then unequal recognition. This version is exemplified in Quebec through its famous *Loi 101* (Bill 101) as well as in 27 Belgian *communes à facilités* or *faciliteitengemeenten* where one language group receives the lion's share of recognition but special rights are granted to another language group (De Schutter, 2014: 1049).

– A third version of the LTP may be called **dynamic**. It mandates territoriality (in either the strict or the weaker version) but qualifies that temporally and/or with regard to numbers. An example of this model is the 2006 language law introduced in the trilingual (German/Italian/Romansh) canton of the Grisons, Switzerland, where municipalities remain monolingual (e.g. Romansh) as long the share of the main language group is above 40% (Stojanović, 2010). If that is no longer the case, voters must decide – via an obligatory referendum with the simple majority rule (50%+1) – whether the municipality concerned will become bilingual (e.g. Romansh/German). If the share of the previously dominant language group drops below 20% an obligatory referendum with a supermajority rule (66.6%+1) is called in order to decide if the municipality should become monolingual (e.g. German). Further cases of the dynamic LTP include, for example, the language regime in Finland (Finnish vs. Swedish; see the 2003 Language Act) or, previously, Belgium where between 1932 and 1962 ten-yearly language censuses led to territorial shifts from the Dutch to the French language community.

Proponents of territoriality have so far focused on the positive role of the LTP in the recognition of language identity. Here are the three most important identity-based arguments that have been used in its defence (taken verbatim from De Schutter, 2014: 1038):

1. One argument states that only the LTP is capable of ensuring "parity of esteem" between peoples whose identities are closely associated to a language. To prevent the arrogant, "colonial" attitude whereby certain speakers expect others to always address them in their language, thereby forcing the others to "bow" symbolically, we can assign territories to language groups, in such a way that the bowing becomes reciprocal. Whenever you are on a language's territory you bow, and your language also has a territory (Van Parijs, 2011: 139–142; see also 2008: 24).

2. A second view argues that people live in linguistic and territorial societal cultures or nations which provide us with the ability to choose options, and which make these options meaningful to us. National language groups thus enable individual autonomy. This is a liberal argument for language rights. It argues that, since liberalism is centrally concerned about individual autonomy, it requires granting each national language group territorial and political autonomy, in order to enable group members to have access to their "context of choice" (Kymlicka, 1995: 75).

3. The third argument for territoriality is the language survival justification. The idea here is that people have an (identity) interest in the survival of their language on the territory on which they live. In this argument, accommodating only one language within a certain territory is capable of protecting vulnerable languages from disappearance on a particular territory. This has been argued in detail by the Canadian political scientist Jean Laponce. Laponce states that, in cases of peaceful contact between languages, the more powerful language tends to dominate and assimilate the other language(s) (2001: 188–189). Brussels seems like a good case in point: whereas the city contained predominantly Dutch-speakers at the end of the nineteenth century, after 100 years of intense language contacts between Dutch and French (and other languages), today most speak French. When a Dutch speaking person married a Francophone in Brussels, it was very likely that the children would be more fluent in French than in Dutch. After only one or two generations, Dutch may have entirely disappeared in this family. Van Parijs has aptly summarized this "Laponce-mechanism" as: "The nicer people are with one another, the nastier languages are with each other" (2000: 219). The rationale behind the LTP, then, is that it will seriously restrain the spontaneous process of language contact and language shift, and thereby protect the territorially protected language. As Van Parijs puts it: "To protect vulnerable languages, there is, under circumstances of high mobility, at best one effective strategy, the firm application of the linguistic territoriality principle: *cuius regio, eius lingua*" (2000: 219).

Beyond these identity arguments, it is also possible to identify non-identity arguments that have been brought forward in defence of the territoriality principle. One is the *pacification argument*. It states that firm and stable linguistic boundaries between officially monolingual units contributes to peace because, in an LTP setting that benefits their language, the "sons of the soil" have less reasons to feel linguistically threatened (see Van Parijs, 2011: §5.7 on the basis of the "sons of the soil" argument in Fearon and Laitin, 2011). At the same time, however, drawing lines between groups in ethnically disputed territories may also endanger rather than enhance stability, so the gains in pacification that are anticipated after lines have been

successfully drawn may be partially or completely offset by the anti-pacificatory effects of trying to establish those boundaries in the first place. Other, less controversial non-identity arguments for the principle include: higher *mobility* within the territorial unit; better chances to ensure effective *communication and deliberation* between all the inhabitants of the territory; greater possibilities of attaining *equal opportunities* in the job market; or a better basis for promoting *inclusive policies* due to linguistic homogenisation. These are, indeed, very similar arguments that have been advanced by scholars promoting *only* non-identity arguments for monolingual policies at the state-wide level (see Barry, 2001; Pogge, 2003).

In the literature, the most important contender for the LTP is linguistic pluralism. Linguistic pluralism is based on the idea that autochthonous (long-settled) language groups[5] are entitled to equal language recognition regardless of where their speakers happen to be located. Linguistic concentration and homogeneity are rare, and hybridity is a common feature in our plural societies. If we agree that language recognition can be based on identity interests, pluralists argue, we should offer it on an equal basis. Within this category, we distinguish three similar sub-models:

–   **The linguistic personality principle:** Language rights can be enjoyed by people independently of where they live within the state or the sub-state (De Schutter, 2014; Patten, 2014). It is a free choice model with low levels of coercion. A good example is Brussels: citizens can obtain documents, health services or educational facilities in either Dutch or French, and there is no strong requirement to learn and use more languages than those chosen by yourself.

–   **The multilingual convergence model:** all long-settled (non-migrant) languages should be territorially recognised on a more or less equal basis, promoting non-segregationist policies by enforcing the learning of all the languages by all citizens living under such a regime while coercively giving preference to the promotion and learning of the minority language(s) (Riera-Gil, 2016; Morales-Gálvez, 2017). Good examples of this model are Catalonia and Luxembourg.

–   **The separate recognition model:** like the first model, this model is coercive in that it does not allow people to select the language service of their choice by restricting or hindering assimilation between groups. It gives language rights to

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5.   We understand autochthonous groups as those whose language is spoken on a given territory and are 'historically rooted' (De Schutter, 2011: 201). Of course, it is not always easy to determine when a group should be considered as historically rooted and when not. However, following Kymlicka (1995), we will consider autochthonous language groups as those collectives ('national minorities') whose presence on a given territory goes back many centuries. This does not mean that immigrant languages are not also important. But for analytical and normative reasons the extension of language recognition to them is part of an additional debate that is orthogonal to the LTP/LPP discussion (see also Footnote 4).

two (or more) groups but limits a person's linguistic rights to the rights to his or her 'own' language. For example, Quebec's language laws (in particular Bill 101) enshrine language rights for both Francophones and Anglophones in Quebec, but do not allow Francophones to access all the English options. In particular, Bill 101 limits access to English public schools in Quebec to Anglophones, in order to prevent language shifts.[6]

4.   The linguistic principles metric: An ontology of territoriality

However, the aforementioned overview of the different versions of and arguments for linguistic territoriality may be misleading. It still leaves the way in which territoriality is understood (and the implications it may have) too open. What is at the conceptual and moral core of the territoriality principle? The first scholars who conceptualised the notion of *territoriality* were Kloss (1977) and, especially, McRae (1975) (see also Branchadell, 2005; Riera-Gil, 2018). For McRae (1975: 33), "the principle of territoriality means that the rules of language to be applied in a given situation will depend solely on the territory in question; the principle of personality means that the rules will depend on the linguistic status of the person or persons concerned". However, this definition may be misleading, because, as argued above, it does not allow a clear distinction between personality and territoriality. Considering that any policy, including linguistic personality, is exercised territorially – i.e. within a given territorial jurisdiction – territoriality cannot be fundamentally characterised by making the "rules of language … depend solely on the territory in question" as stated by McRae (1975: 33).

Despite this conceptual confusion, territoriality is rather a common concept within language politics. Public intellectuals and politicians regularly invoke it in countries like Belgium, Canada, Ethiopia, Spain, or Switzerland. The concept is also paramount in the linguistic justice discussion in normative political theory. This is the case with Philippe Van Parijs (2011), the major defender of the territoriality principle as a *territorially differentiated coercive regime*. For him, languages should

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6.   In this chapter, Quebec features as an example of weak territoriality. In granting higher recognition to French on the territory than English while still publicly recognising both languages, it exemplifies weak territoriality. But in so far as it hinders assimilation through language shifts to English, by restricting access to English public schools for Francophones, it is also an example of assimilation-avoiding coercive personality. It would be possible for Quebec to abandon its territoriality and recognise both languages on an equal basis, while still being coercive in its hindrance of language shifts between the groups. Bill 101 could feature in a linguistically pluralistic Quebec structured by linguistic personality. And Bill 101-like laws could also be implemented in Catalonia or Brussels without turning these latter two cases into territoriality regimes.

be territorially promoted, so that each particular territory gives public support to *only one* particular language group. As explained before, we can find similar interpretations in the work of Will Kymlicka (2001a) and Jean Laponce (1984).

Van Parijs's understanding of territoriality has been so fundamental within the linguistic justice debate that all those who argue against the LTP have done it by implicitly accepting his interpretation. In contrast with Van Parijs, scholars such as Helder De Schutter (2008, 2014) and Alan Patten (2014) argue for the equal recognition of (identity-based) language rights. For them, Van Parijs's understanding of territoriality would undermine individuals' fair background conditions for language choice, and hence their individual autonomy and equal status (or dignity) as citizens. On what grounds, De Schutter asks (2008, 2011, 2014), are public institutions entitled to territorially recognise and promote only one language group and not the others?

Considering all the arguments at stake, it seems to us that there are two elements at the core of the LTP as understood by its proponents: (1) territoriality should be coercive and (2) it should promote monolingual policies. We will call these 'metrics of territoriality':

– The *linguistic coerciveness metric* concerns the level of coercion of the language policy in a range of spheres, especially the obligation to learn and use a particular language in public education and public communication.[7] Linguistic coerciveness is one pole of the continuum that, at the opposite end, is characterised by the free-choice ideal (no coercion or intervention by the state). So this is not a dualist metric. There are gradations between maximum coercion and the free-choice ideal. The latter is marked by the possibility of choosing between different languages, such as between Dutch- and French-language public schools in Brussels. A coercive policy, however, would restrict school

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7. According to Van Parijs (2011: 134), "under a coercive regime, the law imposes an official language, that is stipulates which language (or which pair or small set of languages) is to be used as the medium of public education in a sense that need not be restricted to publicly organised education but can cover any form of education that qualifies for the school obligation; and as the medium of public communication: the language in which laws are published, courts operate, public media broadcast, official information is disseminated, elections are organised and proceedings are conducted in local, regional, or national assemblies, sometimes also the language of commercial messages in public spaces and of formal business in large private firms." Additionally, for Van Parijs, coerciveness is a matter of degree, depending on the extent, ambition, generality and severity of this coerciveness. We endorse Van Parijs's understanding of linguistic coercion and we consider these four elements that he identifies as relevant when deciding whether the degree of coercion is really useful. However, we lack the space to apply them in this chapter. As indicated later in the chapter, we accept that coercion is a matter of degree, not a dyadic concept.

choice or make the knowledge and use of a particular language mandatory. In almost all of Wallonia, for example, only French-language public schools can be found; conversely, in almost all of Flanders public schools operate only in Dutch. Quebec is more coercive than Brussels because of its use of Bill 101. But it is less coercive than Wallonia or Flanders, since at least for the Anglophone minority it allows the possibility of attending public schools that operate in English if certain conditions are met.

– The *linguistic diversity metric* concerns the number and the equal extent of language recognition in a given society. This metric ranges from *linguistic monism*, where only one language is publicly recognised and promoted by institutions, to *linguistic pluralism*, where more than one language has such official status, and all have it *equally*. Here too, gradations are possible. For instance, the weak version of territoriality mentioned above is somewhere in the middle between monism and pluralism: whereas both languages get some measure of recognition, one or more of them get preferential treatment.

Considering that Van Parijs, and other scholars (Laponce, 1984; Kymlicka, 1995) who have endorsed his framework, characterise territoriality with reference to these two metrics, we will now ask how compatible they are, i.e. how they relate to each other theoretically. Table 17.1 illustrates the various options.

Table 17.1 Compatibility between the two metrics

		Linguistic Diversity Metric	
		Linguistic Monism	*Linguistic Pluralism*
Linguistic	*Linguistic Coercion*	Yes	Yes
Coerciveness Metric	*Linguistic Free Choice*	No	Yes

Linguistic coercion is logically consistent with all linguistic diversity options. One can imagine both a coercive monist regime promoting just one language (for instance, French in France) and a coercive pluralism regime promoting more than one such as Finland (promoting, depending on the demographical situation, both Finnish and Swedish). Conversely, this is not the case with the free-choice ideal. Whereas one can imagine a linguistic pluralist regime free from linguistic coercion (as a kind of laissez-faire ideal), this is not the case with linguistic monism. Linguistic monism is coercive by definition, for it only gives public recognition to one language group: schools, police services, or state messages therefore cannot occur in any other language between which free choice is possible.

In Table 17.2, we attempt to situate in this framework the contributions made by various scholars.

Table 17.2 Positions within the linguistic justice debate

		Linguistic Diversity Metric	
		Linguistic Monism	*Linguistic Pluralism**
Linguistic Coerciveness Metric	*Linguistic Coercion*	Van Parijs, Kymlicka, Laponce, Bauböck *(all of them defending the LTP).***	Riera-Gil, Morales-Gálvez *(both defending the multilingual convergence model)*, Gagnon *(separate recognition model)*, May, Stojanović, De Schutter, Réaume
	Linguistic Free-Choice		Patten, De Schutter, Réaume *(linguistic personality principle)*.

* Some scholars appear in more than one box. This is because they are linguistic pluralists, open to different levels of coercion as long as the linguistic regime is plural.

** There are scholars, such as François Grin (1994), who have defended the territoriality principle on pluralist/multilingual grounds. In our view they cannot be labelled as monists, and so would fit better into the linguistic pluralist box.

It is important to mention that the LTP, as stated by Van Parijs and others (Laponce, Kymlicka), endorses both linguistic coercion and linguistic monism. One might ask, however, whether both metrics are central to the territoriality principle. If we want to develop an ontology of the LTP, this is an important question.

Following John Rawls' reflective equilibrium as stated in Section 2, our answer is negative. Although linguistic coerciveness is a necessary condition for territoriality, it does not distinguish territoriality from other models. It is the linguistic diversity metric, we argue, that should be considered the core of the LTP.

As Table 17.1 shows, one could imagine a coercive linguistically pluralist regime. Such pluralist coercion is possible in two ways, as discussed above. One is illustrated by the approach advocated by Morales-Gálvez (2017), where the two groups are forced to share all public services including education (non-segregation policies) and be fully proficient in both languages, with stronger preference for the promotion and learning of the minority language. This model does not leave much room for linguistic free choice in some spheres of public life. The second possibility is for coercion to be applied to each group separately without such language-crossing initiatives; here each member of a language group is forced to learn or even stay within the language community, e.g. through such policies as making language shifts hard or use of services designed for the other community burdensome. Quebec's Bill 101, which limits access to English schools to the Anglophone minority in Quebec, goes in this direction. Both options make clear that there is nothing intrinsically territorial about coerciveness (although it is still necessary for the LTP): coercion can be equally applied to those defending the opposite of territoriality (as recognised by Van Parijs, 2011: 136).

In short, we believe the diversity metric is the crucial one. It is conceptually clearer, we think, to understand a territorial language regime as one stipulating that each territory should contain and officially recognise only (or predominantly) one language, and is thus characterised by institutional monolingualism, whereas the opposing pluralist view says that more than one language can be contained and recognised within a given region, so that territories should endorse institutional bi- or multilingualism. It is monism (or monolingualism) that is really at the core of the model. In this regard, the aforementioned weak or dynamic versions of the LTP cannot be considered as a fundamental part of the LTP, because they recognise more than one language within the territory.

If we are right, one may ask whether we should keep using the term linguistic *territoriality* at all. If the conceptual essence of the LTP is its institutional monolingualism, should it not more properly be called the institutional or official monolingualism principle? This question becomes even more pressing if we accept the point made above about the intrinsic territoriality of policymaking in the current world order: even a policy of personality or pluralism must be territorially accommodated. As a mode of governance, territoriality applies both to the LTP and to linguistic pluralism.

While we do hold the view that territoriality is indeed a misnomer, and that what is really at stake is a discussion about whether language policy within a territory should be officially monolingual or multilingual, there are two reasons for sticking to the term linguistic territoriality. The first reason is that what motivates territoriality defenders is the idea that the language group can lay claim to a territory: the 'grab a territory' view, as Van Parijs (2008) used to call it. The idea is that each language group is to have its own territorial unit in which it can be the 'queen' or in the top position (Van Parijs, 2011: §5.5). As we have seen, what really matters is that a monolingual policy is applied in that territory, so that not just the territory belongs to the group, but more specifically the group will only recognise one language there. But the idea is of course that in the territory assigned to the group (*cuius regio eius lingua*) it will indeed only recognise its own language, and the idea that the group is assigned its own territory remains a strong and captivating way of expressing this institutionally monolingual mindset.

The second reason is nominalism: words are not essences but refer to ideas. We should not get hung up about words; what we should discuss is the ideas the words stand for. If what is at stake in territoriality is monolingualism, but everyone still uses the word territoriality for this, and this term has been widely used in theory and in practice, then it is not only practically but also intellectually futile to go against this widespread usage. What is important is not that we change the word but that we realise what it stands for; and if we have been able to clarify the monolingual meaning of the territoriality principle, our endeavour has succeeded.

5.   Discussion

The key approach of the MIME project, of which this book is a reflection, has been the analysis of multilingualism and language policy through the lens of mobility and inclusion. What implications can this conceptualisation have for mobility and inclusion? And what broader implications can this finding have for the multilingual challenge faced by our societies and how to deal with it?

Against the background of the ontology developed in this chapter, our finding here is twofold. First, in territorially monolingual zones, where essentially one major language group is present and minorities are scarce, the LTP would clearly privilege the principle of inclusion over that of inter-regional mobility. LTP's promotion of one territorial language would reinforce inclusion and intra-regional mobility within the political community, but at the expense of mobility beyond it. Second, in multilingual areas, monolingual policies may negatively affect inclusion.

Consider Europe: if each member state only recognises and promotes one local language, this would negatively affect the mobility of citizens within Europe. So, while intra-territorial mobility is enhanced, inter-territorial mobility will become worse given the lesser likelihood that everyone shares a common inter-territorial language. Such intra-territorial mobility is good for inclusion, but bad for inter-territorial mobility. On the other hand, the monolingual tendencies of territoriality can reinforce inclusion because everyone would learn and use the same language regardless of their mother tongue. Such inclusion, understood as a linguistic homogenisation process, may help to include everyone as part of a common community. This may be considered especially relevant concerning immigrants: including them as part of the community is uncontroversially considered crucial. However, things are different with respect to internal autochthonous minorities. Monolingual policies can negatively affect such local linguistic minorities, marginalising them and undermining social cohesion.[8] To sum up, our understanding of the territoriality principle has major implications both for the crucial issues of mobility and inclusion and for how to deal with the multilingual challenge.

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8.   For research arguing that 'multicultural' recognition facilitates integration of minorities, see Levrau and Loobuyck (2013). This is not, however, a closed empirical debate. There is still controversy about the usefulness of multicultural policies in relation to social cohesion.

6.   Conclusion

The LTP is one of the most popular concepts both among theorists and political practitioners of language policy. However, a range of different meanings have been attached to it, leading to conceptual and normative confusion. In this chapter we have addressed such confusion and spelled out a more concrete conceptualization of the LTP. Our main research question has been the following: *what is at the conceptual and moral core of the territoriality principle?*

Using the analytical tools of normative political philosophy, and considering all the arguments put forward in the literature, we argue that there are two possible elements at the core of the LTP: (1) coercion (captured by the *linguistic coerciveness metric*) and (2) institutional monolingualism (captured by the *linguistic diversity metric)*. We have called these 'metrics of territoriality'. However, although linguistic coerciveness seems to be a necessary condition for territoriality, it does not distinguish territoriality from other models. What is really at the core is the diversity metric. In a nutshell, we argue that linguistic territoriality should be understood as a language regime stipulating that each territory should contain and officially recognise only (or predominantly) one language – in short, institutional monolingualism.

This new conceptualisation based on the 'metrics of territoriality' opens up new ways to assess language policies from a normative point of view. For instance, it would enable us to evaluate different existing language regimes (i.e. in EU member states) in the light of their levels of coercion and accommodation of their linguistic diversity. New normative considerations should be taken into account if we include these diversity/coerciveness dimensions when approaching language policies and regimes in our diverse world. This is especially true if we consider these metrics as a complex non-dyadic way to measure and assess diversity and coercion. Future research should be done in further developing these measures and metrics to ensure more refined normative and conceptual assessments.

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CHAPTER 18

Justifying language policies in mobile societies

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A conception of linguistic justice refers to a set of moral principles that can
provide guidance about a society's language policies. By the lights of a recently
prominent strand of liberal political theory, such a conception will be legitimate
if and only if it meets certain standards of public justification. Amongst other
things, this means that it must be arrived at by way of a legitimate procedure and
its principles must be ones that no one could reasonably reject. This chapter ex-
plores the potential of this ideal for mobile and multilingual societies in Europe
by developing three arguments. First, we argue that in order to be legitimate, a
conception of linguistic justice must be justifiable to a relevant constituency and
that, in EU member states, this includes mobile Europeans as well as the citizens
of member states. Second, we argue that, in circumstances of linguistic diversity,
the requirements of public justification generate a presumption in favour of mul-
tilingual deliberative procedures. Third, we argue that when selecting principles
of justice we ought to prioritise the interests of the least advantaged, and that do-
ing so will often mean that only a multilingual language regime is acceptable.

1.   Introduction

A conception of linguistic justice refers to a set of moral principles that can provide
guidance about a society's language policies. How should the members of liberal
democracies settle on a conception for their societies and institutions? By the stand-
ards of liberal political theory, language policies – like other public policies and the
design of political institutions – should be justifiable to people who are subject to
them. In mobile societies, however, the membership of the political community
is porous, meaning that the identity of the constituency to whom justification is
owed is constantly in flux, as are the languages spoken there.[1] Can any conception

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1.   Yael Peled's (2018) 'adaptive' approach to linguistic justice also emphasises the dynamism of
linguistic environments.

of linguistic justice be justified in such circumstances? And if so, what kinds of conception might be justifiable?

We address these questions from the perspective of normative political philosophy, and specifically from a contractualist point of view. Contractualism, as we understand it, holds that the validity of political (and other) principles depends on their being justifiable to others. The kind of justification that contractualists are interested in is hypothetical – what matters is that we be able to justify our political principles to people who, like us, are motivated by an ideal of finding principles that can be justified to all (Scanlon, 1998: 191).

The contractualist idea of 'justifiability to others' has been developed in two different ways. First, following Rawls (1996), public reason liberals have argued that political principles ought to be supported by reasons that are suitably 'public', in the sense that they are based on ideas or values that near-enough everyone can accept. Upholding this ideal of 'public justification' means excluding a particular category of (non-public) reasons from political deliberation, such as reasons that can only be accepted by one's co-religionists. Second, and following Scanlon (1998) and Barry (1996), contractualists have also proposed that political principles are valid provided that no one has reasonable grounds to reject them – i.e. grounds that could be justified to others. This principle has the effect of giving people a kind of veto over the principles and rules that govern them.

In this chapter we explore the implications of both of these varieties of contractualism for language policies in European societies and for the European Union. In particular, we defend three theoretical claims in Section 4 and draw out some of their implications for Europe in Section 5. The first of these is that, in order to be legitimate, a conception of linguistic justice must be justifiable to the right kind of constituency. In EU member states, this includes mobile Europeans as well as national citizens. The second claim is that, in linguistically diverse societies, the requirements of public justification generate a presumption in favour of multilingual deliberative procedures. Finally, the third claim is that principles of linguistic justice must be justifiable to the least advantaged members of society, and this has implications for the selection of a language regime. Before we explain and defend these claims we situate our chapter within the wider project of combining mobility and inclusion in a multilingual Europe (Section 2) and describe some of the technical vocabulary we employ (Section 3).

2.   Mobility and inclusion in linguistic justice

In this chapter we seek to explain how a conception of linguistic justice could satisfy the requirements of public justification. We focus on conceptions of linguistic justice, rather than individual language policies, because a conception of linguistic justice provides an integrated and coherent framework from which to assess a range of different questions that themselves are usually treated separately. For example, consider Alan Patten's 'equal recognition' conception of linguistic justice (2014: 186–231). This conception has direct implications for the design of a language regime (he favours a 'prorated' version of official multilingualism) as well as both direct and indirect implications for assorted other language policy issues, including, for example, the funding of minority language broadcasters, the design of road signage, and the provision of minority language schooling. It is not part of our remit here to assess this particular conception, or indeed any other. Rather, we want to explain when it would be legitimate to coercively impose one such view and to identify some of the constraints a society will face when selecting its own conception.

Alongside introducing these kinds of issues into discussions of language policy, the other main innovation of our chapter consists in thinking through some of the theoretical challenges raised by mobility when it comes to justifying a conception of linguistic justice. As emphasised throughout this collection, mobility challenges the traditional association made between particular languages and particular regions or territories. In a similar way, it also poses a profound challenge for normative political philosophy, at least in its (dominant) liberal and contractualist traditions, which typically proceed from assumptions that it puts into question, for instance about societies being 'closed' (Rawls, 1999) and population groups being 'homogeneous' (Kymlicka, 1995). Dropping these assumptions, as we do in this chapter, raises difficult questions about how political decisions and institutions can be justified to societies whose membership is dynamic rather than static.

Furthermore, and as we emphasise in 4.1, many political theorists sympathetic to multiculturalism distinguish between the claims of long-settled minority groups and those of immigrants, arguing that language rights are suitable only for the former, since extending them to the latter would open a 'Pandora's box'. Against this tendency, in the following we seek to establish that it is possible to defend language rights for long-settled minorities whilst at the same time also doing justice to the linguistic interests of migrants. In this way, we demonstrate one way in which the demands of both mobility and inclusion can be reconciled. Mobility, for our purposes, stands for the challenges of justifying political decisions when it can no longer be assumed that the members of a society share the same language and culture, or even that the linguistic and cultural identities found in society will remain the same over time. Meanwhile, inclusion stands for the requirement that

a coercively-sustained conception of linguistic justice, one that is enforced by the state and its agencies, must be justified to everyone who is subject to it, including newcomers.

3. Key concepts and tools

In this chapter we draw on two intellectual traditions that are not often combined – language policy analysis and contractualist political philosophy. Because readers familiar with one tradition are unlikely to be conversant with the other, we here explain some of the terminology used elsewhere in the chapter.

A conception of linguistic justice refers to a set of principles for normatively evaluating a linguistic environment (Shorten, 2018). Following Grin (2003: 178) we use the term 'linguistic environment' to refer to the 'sum total' of a society's 'demolinguistic and sociolinguistic features'. A linguistic environment is normatively significant because people can be advantaged or disadvantaged according to how well their language repertoire 'fits' with it (Shorten, 2017; Carey, 2019). In turn, the ways in which a linguistic environment advantages or disadvantages different people will be strongly influenced by public policies regarding the use, acquisition and status of different languages, including formal rules about which languages are to be recognised as official and used for official purposes (following Pool (1996) we refer to these rules as 'language regimes').

In the end, a conception of linguistic justice is of practical use if it can provide recommendations about language policies and language regimes. In this chapter we focus mainly on how people might justify choices about language regimes to one another, though much of what we say also applies to language policies more broadly. This focus is consistent with the existing philosophical literature on linguistic justice, which has been preoccupied with the question of when the speakers of minority languages are entitled to have their language recognised (see, for example, Patten, 2014; De Schutter, forthcoming). Furthermore, it is justified because decisions about which languages to allow in courts, bureaucracies and the legislature, about which languages to use when communicating with the general public, and about what forms of translation and interpretation should be publicly provided, have significant economic and political effects, both for political institutions themselves and for the speakers of different languages.

It is not only states and bodies like the EU that have language regimes and policies – voluntary associations and firms have them too. However, the former stand in special need of justification, because only they are truly coercive (Shorten, 2018). The necessity of justifying the use of coercive power explains why we turn to contractualism, since it is based on the idea that people who face the prospect

of political coercion must have the opportunity to understand and criticise the justifications offered in support of such policies. This requirement of 'accessibility' is supported by both practical and principled reasons. In practical terms, the more people who have the opportunity to engage in meaningful public deliberation, the more likely it will be that we select good policies and reject bad ones, and the more likely it will be that people come to accept the legitimacy of the chosen policies which they themselves had a part in choosing. In principled terms, it is fundamentally disrespectful to presume to coerce other people without providing them with the reasons for their coercion and without giving them the opportunity to participate as equals in the deliberation process.

4. Liberalism and the justification of language policies

4.1 To whom must a conception of linguistic justice be justified?

Who is entitled to have a say when it comes to selecting a conception of linguistic justice? For contractualists, answering this question requires establishing who belongs to the relevant 'justificatory community' – i.e. the constituency to whom justifications are owed. Because people have different interests and preferences about linguistic matters, we might end up with very different recommendations about which language policies or regimes to adopt, depending on how this question is answered.

Some academics and activists emphasise the interests of speakers of autochthonous minority languages, to the point of implying that they are the only people to whom language policies must be justified. Although understandable, such a view is clearly flawed from a contractualist perspective. At the least, a conception of linguistic justice must also be justified to citizens who speak the locally dominant language(s), since they too will be shaped by it and will have to do their part in implementing and maintaining it.[2]

We believe that even this view is nevertheless too narrow, since it excludes people such as migrants, who are not full members of the political community in question but who are nevertheless subject to its coercive rules. Including them will no doubt influence which conception of linguistic justice is selected, in particular by calling into question the deeply rooted hierarchy between long-settled languages and those spoken by newcomers. This hierarchy is implicit in nearly all public discussions of language policies, in which it is taken for granted that the interests of immigrants are satisfied by some combination of what Alan Patten has called 'toleration' and

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2. In saying that a conception of linguistic justice must be justifiable to all we do not mean to imply that everyone has an equal interest in each particular language policy.

'accommodation' rights (Patten, 2014: 190–191).[3] Meanwhile, official recognition, or what Ruth Rubio-Marín (2003: 67) has called language rights in the 'strict sense', are reserved for speakers of long-settled languages.

Most political philosophers who have written on language policy seem to think that this hierarchy is justified, and influential advocates of language rights in the 'strict sense' for national minorities have sought to explain why the same rights can legitimately be withheld from immigrants (see, for example, Kymlicka, 1995: 95–100; Van Parijs, 2011: 149–151; Patten, 2014: 269–297; an exception is De Schutter, forthcoming, Chapter 5). The most famous example of such a justification was proposed by Kymlicka, who argued that crossing a border is one of the ways in which people can waive their cultural rights because, as he puts it, "[i]n deciding to uproot themselves, immigrants voluntarily relinquish some of the rights that go along with their original national membership" (Kymlicka, 1995: 96). In a sophisticated refinement of this argument, Patten (2014: 285–293) further suggested that host societies are morally permitted to make relinquishing one's language rights a condition for entry, both because existing citizens have legitimate expectations that their linguistic environment not be dramatically altered and because existing citizens are entitled "to show some level of partiality to their own languages" (2014: 291).

These arguments have been criticised forcefully elsewhere (e.g. Carens, 2000: 80–87). Whatever their merits, it is clear that they do not apply to the situation of all migrants. In particular, they do not apply to mobile Europeans (citizens of one EU member state who live and work in another). This is because requiring them to waive their language rights as a condition of entering another European state would unfairly burden their free movement rights. It would mean that availing oneself of the option to live and work in another European state would come at the cost of sacrificing a significant portion of one's interest in the character of one's linguistic environment.

Consequently, when it comes to justifying language regimes and language policies, EU member states ought not to discriminate in favour of their own citizens, and the language interests of mobile citizens should also be accounted for, on equal terms.[4] As a consequence, mobile Europeans might be entitled to a more extensive

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3.   Toleration rights are rights to have one's private language choices tolerated. Accommodation rights are rights to facilitate the inclusion of people who do not speak the majority language(s), such as by providing translation services in public bureaucracies.

4.   Perhaps the language interests of other resident 'third country' nationals, who do not hold EU citizenship, should also be treated on a par with the language interests of EU citizens. The model we develop in this paper is agnostic about this proposal, since it focusses only on the special case of mobile Europeans. However, nothing we say is incompatible with a presumption of equal standing for all immigrants.

set of language rights than is typically believed, and some of the potential implications of this will be discussed in Section 5.[5]

4.2 What constitutes fair access to public deliberation in multilingual societies?

Proponents of liberal theories of political legitimacy have typically assumed (implicitly) that public deliberation is monolingual, or that multilingualism poses no significant problems for the deliberative process.[6] It is clear, however, that deliberators' abilities to access and participate in deliberative institutions will be significantly affected by the languages in which they are able to deliberate. Thus, conceptions of linguistic justice shape access to the very procedures by which they are supposed to be selected. This presents a unique challenge for theories of political legitimacy: how can we be certain that access to public deliberation is fair in a multilingual (and mobile) society?

Equal access to public deliberation can be undermined in many ways, but our focus here is specifically on the ways that fair access can be undermined by decisions about which languages to permit in the relevant deliberative procedures. In other words, under what circumstances might a person have a legitimate complaint of injustice because the choice of language (or languages) in which she must deliberate imposes an unjust disadvantage upon her?

In answering this question we can consider whether the deliberative procedures under consideration are designed in a way that suggests neutrality (or impartiality) among deliberators' linguistic preferences and interests. Neutrality plays a central role in liberal theories of political legitimacy (see, for example, Peter, 2017), and a neutral procedure is one that does not presuppose a particular conception of the good (about which reasonable people might disagree). Thus, when considering political institutions (including deliberative institutions) in a society characterised by religious pluralism, for example, secular institutions are typically thought to satisfy

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5. According to some scholars, even this expanded constituency is too narrow, and nothing less than a global one will do, since language policies adopted in one place can affect people living elsewhere (Van Parijs, 2011: 24–27) However, this view is arguably too broad, since it fails to acknowledge the special interests that people have in their own institutions, and especially coercive state institutions.

6. For example, the foundational text for liberal theories of political legitimacy – John Rawls's *A Theory of Justice* – contains no significant discussion of linguistic pluralism, an omission that is repeated in more recent defences of political liberalism such as Gaus (2011) and Quong (2011). Recent exceptions to this general trend are Bonotti (2016), Peled and Bonotti (2016), and Carey (2020).

the demands of political legitimacy (see, for example, Laborde, 2017: 113–159). In contrast, there might seem to be no equivalent 'secular option' when it comes to deciding which languages should form the basis of a deliberative procedure. All deliberation must take place in some language(s), and doing so is likely to disadvantage some people in multilingual societies (regardless of which conception of linguistic advantage one endorses).

However, rather than abandon neutrality as a test of legitimacy, we should reconceptualise what it means to be neutral in cases where we are forced to make a decision that will inevitably benefit some people over others. In such cases, it is still possible to treat all parties with impartiality to the extent that we are able to choose how advantage is distributed. Therefore, the fact that we must use some language(s) to deliberate tells us nothing yet about *which* languages we ought to use, nor does it permit us to use just any language(s) at all. A deliberative procedure may still fail to be neutral/impartial if some people's preferences or interests are not recognised at all, or if they are assigned unequal weight when compared to the similar claims of others.

In this context, to take a person's claims into account in the appropriate way is to properly recognise the moral significance of the benefits and burdens associated with deliberating about conceptions of linguistic justice in a particular language or languages. Most obviously, we must recognise that individuals can be disadvantaged when forced to deliberate in a language in which they find it more difficult to express themselves. Less obviously, individuals may wish to deliberate in particular languages for non-instrumental reasons (for example, a person who wishes to deliberate in Irish or Welsh despite finding it easier to express themselves in English). Even this latter type of case can affect a person's ability to participate in public deliberation, given the symbolic effects of being forced to argue in favour of one language through the medium of another.

If a commitment to legitimacy entails a commitment to neutrality, and a commitment to neutrality entails taking each person's interests into account in the appropriate way, what are the implications for the structure of our deliberative procedures? In multilingual societies, monolingual deliberative procedures will tend to assign the greatest advantage to one group in particular. In contrast, multilingual procedures will tend to disperse this advantage to some extent, so that monolingual speakers incur additional costs and members of other language groups enjoy corresponding benefits, all else being equal.[7]

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7. We emphasise that these general tendencies do not provide an all-things-considered reason to favour multilingual over monolingual procedures, but rather serve to establish a general presumption in favour of multilingual procedures. We do not rule out the possibility that such a presumption may be overruled, but insist that any deviation from multilingual procedures must be justified in light of this presumption.

This points toward an asymmetry between enforcing monolingualism upon those who object and enforcing multilingualism upon those who object. Given that we must choose between the two when deciding the terms of deliberation about conceptions of linguistic justice, we can choose multilingualism not on the basis that it represents the correct conception of linguistic justice (since this would be to beg a question that the deliberative process is supposed to answer), but on the basis that it tends to be less harmful to be subjected to multilingualism if one prefers monolingualism, than it is to be subjected to monolingualism if one prefers multilingualism, all else being equal.

This presumption in favour of multilingualism must be *provisional*, for two reasons. First, given that deliberative policies in the real world emerge from non-ideal deliberative procedures, we have reason to be cautious about the status quo, whatever the status quo happens to be, on the basis that the processes through which it was created were not originally governed by norms of public reason. This raises the possibility that the status quo is biased in ways that may be difficult for us to identify, but which can be mitigated against by regarding our conclusions as open to revision. A second reason to adopt a provisional approach is the fact that the linguistic profiles and preferences of our justificatory communities will inevitably change over time. This is true of individuals whose preferences change with time but also of migrants who enter or leave the community, adding or subtracting their perspectives in ways that can only be accommodated by deliberative procedures that are ongoing and open to renegotiation.

It is important to note also that we do not claim there could never be circumstances where an all-things-considered assessment of the linguistic repertoires and preferences of those involved calls for monolingual deliberative procedures. We do think that such circumstances are likely to be extremely rare, and that the above considerations should lead us to adopt a general presumption in favour of multilingual deliberative procedures. It is important to note as well that such a conclusion does not necessarily imply that all languages spoken within a particular society ought to be included as part of multilingual deliberative procedures, nor that each language should necessarily be given equal representation.[8] Our conclusion in this section is more modest than that, yet still significant in that it suggests that any society characterised by significant levels of linguistic diversity should favour multilingual

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8. Having established a general presumption in favour of multilingual deliberative procedures, it is of course a further important question what precise form such procedures should take in any particular context. For example, we may wish to opt for an approach that distributes "deliberative resources" in a way that is proportionate to the different sizes of the language groups in question, or in a way that prioritises the most socioeconomically disadvantaged groups. We take no firm stance on this further question here.

over monolingual deliberative procedures. With a general presumption in favour of multilingual deliberative procedures, we now turn to considering further normative constraints that affect the legitimacy of principles of linguistic justice.

4.3   What normative constraints does contractualism impose on the selection of a language regime?

A language regime, it should be remembered, refers to a set of official languages and a set of rules regulating their use. Here we identify some normative constraints faced by political bodies when selecting a language regime. In the subsections below, we describe and justify an abstract model to illustrate these constraints. Later, in Section 5, we discuss the implications of our model for the European Union.

The model we describe has two main parts. First, we argue that a language regime is acceptable if it conforms to particular principles of linguistic justice. These are principles that satisfy a test suggested by a combination of Scanlon's idea of 'reasonable rejectability' and Parfit's 'priority view'. Second, we argue that principles of linguistic justice ought to be concerned with the economic and political effects of a language regime, and that a language regime ought to be disallowed if it has effects that would not be permitted by a principle that satisfies the tests set out in the first subsection ("Reasonable rejection and the priority view"). This model is limited in two significant respects. First, it is concerned only with the economic and political effects of language regimes and not with their symbolic effects. Second, it assumes political boundaries – though not populations – are fixed (so, for instance, secession as a solution to linguistic differences is ruled out).

Reasonable rejection and the priority view
The motivating idea behind our proposal is that a language regime should be rejected if it would be disallowed by a principle that no member of the (multilingual) justificatory community could reasonably reject. This is an adaptation of a general thesis proposed by Scanlon.[9] For him, and for us too, a principle is one that cannot reasonably be rejected if the only grounds people have for objecting to it cannot be justified to others. In particular, as Scanlon observes, it would be unreasonable "to reject a principle because it imposed a burden on you when every alternative principle would impose a much greater burden on others" (Scanlon, 1982: 111). Meanwhile, if someone has 'reasonable' grounds to reject a particular principle, i.e. grounds that can be justified to others, then the principle lacks validity.

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9.   "An act is wrong if its performance under the circumstances would be disallowed by any set of principles for the general regulation of behaviour that no one could reasonably reject as a basis for informed, unforced, general agreement" (Scanlon, 1998: 153).

It might sometimes be reasonable to reject a principle because of the burdens it imposes upon you. However, a person does not have reasonable grounds to reject a principle just because it burdens them, if it is also the case that every alternative to it would be even worse for other people. The general gist of this idea, and some of its implications, can be illustrated by considering the proposal that all citizens ought to make a fair contribution to supporting all officially recognised languages. This principle, which we can call the *universal fair contribution principle*, does not specify how many or which languages are to receive official recognition, or even whether each recognised language is to be recognised equally. Nevertheless, someone might object to it because whilst they are willing to accept languages other than their own being granted public recognition, they would prefer not to subsidise them, since to do so is costly and does not directly benefit them. For instance, it is perhaps for reasons like this that some English-speakers in the UK object to financially supporting Welsh, Scottish Gaelic or Irish.

Is this objection reasonable? To establish whether it is so, we must consider the alternative principles and ask whether anyone else would suffer a greater burden under them. For the sake of simplicity, let us suppose that there are only two of these. First is the *self-funding principle*, which says that no one should be required to subsidise recognition of a language that is not their own. True, some speakers of majority languages may do better under this principle than they would under the *universal fair contribution principle*. However, the members of language groups with few resources would fare much worse, since they would have to make significant sacrifices to get whatever share of recognition they are owed. Second is the *universal equal contribution principle*, which says that all citizens ought to make the same contribution to supporting each officially recognised language. This principle too could impose a greater burden than the *universal fair contribution principle* on particular groups, in this case people with few resources, if paying their share would require them to sacrifice a greater proportion of their income. Putting all of this together, at least on the basis of the details specified above, it would be unreasonable to reject the *universal fair contribution principle* on the grounds that it would be costly for you, since all of the available alternatives are more costly for others. Someone could not justify rejecting the *universal fair contribution principle* to people who themselves would be made worse off by any alternative to it.

The effect of the test of reasonable rejectability is to give everyone a kind of veto over potential principles of linguistic justice (Barry, 1996: 67–72). It is only a 'kind of' veto because it cannot be exercised arbitrarily, but only for specific kinds of reasons, namely ones that could be justified to everyone else. At this stage an additional bit of complexity remains to be added to our model, which is that someone's grounds for rejecting a principle are stronger the worse off that person is. We derive this from Parfit's 'priority view', which says that benefitting a person

matters more, morally speaking, the worse off she is (Parfit, 1997). The intuitive appeal of the priority view can be illustrated by the widely endorsed belief that a small benefit for a badly-off person can be of greater moral value than a larger benefit for a well-off person.

When combined with a test of reasonable rejectability, the priority view gives special weight to the interests of the least advantaged, and this has significant implications for our model. These can be illustrated by returning to the previous example. When we compared the first two principles, we suggested that although both principles burdened different groups of people, the second principle imposed a greater burden than the first, and for that reason was worse. However, incorporating the priority view into our model means that we might sometimes reverse that judgement, and instead prefer the principle that imposes the greater burden, if the group burdened by it are better off than the group burdened by the lesser burden.

Assessing the distributive effects of language regimes

Now that the general features of our model have been set out, we can explain how it provides guidance about the selection of language regimes. Language regimes have important economic and political effects and, simplifying somewhat, the principles that might disallow a given language regime concern the distribution of those effects.[10] The economic effects of a language regime consist in both its operational costs (e.g. providing translation and interpretation services) and its adoption costs (i.e. supplementary language learning for people whose languages are not officially recognised).[11] Meanwhile, the political effects of a language regime have to do with whether it enables people to engage with political decision making, for instance by following parliamentary debates, reading proposed legislation for themselves, lobbying political representatives, or challenging political decisions in the courts.[12]

In multilingual societies, recognising more languages will generally mean higher operational costs, lower adoption costs and better political inclusion. Meanwhile, recognising fewer languages will typically have the opposite effects. Selecting a language regime is, for us at least, largely about deciding how to balance these costs. Building on the model developed in the preceding subsection, we suggest that if a language regime is to legitimately withhold recognition from a particular language,

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10. Simplifying because, amongst other things, we ignore symbolic effects.

11. Strictly speaking, as Pool notes, adoption costs include both the 'time, effort, and money' people devote to learning one of the official languages as well as the 'deprivations caused by imperfect command of the language; and the loss of prestige arising from the denial of official status to one's native language' (1991: 498). In our analysis we focus only on the first of these.

12. One way to capture these is by estimating the 'linguistic disenfranchisement rate' of a given regime (Ginsburgh & Weber, 2005; Gazzola, 2016).

then doing so must not be forbidden by a principle that could not be reasonably rejected. If we assume that most people would prefer their language to be officially recognised, this effectively means that withholding recognition from one or more languages must be justifiable to the speakers of those languages – i.e. they must lack reasonable grounds to reject the corresponding principle.

Establishing whether people really do have such grounds will be a complex exercise. We propose the following three guiding principles:

–   Political liberties: One can reasonably reject a principle that would withhold recognition from a particular language if doing so would compromise the value its speakers derive from their political rights and freedoms.
–   Fairness: Each member of society has a legitimate claim to a fair share of its resources, including those devoted to supporting its languages (see Patten, 2014 for an egalitarian specification of this kind of view). Recognising some (e.g. less widely spoken) languages will give its speakers more than their fair share of such resources. In such circumstances it might be unreasonable to insist that one's language be recognised.[13]
–   Efficiency: A language regime is efficient if it minimises the sum of operational and adoption costs (Pool, 1991). Since an efficient regime is always available, to insist on an inefficient regime will selfishly burden others. Thus, in at least some circumstances, it would be unreasonable to insist that one's language be recognised if doing so would be inefficient.

The second and third principles explain when recognition might reasonably be withheld, whilst the first identifies cases in which it would be reasonable to insist on language recognition. Given the special importance of political liberties (Rawls, 1996: 327), we believe that the first principle ought generally to have precedence over the other two. This means that even if there are fairness or efficiency reasons to favour withholding recognition from a particular language, its speakers might nevertheless have reasonable grounds to insist that their language be recognised (because recognition is necessary for them to secure their political freedoms). However, this precedence cannot be absolute, and it cannot be the case that people must never suffer negative democratic effects as a result of their language regime. Not only would this be prohibitively expensive, but it would also give speakers of very small languages a veto over nearly every conceivable regime. Recalling the

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13.   It only *might* be unreasonable because, for instance, a language could have fewer speakers as a consequence of historical injustice. Giving speakers of minoritised languages more than what would otherwise be their fair share of linguistic resources could be one way to compensate them for past wrongs, especially if the subsidies come from speakers of languages that benefitted from historical injustice.

priority view, however, it is not too much to insist that special efforts be made to ensure that these negative democratic effects not fall upon the least advantaged members of society. So, whilst minimising political exclusion ought to be a general aim when selecting a language regime, we ought to be especially concerned to avoid excluding the most socio-economically disadvantaged members of society.

5.   Discussion

It is a widespread practice, and belief, that recent migrants forfeit their language rights when they enter a new state. We have argued that this is unjustified, at least in the case of mobile Europeans. Consequently, when a society selects a conception of linguistic justice it should not distinguish between the languages of long-settled groups and those of mobile Europeans. This does not require giving both kinds of language the same rights and status. Rather, it entails recognising that mobile Europeans have a 'right to have language rights', such that their linguistic interests and preferences have the same kind of normative status as everyone else's, since they too belong to the constituency for whom language policies and regimes must be justified. In this section we briefly discuss some of the linguistic and political implications of this, building on the arguments proposed in 4.2 and 4.3.

It is worth emphasising from the outset that expanding the justificatory community in the way we propose would not leave states without the means to protect speakers of long-settled minority languages. True, on our view these policies must be justifiable to mobile Europeans as well as to national citizens.[14] Moreover, the relevant normative principles must satisfy the test of reasonable rejectability we proposed in 4.3. However, neither of these are insurmountable obstacles. For instance, mobile Europeans who live and work in Ireland come from a wide variety of linguistic backgrounds. Although they are far more likely to speak English than Irish, there is no reason to suppose that it will be any more difficult to justify official recognition of the Irish language to a constituency that includes them than it would be to a group composed only of Irish citizens.

Throughout the chapter we have emphasised that the language regimes and policies of a mobile society must be continuously renegotiated, to ensure that the prevailing conception of linguistic justice reflects the different linguistic interests in society, which will change over time as newcomers bring different language

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14. Although we have not argued directly for it, our view is compatible with saying that there are morally relevant reasons to discriminate amongst mobile Europeans, such as length of stay. For instance, holidaymakers or temporary residents surely do not have the same kind of standing as long-term residents.

repertoires and attitudes with them. One important implication of this, as we emphasised in 4.2, is that it is crucial to ensure that everyone has fair access to the deliberative procedures through which their shared conception of linguistic justice is formed, and achieving this is likely to require the development of multilingual deliberative procedures. Furthermore, these procedures should be neutral regarding conceptions of linguistic justice themselves. This suggests a general presumption in favour of allowing deliberators to engage in deliberation via their preferred language(s) (insofar as a person's preferred language can be considered a proxy for the language she has most interest in using to deliberate).

For example, Ireland presently recognises two official languages, Irish and English, and political debate occurs almost exclusively through the medium of English. According to our argument, opportunities to deliberate in other languages should also be available, at least when people deliberate about language policies and language regimes. This is because the practice of monolingual (or 'mostly English') deliberation assumes an answer to a question that deliberation itself is supposed to settle, and so compromises the ideal of neutrality. To be clear, it is not part of our theory that migrants *should* deliberate in their own languages, rather than in English. Rather, it is that the procedure through which a conception of justice is selected ought to be neutral about whether they use English, their own language, or another one.[15]

Moving towards this demanding ideal of neutrality may have far-reaching effects, since deliberation about linguistic justice cannot be neatly separated off from other topics. As a result, there may need to be opportunities to use languages other than English in political discourse in general, and not only when discussing language policies and regimes. Meanwhile, as we argued in 4.3, citizens do not have a free hand when it comes to selecting a conception of justice, and even if they can muster the support of a democratic majority they may not unreasonably favour their own or the dominant language. Rather, they must select principles that can be justified to all members of the justificatory community. In a country like Ireland this might mean that additional languages are given some form of limited recognition alongside Irish and English, if doing so is necessary to secure the political liberties of the least advantaged. Further, it could even mean that Irish and/or English might one day no longer be recognised as official languages.

So far, we have focussed on the challenges of justifying language policies within the member states of the European Union. Now we will turn to the European Union itself, to explore the implications of our argument for decisions about its

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15. Here we are describing an idealised model. There is a wide variety of sociolinguistic phenomena that might compromise the neutrality of these procedures in practice, including accent bias as well as prejudice against speakers of particular languages.

language regime. Currently, the EU recognises 24 official languages, meaning that its parliament must employ one of the largest translation services in the world to deal with some 552 language combinations, and the Commission must translate public documents into all 24 official languages. According to its critics, the extensive multilingualism of the EU, combined with an expanding list of official languages, is costly and inefficient. Thus, they have proposed reducing the number of official languages, perhaps to six (Fidrmuc et al., 2010), three (Ginsburgh & Weber, 2005) or even just one (Van Parijs, 2011).

The model we developed in Section 4.3 suggests that we ought to be reluctant about such proposals. For one thing, they often trade on inflated estimations about English language skills. But as Gazzola and Ronza (2018: 59) report, "the overwhelming majority of the European population has modest proficiency in this language and makes little use of it". Moreover, and perhaps more importantly, reducing the number of official languages would be especially burdensome for Europe's least advantaged citizens. As demonstrated by Gazzola, Europe's poorest citizens and the residents of its poorest countries are currently less likely to speak foreign languages. For example, only about 6% of Bulgarians are proficient in any one of the six most widely spoken European languages (English, French, German, Italian, Polish and Spanish), and poorer people across a number of European states also tend to be less likely than their wealthier compatriots to speak or understand a foreign language (Gazzola, 2016). This means that any principle which recommends withholding recognition from Bulgarian or Romanian, say, is likely to fail the test of reasonable rejectability.

Nevertheless, the model we described might be compatible with altering the following two features of the EU's language regime. First, nothing in our model supports the existing bias towards state languages, and there is no reason why the languages spoken by regional and national minorities, as well as mobile Europeans, ought not also be candidates for recognition. Second, our model is also permissive about withholding recognition from some of the 24 languages that are currently recognised, if doing so would not threaten political disenfranchisement (because, for example, speakers of the language in question are mostly fluent in another – official – language).[16]

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16. One implication of this is that our model may permit removing Irish from the list of official EU languages. If such a change would be objectionable, it would so be for its symbolic effects, which our model does not consider.

6. Conclusion

The broad aim of this chapter is to challenge the popular assumption that the language regimes of EU states must be justified only to their citizens, and to explore the implications of rejecting this assumption. We began by suggesting that a member state's justificatory community must be expanded to include mobile EU citizens in order to vindicate their rights to freedom of movement. To regard EU citizens as having voluntarily relinquished their 'right to have language rights', as some theorists prefer, would be to require them to sacrifice important interests in exchange for exercising their right to live and work in other member states.

Having rejected this view, we then considered how states could ensure fair access to public deliberation for this expanded justificatory community. In 4.2 we argued that such procedures would provide fair access only if they displayed neutrality or impartiality among deliberators' linguistic preferences and interests. Given the lack of a 'secular option' in the context of public deliberation, we concluded that multilingual procedures will tend to be preferable to monolingual ones, on the basis that compulsory monolingualism tends to be more burdensome than compulsory multilingualism.

This approach is motivated in part by our endorsement of the priority view, according to which principles of justice ought to be selected in a way that prioritises the needs of the least advantaged in society. It is also motivated by our endorsement of Scanlon's requirement that coercive policies and institutions must be those that no one could reasonably reject.

In exploring the implications of this view for European political institutions, we identified two significant ways in which our view challenges the status quo. In the context of member states, our argument for the expansion of the justificatory community challenges the long-standing assumption that states are always entitled to discriminate in favour of locally and historically dominant languages. As we were careful to note, this conclusion does not threaten the status of autochthonous minority languages, but simply requires that the reasons offered in favour of any particular language regime be justifiable to recent migrants as well as citizens. In the context of EU institutions themselves, our chief recommendation was to urge caution at proposals to reduce the number of official EU languages, given the likely effects that such proposals would have upon the least advantaged EU citizens, who are most likely to lack proficiency in a revised list of official languages. However, we also note that nothing in what we have argued for above necessarily precludes the addition or subtraction of particular official languages, provided that doing so would not undermine the political rights and freedoms of the least advantaged.

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CHAPTER 19

Complexity in language matters
Concept and uses of agent-based modelling

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Agent-based modelling belongs to the wider category of computational mod-
elling and is used to replicate real-world social or physical systems and simu-
late their behaviour in a computer environment, with a view to studying the
rules that govern them. Although agent-based modelling has quickly gained
recognition in the natural sciences, social scientists only started to explore its
potential in the last few decades. This trend has gained momentum over the last
ten years, and applications of agent-based modelling to the social sciences have
been steadily increasing. Researchers dealing with complex phenomena (in both
the social and natural sciences) are increasingly switching from purely analyt-
ical (i.e. mathematical) approaches (which often attempt to find a 'closed-form
solution' to a problem) to computation-based approaches (which rely on algo-
rithms and simulations). Whereas applications of analytical methods to study
language-related issues have a long-standing tradition, systematic adoption of
a complexity-based view of language matters and application of computational
methods have yet to establish themselves. However, recent research in language
studies shows attempts to address the complexity of language-related issues in a
more systematic way. Particular attention is devoted to the fact that such issues
involve numerous agents and variables, and causal links between these variables
are often non-linear. Although it may be challenging to model such systems
through equations, agent-based modelling offers a natural solution, in that it
provides an easy way of replicating various degrees of diversity in a computer
environment. These models can then be run many times with various settings
to study the system's short-term and long-term behaviour and the way it re-
sponds to different initial conditions. Agent-based modelling lends itself very
well both to studies that investigate the nature and functioning of languages and
to sociolinguistic studies that focus on language-mediated interactions between
individuals.

1.   Introduction

This chapter introduces the notion of complexity from a technical perspective and discusses its methodological implications for research in the language sciences, as well as in the social sciences in general. Language-related issues, whether strictly linguistic or sociolinguistic, do not arise in a vacuum, but in complex systems and networks of systems. Studying the role of languages in society therefore calls for an approach that is able to capture or at least account for this complexity. In short, complex systems are composed of many interacting components and display a certain degree of randomness and unpredictability. Complexity has been observed in natural and social phenomena and it is an inherent trait of several manifestations of human cognition, such as languages.

The first part of this chapter is devoted to presenting how the notion of complexity has come to the fore. I begin by providing a succinct overview of the notion of complexity. In the second part of this chapter, I move on to an intuitive and technical definition of complexity along with a discussion of some of the most commonly recurring aspects of complex systems. These include (but are not limited to) non-linearity, self-similarity (i.e. fractal-like structure) and lack of central control. In order to help readers familiarise themselves with the notion of complexity, each facet of complexity presented here will be examined together with a practical language-related example. This chapter presents the main methods and tools used to study complex systems and phenomena. I assess the importance of computer-based simulations as an essential tool for the analysis of complex dynamics, with a particular focus on agent-based models (ABMs). ABMs are a class of computational models that allow research *in silico*, that is, by modelling the actions and interactions of numerous heterogeneous agents through computer simulation. ABMs are especially helpful for modelling systems that display emergent properties, i.e. systemic properties that cannot be traced back to individual agents or actors, but result from their interaction. Besides, they are particularly useful for detecting feedback loops in which individual micro-scale behaviour affects the macro-system, which in turns affects individual behaviour. Along with a general description of ABMs, I discuss some actual applications of agent-based modelling to social systems in general and to the specific domain of the language sciences. By the end of this chapter, the reader should have a general understanding of the notion of complexity and be able to detect elements of complexity in many different phenomena. The reader should also be able to conceptualise a complex system in terms of agents, behaviours and interactions, with a view to replicating and studying it through computer simulations.

2.   Agent-based modelling and the MIME trade-off

Positioning this chapter within the MIME analytical framework is not an easy task. The chapter is mostly theoretical, in that its main objective is to introduce a methodological paradigm that aims at addressing the complex nature of language-related issues. It therefore does not address a specific issue or case study. Instead, it approaches language-related matters as complex phenomena in the technical sense, explaining why they should be treated as such. This approach is not an alternative to the MIME analytical framework. Rather, by referring to the well-established theoretical paradigm of complexity theory, the angle adopted in this chapter converges with the MIME perspective on language as a phenomenon raising complex issues. Looking at various language issues and identifying in them common traits discussed by complexity scholars provides further support for MIME's central claim that language-related challenges, being inherently complex, call for equally complex policy responses.

The MIME framework proposes to examine ways of reconciling two goals that, if properly balanced, contribute to social cohesion, but may pull in opposite directions – namely, mobility and inclusion. Resolving the tension between them requires policies that develop on many levels and span several domains. In this chapter, I suggest repositioning this framework in a broader, more theoretical perspective and, for this purpose, applying the analytical tools of complexity theory to language matters. This chapter sums up lengthy research that has sought to bring together elements of complexity appearing in numerous studies on language, including those that were not explicitly addressed as such. Part of the novelty brought by my research work lies specifically in the in-depth linguistic and sociolinguistic reinterpretation and application of complexity theory, which, at least in the language sciences, is still lacking. This chapter therefore tries to condense a long process of review and analysis of scholarly contributions from numerous disciplines that have addressed complexity, whether explicitly or implicitly. On a more practical side, I draw on some publications in the context of the MIME project to present some of the findings deriving from the application of complexity theory to language-related matters.

3.   Key concepts and tools

The idea of complexity is directly connected with the concept of 'bounded rationality', which has been around for several decades and plays a key role in several fields of inquiry such as organisational theory and behavioural economics. One of the first to discuss the idea of bounded rationality (though not actually using these words) was Herbert Simon (1955), who called for a 'drastic revision' of the notion of *homo oeconomicus*, i.e. the perfectly rational, optimum-seeking individual traditionally

placed at the core of classic economic theory. Though Simon did not reject the rational nature of human beings, he argued that the notion of *homo oeconomicus* should account for their cognitive limitations and information biases, which keep them from being always able to figure out an optimal solution. However, the idea of human beings having limited rationality had existed for a few decades, outside the academic environment. American writer and reporter Walter Lippmann (1922) had discussed at length the formation and perpetuation of social stereotypes as the result of categorisations in his seminal essay 'Public Opinion'. Such categorisations, said Lippmann, were simplifications that people subconsciously performed as a way to handle the world's complexity. Lippmann argued that these simplifications were due to humans' limited cognition and inability to process large amounts of information. During the 1950s and 1960s, many psychologists embraced this view, and several decades later Hamilton and Trolier (1986) would speak of this mechanism as a way to prevent 'cognitive overload'. In a sense, then, the human brain is naturally programmed to break down and simplify things, as a way of coping with its inability to accurately understand the world's complexity.

The way the human mind works has always affected science and its methods. Many scientific approaches are indeed reductionist, seeking to explain the behaviour of higher-scale systems by tracing it back to the properties of their lower-scale components. Reductionism certainly has its advantages, in that it helps 'linearise' reasoning by organising it into simpler cause-and-effect links. However, the problem with a reductionist approach is that it can easily fail to detect some system-level properties that are more than the sum of the system's components. This has led many scholars from various disciplines to consider an alternative approach. This process of 're-thinking' the research paradigm has led to a series of new perspectives that acknowledge the role of uncertainty and emergent properties in systems, thereby de-emphasising linearity and predictability. The discourse around complexity has attracted the attention of scholars from numerous fields, especially the natural sciences. According to Room (2011), scientific considerations from different scholarly traditions have converged into a new research paradigm, which has come to be known as 'complexity theory'. Contributions from the natural sciences have been numerous, and mostly concerned with the fact that the reductionist approach failed to capture nature's complexity. A notable example is the Russian-Belgian physical chemist Ilya Prigogine, mostly known for his work on 'dissipative systems'. He argued that systems remote from equilibrium work in a significantly different way from ones close to equilibrium (Prigogine, 1977). Among other things, such systems display spontaneous self-organisation, with new structures continuously emerging as a result of internal changes. Prigogine was among the first scholars to actively seek an approach that would bridge the natural and social sciences, with a view to studying physical systems and social systems simultaneously rather than as separate entities. Other notable examples include Chilean biologists Humberto

Maturana and Francisco Varela, who proposed the idea of 'autopoietic' systems, referring to living organisms that continuously change and redefine themselves while keeping their identity (Maturana & Varela, 1972).

Among social scientists, the Austrian-British economist and philosopher Friedrich Hayek was among the first to discuss in depth the idea of complexity in social systems such as the economy. Hayek's main argument was that society is far too complex to be centrally planned. Rather, it is the product of spontaneous order. Its functioning is the result of the continuous interaction between people. Yet no single person captures the system's overall complexity, in part because of a 'division of knowledge' among humans (Kilpatrick, 2001). Hayek therefore argued that it is pointless for people to try and control society and the market through a central authority and 'collectivised' will. Instead they should allow the spontaneous order to unfold. Hayek claimed that people who did not understand the idea of spontaneous order were incorrectly dividing the world in two categories: 'planned' (i.e. ordered) and 'unplanned' (i.e. chaotic and random) (Rehr, 1992). He argued that there is a third category falling between these two. This third category includes all of humanity's most advanced institutions, such as the economy, which are bound by rules and display increasing complexity. Hayek used language as an example of this, arguing that no single language user invented it, it obeys rules yet remains somewhat unpredictable, it evolves along with its users, and it cannot be described in all its facets even if every existing computer (in Hayek's time or ours) were used for the purpose.

Over the past 50 years, complexity has been embraced by many scholars in several scientific disciplines. The Santa Fe Institute (SFI), an independent non-profit research institution focusing on the interdisciplinary study of complex adaptive systems, was founded in 1984. Since then, the SFI's goal has been to investigate the behaviour of complex systems through a multidisciplinary approach, typically relying on computation-based methods. The SFI has in fact significantly contributed to the development of computational social science (CSS), a sub-field of several academic disciplines that uses a variety of computational approaches, such as computer simulations and social network analysis, to analyse and model social phenomena.

4.   Complexity in society and languages

The first part of this section is meant to provide the reader with an understanding of complexity in non-technical terms. I first introduce the idea of complexity in an intuitive way and complement it with examples from everyday life. In the second part, I discuss complexity in a more formal way, in order to come up with a technical definition. Then I move on to presenting one of the main instruments used in the analysis of complex social systems, namely computational social science, highlighting how computational methods relate to social sciences and to language issues.

4.1   An intuitive definition of complexity

'Complex' is a relatively common word, and, in everyday language, it is used almost interchangeably with the word 'complicated' to refer to anything (an object, person, idea, situation, phenomenon, etc.) that is not easy to understand and that is hard to describe (accurately) in a few words.[1] For example, when we handle an electronic device, such as a smartphone or a laptop, we can easily transform an input (for example, typing a letter on the keyboard) into an output (in this case, a specific letter appearing the screen), but the vast majority of users would not be able to provide an accurate description of how that happens. Therefore, one would conclude that this device (or process) is complex, or complicated, and hard to describe. However, the adjective 'complex' is used in a different way in scientific contexts. It often refers to systems that are highly composite, made up of numerous mutually influencing parts and sub-parts, whose continuous interaction results in higher-order collective behaviours that feed back into the behaviour of the individual parts (Rickles et al., 2007). Complex systems display an inherent level of randomness that provides them with an element of unpredictability and makes them akin to *chaotic* systems.[2] In this sense, complex systems are not 'simply' complicated. Complicated systems, though also made up of numerous parts, behave in an orderly and patterned way, leaving no room for unpredictability. The dynamics of a complex system are hard to predict, yet seem to make perfect sense *after* they have been observed. An example is the motion of a flock of birds. When looking at it, it is very hard to guess how it is going to evolve over time, in terms of, for example, shape, speed or direction. However, it is clear that the motion of the flock is not random. Birds seem to move in a perfectly organised way. At the same time, it is safe to assume that each individual bird is not aware of the overall configuration of the flock, but only of its own and that of its direct surroundings. Each individual bird behaves according to the little amount of information that is available to it. However, what results (or, better, *emerges*) is a *self-organised* system,

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1.   For a more technical discussion of this same idea, the reader is referred to the notion of 'Kolmogorov complexity'. In general, the Kolmogorov complexity of an object X is defined as the length of the *shortest* computer program that generates object X as an output (see http://www.i-programmer.info/babbages-bag/6319-kolmogorov-complexity.html).

2.   This chapter does not discuss chaotic systems, but they can by and large be defined as systems whose dynamics are highly sensitive to initial conditions, regardless of the number of parts of which they are composed. For a classic example of a deceptively simple yet extremely chaotic system, the reader is referred to the 'three-body problem', in which one tries to predict the motion of three bodies in gravitational interaction from their initial position and velocity (see, for example, Barrow-Green, 2008). In short, whereas the 'two-body problem' can be easily solved, its three-body (and n-body) counterpart does not have a general closed-form solution.

which seemingly behaves of its own accord and does not depend on any single element, but only on the combined interactions of its elements.

Examples of such self-organised complex systems abound in nature, such as ant colonies harvesting food and firefly swarms synchronising light flashes. However, complex systems are also recurrent in society. One can think of cities as an example. Cities are composed of thousands, sometimes millions, of heterogeneous parts (including its inhabitants, means of transportation, and infrastructures) that interact continuously. Neighbourhoods change constantly in response to self-reinforcing mechanisms. For example, financial centres or shopping areas are usually not the result of specific municipal policies and measures (or only to a certain extent). They arise spontaneously and grow at an increasing pace through self-reinforcement.[3] Complexity is also an intrinsic element of languages and communication. As we shall see, language systems are also composed of several parts (for example, speakers), with heterogeneous properties (such as language skills, speaking style and accent, in addition to demographic characteristics), and, most importantly, they are defined by interactions between agents.

4.2   A technical definition of complexity

Complex systems (which are often referred to as complex *adaptive* systems, or CASs, in the specialist literature) are characterised by a number of specific properties. Cilliers (1998) provides an extensive list of the recurring traits of CAS.

1. As said, one of these traits is *numerosity*, i.e. CAS are made up of numerous parts.
2. In addition, these parts are *heterogeneous*, i.e. they have different characteristics and/or are of different types. This makes it harder to describe CAS concisely and simply, and plays a major part in the selection of methods to study complexity.[4]
3. There must be *interaction* between the parts, in the broadest sense of the word. Interaction does not need to be physical; it may also be immaterial, such as mutual influence or information exchange. It is crucial for the system's complexity to arise from these interactions and not to be encapsulated in any of its parts. Indeed, if any of the parts were 'aware' of the system's complexity and took that into consideration when acting, it would no longer be possible to speak of *self-organisation*.

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3. For more on cities as complex systems, see Batty (2009).

4. Note that heterogeneity is a necessary characteristic for a system to be genuinely complex. Homogeneous agents, regardless of their number, cannot give rise to a complex system.

4. Interactions are *non-linear*, i.e. there is no direct proportionality between the scale of the consequences and the scale of their causes.

5. There is *recurrence*, also known as *feedback loops*. This means that previous interactions and states of the system have an impact on the system itself (or feed back into the system) and on the way the parts interact, through either enhancement (*positive* feedback) or inhibition (*negative* feedback). Indeed, it is essential to take *history* into consideration when studying the functioning of a complex system.

6. It is hard to draw clear-cut boundaries for the system. The agents in the system interact with a broad set of other agents and with the environment from other overlapping systems. The system is therefore *open*.

All these conditions ensure that the system is able to 'learn' and evolve. In other words, for a system to be really complex (and not merely random or chaotic), it needs to be *adaptive*. This implies that the causes of the system's behaviour and evolution are to be found within the system itself, rather than an external 'designer'.

A classic example of a complex adaptive system is the economy.[5] Economies are composed of *numerous* agents, who are *heterogeneous* (such as individuals, governments, financial institutions, all with their own set of properties) and continuously *interacting* with each other (for example, through trade). Points of stability are reached through spontaneous and continuous interaction (such as the equilibrium price and level of supply and demand of a given good), giving rise to dynamics of *self-organisation*. Many causal links are *non-linear*, such as expectations that can suddenly lead to runs on banks and subsequently to bank defaults. Expectations are also an example of a *feedback loop* in the economy. If investors fear, for whatever reason, that the value of a stock is going to drop in the future, they will start selling off their stock portfolio, causing its market price to go down. This gives rise to a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy. The decrease in value will appear to confirm (and therefore reinforce) people's negative expectations about the value of that stock. This induces investors to keep on selling off their holdings, triggering a spiral in which the stock keeps losing value. Finally, economies are *open* systems, in that they also interact among themselves through, for example, imports and exports, political agreements and free-trade areas.

4.2.1   *Entropy and CAS*

When speaking of the intrinsic unpredictability of CAS, scholars have often referred to the concept of *entropy*, as defined in the field of information theory. Entropy is a concept that originated in the field of physics, where it is used to describe the level of

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5. For a list of examples of complex systems, see Mitchell (2009).

disorder or the tendency of an isolated system to become less organised over time. Although it is strictly related to its more famous definition from thermodynamics (they share the same mathematical formulation), information entropy[6] has a very different meaning and can be intuitively defined as the amount of 'surprise' inherent in an event. If an event is expected (i.e. it is very likely from the observer's perspective), it is said to have low entropy. Conversely, when an event is unexpected, it is said to have high entropy. In this sense, complex systems are said to have high entropy, being characterised by a high level of unpredictability.[7] When a system behaves in a perfectly predictable way, a hypothetical observer would be able to anticipate every next step in the evolution of the system and never be surprised. For example, if one looks at one's own wristwatch, regardless of how complicated its mechanisms can be, one is usually able to predict what time the wristwatch will be indicating after a given amount of time since the first observation. The only amount of entropy in this system is inherent in events that disrupt the normal functioning of the watch, such as a malfunction or damage. However, if one looks, for example, at a big crowd of people walking down the hall of a university, going back and forth, in and out of classrooms, grouping up and parting, one would have a significantly harder time predicting the next state of the system. We then say that this system has a high level of entropy.

4.3   Computational social science

In this section, I discuss CSS in greater detail, explaining how computation supports the study of social systems and phenomena. In particular, I assess the role of agent-based modelling for this purpose. The expression 'computational social science' was long almost exclusively associated with the use of computer simulations to investigate social phenomena. Computer simulations are particularly valuable in the social sciences because social scientists' objects of study (mainly individuals, social aggregates and their interactions) are hardly replicable in a laboratory and rely heavily on assumptions, direct observation and self-reported data. Unlike in many natural sciences, large-scale controlled experiments are costly, not to mention that they may have difficult ethical implications that need to be taken into account. Computer simulations, though relying on artificially created agents, allow for a great deal of flexibility when it comes to experimentation and

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6.   In the field of information theory, entropy is often referred to as *Shannon entropy*, after Claude Shannon, who first discussed it in his 1948 article 'A Mathematical Theory of Communication' (Shannon, 1948).

7.   However, note that, as in the case of randomness, the level of entropy cannot be maximum for a system to be complex, otherwise it would be simply chaotic.

replication. They also allow plans and designs to be evaluated without actually implementing them in real life, but only in a 'synthetic' environment (Bandini et al., 2009). In the late 2000s, Lazer et al. (2009) stressed that CSS should not limit itself to simulations and argued in favour of the use of big data. Indeed, they argued that the computational turn in the social sciences is justified and even made necessary by the fact that nowadays virtually everybody leaves a digital trace of their behaviour in several ways, by writing emails, shopping online, using wearable devices or social networks, to mention just a few examples. Besides, text corpora of millions of tokens are available online and offline. They noted how the collection and analysis of massive amounts of data had transformed fields such as physics and biology, while the same revolution had not taken place in the social sciences. Over the past ten years, the social sciences (and the humanities) have caught up and started tapping into the pool of big data.[8]

An interesting example of innovative application of big data to the social sciences is provided by Zou and Chen (2018). They adopted a corpus linguistics method to verify Nobel laureate Richard Thaler's prediction that economics would experience a paradigm shift away from *homo oeconomicus* and towards a less rational and un-emotional model of individuals, which he labels *homo sapiens* (Thaler, 2000). The authors took advantage of the fact that discourses around the two paradigms are rather polarised, the former being mostly associated with mathematical rationality, and the latter emphasising cultural, psychological and social factors. It is therefore possible to identify sets of words that are exclusively associated with either one or the other paradigm, with only little overlapping. They then went on to analyse 51,285 scientific papers published from 1992 to 2014 in 42 mainstream economics journals in order to detecting the trends in word frequencies in both sets. They found that 65.2% of the terms associated with the *homo oeconomicus* paradigm were on a downward trend, while 81.4% of the terms associated with the *homo sapiens* paradigm were on an upward trend. This allowed them to conclude that Thaler's prediction was largely correct.

According to Cioffi-Rivella (2017), one of the major advantages of CSS is that it lends itself well to both theoretical research and policy applications. As examples of theoretical research, he particularly mentions:

1. investigating racial segregation in societies with heterogeneous agents; and
2. studying the behaviour of crowds towards first responders (such as paramedics and firefighters) during a crisis.

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8. Chen and Yu (2018) discuss a number of applications of big data to a wide variety of topics, such as history, economics, literature and linguistics.

As applied parallels, he mentions:

1. the development of an agent-based model replicating New York City neighbourhoods in order to mitigate racial segregation through policy intervention; and
2. understanding how the population of New Orleans acted as a consequence of first response measures when Hurricane Katrina hit the city.

Computational social scientists can resort to a wide variety of tools. In this chapter, I focus on agent-based modelling, discussing the rationale behind it and its potential.

4.3.1   *Studying complexity in practice: Agent-based modelling*

Agent-based modelling is not intended to replace other methodologies, whether quantitative or qualitative. Instead it represents a complementary tool that can contribute significantly to both quantitative and qualitative research. Besides, resorting to mixed methods is frequent in CSS. Agent-based modelling draws heavily on qualitative studies to inform its simulations and relies significantly on quantitative methods to analyse its results.

ABMs are a type of computational model. In general, computational models are models that take an input, manipulate it algorithmically and generate an output. ABMs, in particular, are essentially about creating artificial agents, providing them with behavioural rules and letting them interact (Wilensky & Rand, 2015). Back in the late 1990s, Epstein reflected on the epistemology of agent-based modelling. He argued that ABMs are a useful tool to address scientific phenomena from a 'generative' perspective (where 'generative' should be understood in a sense distinct from its usual meaning in theoretical linguistics), i.e. as an attempt to answer the following question: "How could the decentralised local interactions of heterogeneous autonomous agents generate the given regularity?" (Epstein, 1999: 41). In light of the points made so far in this chapter, it should be clear that this question is directly related to our discussion of complex systems. Indeed, we will see how the properties of ABMs mirror the characteristics of complex systems discussed above. Epstein argues that agent-based experiments answer the 'generative' question by "[s]ituat[ing] an initial population of autonomous heterogeneous agents in a relevant spatial environment[,] allow[ing] them to interact according to simple local rules, and thereby generat[ing] – or "grow[ing]" – the macroscopic regularity from the bottom up." In other words, if the micro-level specifications of the agents are able to generate the macro-level dynamics under study, then these micro-level specifications are a potential explanation for the macro-level dynamics.

Epstein (1999) makes a list of the central characteristics of ABMs, which follow, by and large, the characteristics of complex systems discussed above. These include:

1. Autonomy: there is no central, top-down form of control in ABMs. At best, there can be mutual influence between the micro and the macro level of the system.
2. Bounded rationality: this stems from the fact that agents do not usually have complete knowledge of the system (bounded information) and only have finite computational capacity (bounded computing power).
3. Heterogeneity: agents in ABMs are genuinely heterogeneous and can vary in myriad ways. There is no need to create representative agents or create groups of agents with homogeneous properties.

Concerning this last property, ABMs (and, in general, simulation models) are often compared with equation-based models (EBMs). Although EBMs tend to be less computationally intensive, they are better suited to homogeneous populations. Heterogeneity can certainly be included, but each additional characteristic calls for an additional equation, which can easily complicate the model and its interpretability (Hunter et al., 2017). Even then, however, interactions would not happen individually, but between groups of homogeneous agents. Besides, EBMs often require decisions to be made deterministically. Probabilistic (stochastic) systems of numerous equations and differential equations are certainly possible, but often hard to handle. Conversely, ABMs, though more computationally intensive than EBMs, allow the creation of agents with as many characteristics as needed that behave probabilistically, as well as deterministically. Potentially, every single agent could be unique in its own set of characteristics. Interactions can also occur between individuals, rather than between homogeneous groups. When investigating emergent properties of complex systems, it is crucial that interactions accurately reflect what happens in reality, for it is through interactions between agents that one can establish the link between the micro and the macro levels. Another key difference between ABMs and EBMs is that the former do not require particular training in order to be understood. While equation systems might be hard to read for people lacking a solid mathematical background, the functioning of a specific ABM is usually easier to grasp, for it is rooted in individual behavioural rules that can be explained through intuition (Wilensky & Rand, 2015). Obviously, ABMs are not always the optimal instrument. For example, if the system involved is composed of homogeneous agents, there is little point in building an ABM. Likewise, if a system is composed of only a few interacting parts, it is often more appropriate to describe it through equations.

Before reviewing some practical applications of agent-based modelling to language-related matters, I will briefly examine how the considerations about complexity discussed earlier apply to language systems.

4.4   Complexity and languages

The assumption made here is that complexity is an inherent trait of language systems, both when looking at languages themselves (from a strictly linguistic perspective) and when looking at language-mediated social interactions (from a sociolinguistic perspective). It is essential to bear this in mind, since a complex approach would be a superfluous intellectual exercise if language-related issues were not actually complex (in the sense discussed so far).

4.4.1   *Complexity in linguistic features*

A language can essentially be defined as a means of communication based on words and rules used and combined in a structured and conventional way. In this view, languages seem to be very complicated, but not complex, in that they are based on regular and predictable patterns. In other words, they operate under grammatical and semantic constraints. Syntax rules impose a certain structure on word order, vocabulary is wide but not infinite, and morphology, despite exceptions, is mostly regular. Interpretation may be varied, but it is still rooted in the shared meanings implicitly or explicitly agreed upon by speakers. However, most people would not hesitate to characterise it as 'complex'. Indeed, languages display many of the recurring traits of complex systems. They are made up of *numerous* parts, and these parts are of different types (such as nouns, verbs, and adverbs); the latter have *heterogeneous* properties that can take on different values (such as grammatical gender, number, tense and mood). These parts *interact* with one another when used together to build a sentence, influencing each other (for example, adjectives modifying nouns or pronouns affecting the morphology of verbs). Clearly, no single element of a language can be said to be complex (in the technical sense presented above). Yet the continuous interaction between words is the core of the system's organisation. The amount of information conveyed by a message does not follow a linear relationship with the amount of words used to express it. Different words can carry a different amount of information (such as a specific term with respect to a loose synonym, like 'car' and 'vehicle'), which in turn depends on the way these words are used. Languages are *open* systems, in the sense that all languages (admittedly, some more than others) are porous to other languages. The most evident manifestations of this are probably lexical borrowings and communication strategies such as code switching and code mixing.[9]

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9.   For a more comprehensive discussion of languages as complex systems, see Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008).

Another key aspect of complex systems is entropy. Languages are no exception. When presented with a string of words (for example, when reading a sentence or listening to someone talking), one is often able to guess what word or word type will come next. Less predictable words are more 'surprising'. Put differently, the lower the probability that a given word will appear after a certain lexical sequence, the higher its entropy. For example, if we had a string such as 'every person should', verbs would have lower entropy compared with nouns, as the word 'should', in this type of syntactical configuration, will usually be followed by a verb and not by a noun. If indeed a noun were to appear after 'should', the reader/hearer of this sentence would be very 'surprised'. In addition, when this string is put into context, the reader would be able to guess the semantic group of the next word, given the general topic of the text.

Language features can affect entropy and this has repercussions on language itself. For example, inflected languages that rely on declension systems and grammatical gender, such as Latin, tend to have a more flexible word order. If a specific article is used, such as the German definite article 'den', the entropy of the next word is reduced, for the listener/reader can immediately rule out many syntactic functions. Given that 'den' can only precede a masculine singular direct object or a plural indirect object, when hearers/readers are presented with a sentence starting with this article, they can safely assume that the next word is not the subject of the sentence. Indeed, the reduced entropy resulting from the use of declensions and grammatical gender allows greater flexibility in word order (though order choice may still imply some pragmatic differences). Languages that cannot rely on these linguistic features are usually less flexible in terms of word order, for the function of words is often signalled by their position in the sentence.

Language entropy can also be calculated at text level. Per-word entropy of a text (also known as *entropy rate*) can be calculated by treating a text as a stochastic process (a process in which each successive element or state is dependent on the previous ones) consisting of a sequence of words having a certain frequency within the text and a certain dependence on the words preceding them (Manning & Schutze, 1999). Each word has different probabilities of occurring together with other words in a specific succession. These probabilities (multiplied by their respective logarithms) are then added up and averaged over the length of the text. The limit to infinity of this sum (i.e. as the length of the corpus grows infinitely) is known as the 'entropy rate' of a language. According to Montemurro and Zanette (2011), whereas entropy rates can vary significantly across languages, the impact of word ordering on the structure of a language seems to be a statistical universal across languages, like Zipf's law of word frequency. They reached this conclusion by comparing the entropy of real text samples from different languages with the

entropy of the same texts after randomly shuffling their words. The entropy rate of the shuffled texts is systematically higher, for linguistic structures are destroyed, making it harder to 'guess' word successions. These entropy rates also vary significantly across languages. What is interesting, however, is that the differences between the 'shuffled' entropies and the original entropies tend to fluctuate closely around a *constant value*. This suggests that the entropy reduction brought about by word ordering is a universal linguistic feature. These results also seem to be consistent across language families.

4.4.2   *Complexity in sociolinguistic systems*

Sociolinguistic systems also display numerous traits of complex systems. I will now discuss the 'multilingual challenge' as an example of such complexity. This expression is often used to refer to all the communication difficulties encountered when two languages or more co-exist. These difficulties arise in many contexts and on several scales, from ordering in a restaurant when travelling abroad to handling communication within multinational corporations. Very often, though, the expression 'multilingual challenge' is used to refer to the language-related challenges arising in a particular context, such as that of the European Union, as a consequence of its linguistic and cultural diversity. This diversity does not stem only from the fact that the EU has several official languages, but also from the presence of numerous regional and minority languages, as well as languages brought in by third-country immigrants. The implications are found in many areas, including institutional communication, language minority rights, business relations and so on. It is easy to identify elements of complexity in language-related issues in the context of the EU. For example, concerning the dynamics of language shift between Welsh and English in Wales, Ambrose and Williams (1981) observed empirically that there is a level (located around 50% of monoglot Welsh speakers) where the process of language loss in favour of English accelerates and becomes irreversible. In other words, language loss trends are strongly *non-linear*. The authors, however, do not provide any real explanation of why such a threshold is problematic. An explanation is proposed by Grin (1992), who further elaborated this idea from a theoretical perspective and concluded that there are several, potentially an infinite number, of 'points of no-return' which depend on the interaction of numerous variables, such as the distribution of speakers across languages (in turn affected by migratory flows as well as by birth and death rates) and people's attitudes to these languages (depending, among other things, on the availability of opportunities and the desire to use a specific language). This further highlights the complexity of the phenomenon. Language shift/loss clearly involves *numerous* agents, with *heterogeneous* properties (such as monolingual versus bilingual, high versus low

proficiency, as well as demographic differences). These agents are in continuous *interaction*, in the sense that they communicate with one another, adopting different communication strategies based on their interlocutor(s). This generates reinforcement mechanisms, or *feedback loops*, in which switching to another language to accommodate one's interlocutor increases the chances that one will again resort to that language in the future. The system in which language shift occurs is *open*, being influenced by external dynamics, such as migration flows, as we have already seen.

The direct consequence of the acknowledgement that language issues are complex is that language policies have to be drafted in a way that takes this complexity into account. A policy is an answer to a specific problem, without which it lacks justification. Therefore, a policy answer should reflect the characteristics of the issue that it is intended to address. If we recognise that language issues are complex, the policymaker needs to adopt a complex approach to propose a response, lest the policy fail to achieve its stated purpose. Indeed, if a policy does not address the variables involved in a complex phenomenon (or at least most of the essential variables) and to spell out the causal relationships between them, it will tend to be ineffective or even, in a worst-case scenario, counterproductive.

5.   Discussion

This section is devoted to showing agent-based modelling in practice by presenting applications drawn from language studies. A comprehensive review of the applications of agent-based modelling to language-related issues is beyond the scope of this chapter, but the two examples provided in this section will give the reader an idea of how ABMs work in practice and how they can be put to use in applied linguistics. The first example builds on our previous discussion on language entropy and concerns the emergence and evolution of grammatical agreement (Beuls & Steels, 2013). The second elaborates further on our previous remarks on language shift and describes the competition between languages in bilingual communities (Castelló et al., 2013). I will conclude this section by presenting some of the findings of publications on language and complexity published in the context of the MIME project.

5.1   An ABM of grammatical agreement

Grammatical agreement between linguistic units is a common feature of many languages that signals mutual grammatical dependence between elements within an utterance. It usually involves the use of morphological markers and can concern

features such as number and gender.[10] Beuls and Steels (2013) investigate the hypothesis that grammatical agreement arises as a tool to avoid an explosive increase in the number of potential interpretations of an utterance due to parsing and semantic ambiguity. In this sense, grammatical agreement is conceived as a strategy that minimises cognitive effort and maximises communication (by minimising ambiguity).[11] In order to investigate the role of grammatical agreement, the authors create a simulation model in which agents play a 'naming game'. In its simplest version, a naming game is a simulation game involving a population of N agents trying to come up with a shared vocabulary to name certain elements of their environment (which may be people, things, colours, etc.). A pair of agents (a speaker and a hearer) is selected randomly at every time step. The speaker then chooses an element to name and uses a word from his inventory (if he does not have any, he will invent a new one) to signal it to the hearer. If the hearer 'understands' (i.e. has that word in his own inventory, and that word is correctly associated to that element), the interaction is successful and both agents keep that word in their inventory, discarding every other word associated to that object. If the hearer does not have that word in his inventory (or it is associated to some other element), the interaction is a failure and the hearer updates his inventory to include the new name-element association. The process comes to a close if a global consensus (i.e. a shared vocabulary) is reached among all agents (Zhou et al., 2018). Beuls and Steels (2013) propose a variant of this game, in which the speaker signals elements in his environment referring to some of their properties (or, to put it simply, using adjectives). The hearer then goes on to look at the properties of the elements in the environment, trying to identify the ones to which the speaker is referring. When the simulation is launched, agents have no way of adapting the name of properties to their respective elements in order to discriminate among them. As elements may share the same properties, it is hard for the hearer to identify correctly the element or set of elements to which the speaker is referring. Agents are therefore provided with various strategies to modify words

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10. These two forms of grammatical agreement are probably the most common among Indo-European languages, but there are many more types. Dixon (1996), for example, mentions the case of Dyirbal, an Australian Aboriginal language which currently has only eight native speakers. In this language, one cannot really speak of gender agreement, in that one noun class that requires grammatical agreement specifically includes women, water, fire, violence, and certain animals.

11. This way of looking at grammatical agreement echoes one of the first economic approaches to language by Jakob Marschak (1965). In brief, he argued that the way languages work is the result of a constant trade-off between 'clarity of the message' and 'brevity'. In other words, languages are the result of an implicit optimisation problem in which a speaker tries to maximise the amount of information he can convey, while minimising effort.

describing properties (mostly by attaching suffixes) as a function of the elements to which they refer in order to minimise the risk of misunderstanding. Consequently, each agent creates his own set of modifiers. As in the basic version of the naming game, the hearer compares the modifiers used by the speaker with his own inventory. If the hearer is able to correctly identify the set of elements to which the speaker is referring, the interaction is successful and the two agents agree to share that modifier, discarding any other alternative. Otherwise, the hearer will update his inventory.

The authors demonstrate that agreement systems arise naturally when one assumes the need to minimise ambiguity and that a self-organisation mechanism leads to the spontaneous emergence and transmission of sets of agreement markers. Their model also shows that linguistic phenomena such as phonetic reduction or long-term reduction of the agreement marker inventory are a side effect of economising strategies. More generally, the authors show how agent-based modelling is a powerful tool to investigate language features.

5.2   An ABM of language competition

Language contact is a commonly observed phenomenon on various scales. On a micro-level scale, individuals often encounter situations in which several languages are spoken in the same context, such as a café or a restaurant. On a macro-level scale one can easily observe languages in competition within a community. The latter phenomenon usually leads to two opposite dynamics. On the one side, we have many pidgins and creole languages resulting from the continuous interaction between languages. On the other side, we observe some communities where two or more languages are traditionally spoken that are more or less slowly converging towards a situation of monolingualism, in which one language takes over the other. This is followed by an unquestionable decline in linguistic diversity on a global scale. Castelló et al. (2013) take an agent-based modelling approach to investigate language competition in the case of *balanced* bilingualism, i.e. within communities where two socially equal languages are spoken.[12] They start with the observation that language competition can be modelled as the interaction between heterogeneous agents in a social consensus problem. In other words, they investigate under what conditions a consensus is reached at a community level that favours one language over the other. Among the possible factors that may influence such dynamics, they focus in particular on social structure, looking at the differences between fully connected structures (in

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12. For a model of *unbalanced* bilingualism, where one of the two languages is in a minority position, see Civico (2019a).

which every agent is connected with every other agent), regular lattice structures (in which agents only have links with their direct neighbours) and a small-world network (which allows interactions between some agents to happen between some agents over a long distance through links connecting distant agents). The main difference between the first structure and the other two is that the latter allow for local effects, i.e. dynamics that are specific to some parts of the network. The authors simulate an environment in which two languages are spoken and agents are either monolingual in one of the two languages (A or B) or bilingual (AB). They describe the probability of switching from monolingualism to bilingualism or vice versa as a function of the densities of users of either language in their network. Language transfer from A to B is also possible, but only after an intermediate phase of bilingualism.

The authors reach several interesting conclusions. Among other things, the presence of bilingual speakers in communities where two socially equal languages are spoken has the seemingly paradoxical effect of accelerating the formation of two clearly defined monolingual communities, with bilingual speakers placed along the boundary. They also find that structures allowing for local effects accelerate the process of language shift. In general, they find that, regardless of initial conditions, long-term language contact always seems to result in the extinction of one of the two languages.

5.3   Insights from MIME research

In addition to all the theoretical research that I have briefly summarised throughout this chapter, I have developed a number of practical applications of complexity theory in the context of the MIME project. In particular, I have tried to re-direct the complexity theory approach to languages towards a more policy-oriented application. The MIME project concerned a vast number of language-related topics that could be addressed through policy. It was therefore necessary to select a few applications that would not only be of interest for policymakers, but could also show the potential of complexity theory approaches (particularly agent-based ones) in the domain of language policy. The selected topics were:

1. multilingual communication within multinational corporations, with a focus on knowledge sharing between employees (Civico, 2019a);
2. minority language maintenance and decline in the context of unbalanced multilingualism (Civico, 2019b);
3. the acquisition of second/foreign language skills in the European Union and its consequences in terms of language disenfranchisement (Civico, 2021).

I report here only some of the major findings of this research. One of the most interesting results is that the processes of knowledge creation and knowledge sharing in multilingual working environments are extremely sensitive to initial conditions in terms of language distribution. Even when the difference among groups is almost negligible, knowledge tends to accumulate much faster within the majority group. This seems to be particularly true when individuals are monolingual. This is because, when discussions take place in an even slightly overrepresented language, information tends to travel faster between employees sharing the same language and grows exponentially, since more knowledgeable employees tend to contribute more to the process of knowledge creation. The result is that knowledge tends to crystallise within the majority group. This puts such knowledge in the sole hands of the majority group, which may end up dominating the other groups. Having (or providing) employees with even minor skills in the other languages spoken in their working environment seems an effective strategy to combat such a trend.

Another interesting finding of the applications developed in the context of the MIME project concerns a negative trend in minority language groups. In contexts where multiple language groups co-exist, with one language dominating the other, the minority group dies out very quickly and is absorbed into the majority group almost regardless of the initial size of the minority group. This trend seems to be particularly strong when the minority community is especially open and tends to create family ties with the majority community. Education policies certainly slow down this assimilation process, but they are only effective if they are backed up by a positive attitude, i.e. a willingness to actually use the minority language. In such cases, i.e. when people have an opportunity to use the minority language (provided through education policies) and a wish to actually use it (reflecting a widespread positive attitude towards the language), the minority group tends to stabilise and often manages to survive in the long term.

In general, these applications share one specific finding. Agent-based models are very flexible and are able to reproduce many contexts of interests for policymakers. Thanks to their straightforward use and interpretability, these models can help policymakers test policies and evaluate their impact before actually implementing them.

6.   Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the notion of complexity and provided both an intuitive and a technical definition, explaining how complexity can be observed in many phenomena, focusing in particular on social dynamics. Human systems display many of the characteristics of 'complex adaptive' systems. Language dynamics are

no exception, in that they result from interaction between numerous heterogeneous agents. Indeed, languages as well as language-related matters can (and should) be treated as complex adaptive systems. Setting out from this assumption, I have shown that language matters, whether strictly linguistic or more sociolinguistic, need to be studied through the methods and tools of complexity theory. Among these I focused on the application of agent-based modelling, a computational method that recreates real systems in a computer environment in order to simulate their dynamics with different initial conditions and study their behaviour. Finally, I presented two examples of applications of agent-based modelling to language matters, along with some findings from research carried out in the MIME project.

Agent-based modelling is a relatively young methodology compared with more traditional equation-based methods, and its full potential still needs to be explored. It should not be seen as an alternative, but rather as a complement, to other quantitative or qualitative methods. Indeed, a qualitative understanding of social dynamics is crucial both to inform simulation models realistically and to interpret the results correctly. However, it is increasingly acknowledged in research that social and natural dynamics cannot be explained as a simple set of cause-and-effect relationships. Simulation models are not sufficient, but they are definitely necessary to reach a better understanding of language issues, as they explicitly try to address multi-variable complex interactions involving many agents. In the end, the correct application of simulation models, along with the synergy resulting from the combination of different methodologies, will be crucial for the development of complex policies.

In light of all the considerations discussed in this chapter, as well as the research carried out in the MIME project, policies can only be as complex as the issues that they address if particular attention is paid to the following intertwined aspects:

1. Language issues are never *only* language issues. Their causes and consequences can be traced back to various not strictly linguistic phenomena.
2. Consequently, an interdisciplinary approach is crucial to evaluate language matters correctly and develop a sufficiently articulated policy plan.
3. A genuinely interdisciplinary approach is only effective if there is effective exchange of information between the various disciplinary sub-units both during the implementation phase and during the ex-post evaluation process. Only thus is it possible to keep track of the numerous variables involved in the issue under study and their consequences.

It is therefore not enough to acknowledge that language issues are complex. Unfortunately, this assumption is often made. Understanding this calls for a radical reorientation of the research and policymaking paradigm. This effort is all the more necessary today, as we live in an ever more connected society where social phenomena are increasingly interdependent.

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Language, mobility and inclusion
Legal perspectives

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The most significant way in which states regulate mobility is through laws and policies on immigration and naturalisation. Increasingly, states are requiring that migrants demonstrate specified levels of competence in the official language at various points in the immigration process. Frequently, such requirements can pose a barrier to many migrants, and may have a negative impact that affects members of certain groups disproportionately. States justify such language requirements on the basis that fluency in the official language promotes greater inclusion, and enhances life chances of migrants in the new country. However, by frequently failing to provide any form of mother tongue education for children of migrants, states themselves frustrate the achievement of such levels of fluency. Inclusion is also facilitated by ensuring that migrant have effective access to crucial public services such as health care, social services, and so forth. However, for many migrants, language is a barrier to accessing such services as effectively as other members of society. In most of these areas, international obligations do not provide sufficient responses, although important principles in international human rights law, particularly the principle of non-discrimination and equal protection of the law, and the principle of proportionality, may provide a more adequate response.

1.   Introduction

Mobility is regulated and inclusion is fostered in a variety of ways by states, and language is sometimes engaged in both contexts. Mobility is most obviously regulated by state policies and legislation on immigration and naturalisation, and as we shall see, states are increasingly requiring migrants to demonstrate specified levels of competence in the official language or languages of the state at various points in the process of migration and naturalisation. As we shall also see, EU migrants are generally exempt from such requirements when migrating to another EU member state. However, such requirements often impact different categories of migrants in different ways, placing some migrants at a distinct disadvantage in the process.

States justify such language requirements on the basis of inclusion: they argue that migrants who demonstrate high levels of competence in the state language integrate much more effectively in society. The education system is, of course, a particularly important institution for equipping children, including children of migrants, with skills necessary to integrate and succeed, including high levels of fluency in the official language. However, it is not at all clear that state education systems serve children of migrants as well as they should, and the failure to provide some form of mother tongue education, at least as a transitional measure until high levels of fluency in the official language are achieved, appears to be one of the reasons for this. Inclusion is also promoted by ensuring that migrants have access to important public services, such as health care, social services, and so forth. However, insufficient command of the official language of the state – the language through which such services is delivered – can adversely affect access.

In this chapter, the legal framework established in EU and broader international law in relation to language, mobility and inclusion in areas just referred to will be critically assessed. Particular attention will be paid to principles relating to non-discrimination and equality. It will be argued that principles of equality law, as set out in international human rights instruments, in particular, and the concept of proportionality – a concept frequently reflected in the EU and broader international legal order – have the potential to address weaknesses in the legal frameworks under consideration.

2.   Connecting legal perspectives with the MIME framework

Cross-border mobility is most obviously engaged by state policy on migration, and states give expression to migration policy through legal rules relating to immigration and naturalisation. Such rules often require some level of competence in the official language(s) of the state as a condition for longer-term residence in the state and for the acquisition of citizenship. Migration policy and the laws which give it effect engage language, mobility, and inclusion.

Migration policy has become a significant issue in Europe in recent years. As population movements in Europe have increased, language has been increasingly used, symbolically and literally, to manage and indeed restrict access to residence and citizenship, and thereby to restrict cross-border mobility (Wodak & Boukala, 2015: 269). The introduction of language requirements at various stages of movement into a state (entry to the state; acquisition of a work permit; acquisition of permanent or long-term residence; attainment of citizenship) has become ever more common in Europe, which suggests that EU member states are becoming progressively more prescriptive with regard to immigration: "Although such ideas were discredited in Western European immigration states during the 1990s, one of

the strongest trends since 2000 is the introduction or upgrading of language and civic knowledge tests" (Bauböck & Wallace Goodman, 2012: 4; see also Bocker & Strik, 2011; Wallace Goodman, 2011;). There were only six states in 1998 in which applicants for naturalisation had to fulfil citizenship and/or language requirements; this number had risen to eighteen by 2010, and to twenty-three by 2013 (Bauböck & Wallace Goodman, 2012). Wodak and Boukala (2015) report that, by 2014, twenty-four out of thirty-six states that were surveyed required migrants to meet language proficiency criteria in the dominant language in order to acquire citizenship, while twenty-three states imposed a language competence requirement in order to secure a residence permit, and nine states required migrants to fulfil a language competence condition prior to gaining entry to the state.

At the same time, however, competence in the dominant language of a host country is a useful skill: "[e]vidence from all countries of immigration makes it clear that mastery of the national language(s) is fundamental to economic success" (Hansen, 2003: 34–35). Language requirements are frequently framed by states themselves as simply an attempt to assist migrants by promoting integration: Wodak and Boukala note that "European legislation presents language requirements and language testing as a means of 'integration'" (Wodak & Boukala, 2015: 254), and there is now a considerable body of evidence to suggest that acquisition of the vehicular language (or one of the vehicular languages) of the state is crucial to successful integration. Furthermore, it is suggested that knowledge of enough of the official language to be able to understand and carry out the rights and duties conferred through citizenship contributes to integration, social cohesion, and the practical facilitation of the adaption process (Piller, 2001: 266).

Inclusion is impacted by policies, often expressed in or supported by legislation, relating to education, broadcasting, social security, health care, and professional qualifications, among other areas. Equalities legislation, discussed in more depth in the next section of this chapter, is of particular importance in facilitating integration. However, existing national laws in these policy areas – with the exception of equalities – generally make little provision to take account of linguistic diversity, and education, public services, and so forth, are generally delivered primarily if not exclusively through the medium of the official language or languages of the state.

As is also discussed in the next section, international law is generally deferential to state language policy choices in these and other areas, although as we shall see, non-discrimination provisions in the major international human rights treaties[1] can

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1.   For example: the Council of Europe's *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* of 1950 (the 'European Convention on Human Rights', or the 'ECHR'); the United Nations' *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* of 1966 (the 'ICCPR'); the United Nations' *International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination* (the 'ICERD') of 1965.

impose certain limitations. Those treaties also constrain state language policy in the criminal justice system. For example, anyone who has been arrested must be informed promptly, in a language he or she understands, of the reasons for the arrest and any charges that he or she is facing,[2] and where the person is charged with a criminal offence, the person must be informed promptly, in a language the person understands, of the nature and cause of the accusation being made.[3] The necessary implication in both cases is that if the person does not understand the official language of the state, an interpreter must be provided. Furthermore, a person charged with a criminal offence has the right to an interpreter if the person cannot understand or speak the language of the court.[4] The right to freedom of expression[5] has been interpreted to protect not only the content of expression but the language in which the content is expressed.[6] Similarly, the right to take part in cultural life, enshrined in the United Nations' *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*,[7] has been interpreted by the treaty body overseeing the implementation of this treaty as including the right to express oneself in the language of one's choice. (General Comment No. 21, 21 December 2009, E/C.12/GC/21). As a result, states are generally not permitted to restrict the ability of individuals, groups, business enterprises and so forth to use any particular language in communicating with others, unless there is a legitimate purpose for doing so and that restriction is proportionate, a concept that will be discussed in the next section of this chapter. Such rights do not, however, require the state to use any language other than the official language in dealing with the public.

International treaties which provide protection for minorities, such as the Council of Europe's *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*[8] ('FCNM') and the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*[9] ('ECRML') do require that states, in certain circumstances, and in certain parts of the state in which

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2.   ECHR, Article 5, paragraph 2. While the parallel provision in the ICCPR, Article 9, paragraph 2 does not make reference to the need to be informed in a language the arrested person understands, the output of the treaty body which oversees its implementation makes clear that this is the case.

3.   ECHR, Article 6, paragraph 3(a); ICCPR, Article 14, paragraph 3(a).

4.   ECHR, Article 6, paragraph 3(c); ICCPR, Article 14, paragraph 3(f)).

5.   ECHR, Article 10, paragraph 1; ICCPR, Article 19, paragraph 2.

6.   See, for example, *Ballantyne et al v. Canada*, Communications Nos. 359/1989 and 385/1989, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/47/D/359/1989 and 385/1989/Rev.1 (1993).

7.   Article 15, subparagraph 1 (a).

8.   European Treaty Service – No. 157, Strasbourg 1.II.1995. See, generally, Weller, 2005.

9.   European Treaty Service – No. 148, Strasbourg 5.XI.1992. See, generally, Woehrling, 2006.

minorities are concentrated, provide education, some public services, and support for media in the languages of ethnic minorities found within the state.[10] However, not all Council of Europe (or EU) member states have ratified these treaties,[11] and even in relation to those which have, the treaties generally apply only to minorities of long standing on the territory of the state – 'autochthonous' minorities – and not to migrants – 'new' minorities[12] – although if the language of the migrant is also a minoritised language protected under such instruments, the migrant may benefit from such protection. Recent research suggests, however, that the distinction between autochthonous and new minorities is beginning to weaken, including in the case law of the CJEU.[13] In sum, though, these treaties do not yet provide a comprehensive and coherent system of protection to migrants and their descendants.

3.   Key concepts and tools

As was noted in the previous section of this chapter, in general, both the EU and the broader international legal order are deferential to state language policy choices. This is clear from cases such as *Podkolzina v Latvia*,[14] in which the European Court of Human Rights ('ECtHR') found fault with the way in which Latvia administered examinations in Latvian language competence for those standing for public office, but ruled that the requirement of competence in the state language was itself a legitimate aim. In the context of EU law, the Court of Justice of the European Union ('CJEU') has also shown a deference to state language policy. In the case of *Groener*

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10. There are other instruments which provide some protection to minorities, but unlike the FCNM and the ECRML, the precise content of such protections has not been articulated in any detail. See, for example, Article 27 of the ICCPR, which is effectively reproduced in Article 30 of the United Nations' *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. Article 15, paragraph 1 (a) of the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* entails the obligation of States parties to recognize, respect and protect minority cultures as an essential component of the identity of the States themselves (para. 32). The committee has also noted in this general comment that the protection of cultural diversity is an ethical imperative of states (para. 40).

11. Thirty-nine of the forty-seven member states of the Council of Europe have ratified the FCNM; among those that have not are EU member states Belgium, France, Greece, and Luxembourg. Only twenty-five member states have ratified the ECRML; among those that have not are EU member states Belgium, Bulgaria, Estonia, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, and Portugal.

12. Indeed, the ECRML

13. See, for example, Burch, 2010, and Medda-Windischer, 2017.

14. Application no. 46726/99.

v Minister for Education,[15] for example, the CJEU found that it was permissible for Ireland to require the applicant, a Dutch national who had come to Ireland to teach in an art college, to learn and demonstrate competence in the Irish language, even though the teacher would not be teaching through the medium of Irish, and even though Irish was a minoritized language spoken by a minority of the population of the state. Given the constitutional status of Irish in Ireland – the Irish language is referred to in the Irish constitution of 1937 as the national and first official language – the court found that the state was entitled to impose a language requirement in the circumstances of the case, in spite of the fact that it may affect the mobility of an EU citizen. This deference forms the context for the consideration of the issues raised in this chapter.

The concept of non-discrimination, a fundamentally important concept in international human rights law, can, however, have significant implications in relation to the application of policies and laws which regulate mobility and which attempt to promote inclusion, something that will be considered in more detail in subsequent sections of this chapter. The concept of non-discrimination is set out in the ECHR, the ICCPR, the ICERD, and many other relevant international instruments. Article 14 of the ECHR provides, for example, that the enjoyment of the rights guaranteed by the ECHR shall be secured without discrimination on any ground, including language. Article 1 of Protocol 12 to the ECHR provides that the enjoyment of any right set forth in law (and not merely rights guaranteed by the ECHR) shall be secured without discrimination on any ground, including language.[16] Article 26 of the ICCPR is similarly broad: it provides that all persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law, and that the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground, including language.

The US case of *Lau v. Nichols*,[17] provides an example of the potential of the principle of equal protection to impact on language in the context of cross-border mobility and social inclusion of migrants and their offspring. In that case, the United States Supreme Court ruled that the failure to provide supplemental language instruction for students with limited proficiency in English, the language of the schools in San Francisco (where the complaint was lodged), violated section 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This section is essentially a non-discrimination provision, not unlike, in

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15. Case C-379/87, [1989] ECR 3967.

16. Only twenty of the forty-seven Council of Europe member states have ratified Protocol 12, and only nine EU member states have ratified it: Croatia, Cyprus, Finland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Romania, Spain, and Slovenia. The UK has not ratified it.

17. 414 U.S. 563 (1974).

its effects, Article 26 of the ICCPR or Protocol 12 of the ECHR. It provides that "no person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance". The Supreme Court ruled that the failure to provide supplemental language instruction for non-English speakers had the effect of denying them a meaningful education, in violation of section 601. Although the court did not specify the precise nature of the steps which the authorities had to take, the court required that the students be provided with some form of 'appropriate relief'.

Another concept which may be of significant importance in the context of the issues considered in this chapter is that of proportionality. It is a legal concept of wide application, but it has been particularly important in human rights law. It has been summarised as follows: "You must not use a hammer to crack a nut, if a nutcracker would do" (The Department of Justice, Hong Kong, 2013: 1). Most frequently, it is engaged where state law or policy impinges on an individual right, and it addresses the question of when and to what extent it is 'necessary' for a collective interest, as reflected in law or policy generated by legislatures or governments, to override the rights of individuals. It is this notion of 'necessity' which introduces the concept of proportionality. The modern origins of the concept lie in Prussian administrative law of the late nineteenth century. In the *Kreuzberg* case of 1882,[18] heard by the Prussian Supreme Administrative Court in relation to policing law, the police invoked a provision which empowered them to adopt such measures 'as are *necessary* for the maintenance of public order' (emphasis added). The Prussian court held that in order to meet the principle of necessity, the measures taken must not exceed in intensity what was required by the objective being pursued (Engle, 2012).

In a human rights context, the enjoyment of various rights, such as the right to freedom of expression,[19] the right to respect for private and family life,[20] the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion,[21] and the right to peaceful assembly and the right to freedom of association with others,[22] are not absolute. The state may place restrictions on such rights – for example, in the interests of national security or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others – but any such

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18. 14 June 1882, PrOVG 9, 353.

19. Art. 10, para. 1, ECHR; Art. 19, para. 2, ICCPR.

20. Art. 8, ECHR; Art. 23, ICCPR.

21. Art. 9, ECHR; Art. 18, ICCPR.

22. Art. 11, ECHR; Arts. 21 and 22, ICCPR.

restriction must be 'prescribed by law' – that is, it must be set out in a legal instrument or other formal act that is publicly disseminated – and it must be '*necessary* in a democratic society' (emphasis added).

There have been a huge number of human rights cases in which the notion of 'necessity' and therefore the concept of proportionality has been considered, although relatively few have involved language. A case already mentioned in this chapter usefully illustrates the application of the concept. *Ballantyne et al v. Canada*[23] involved language legislation, the Charter of the French Language, in the Canadian province of Quebec which made French the sole official language of the province, and introduced a wide range of measures to enhance the status and use of French, including a requirement that all signage in the public domain be in French only. After litigation in the Canadian courts, the law was amended; it continued to prohibit the use of any language other than French on external signage, but allowed the use of other languages on signage within premises. The complainants felt that this modification did not go far enough, and complained to the Human Rights Committee, established under the ICCPR, that their right to freedom of expression under the ICCPR had been violated.

The Committee found that their right to freedom of expression had been violated, and although the purpose which the measure sought to achieve, which the Committee found to be the protection of the vulnerable position of the francophone minority in Canada, was a legitimate public policy goal, they concluded that the form the restriction took was not 'necessary' and therefore not proportionate. The Committee found that protecting the French language could have been achieved in other ways that did not amount to a complete restriction in external signage on the use of languages other than French, for example through a requirement that French must be used alongside any other language.[24]

The concept of proportionality is also of great importance in the context of non-discrimination and equality law, which can be illustrated in another decision of the Human Rights Committee under the ICCPR. The case of *Waldman v. Canada*[25] did not deal directly with language, but it is of considerable relevance to language in the context of equality law. The case involved a complaint brought by a parent who had chosen to send his two children to a private Jewish school in the City of Toronto, in the province of Ontario, for which he had to pay sizeable tuition fees. The province provided free admission to Roman Catholic schools, but did not provide similar support to schools of any other religious denomination. Mr Waldman

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23. See note 6, *supra*.

24. Para. 11.4.

25. Communication No. 694/1996, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/67/D/694/1996 (1999).

challenged this on the basis that, by not supporting the costs of education in schools of other religious denominations, his equality rights under Article 26 of the ICCPR were being violated, and the Human Rights Committee found in his favour. It ruled that Article 26 does not require that all individuals be treated in exactly the same way, but where individuals are treated differently, such differences in treatment must be based on reasonable and objective criteria – essentially, that any differential treatment be proportionate to their particular circumstances.

Of particular interest is that one member of the Committee, Martin Scheinen, went on to consider how the concept of 'reasonable and objective criteria' would apply in the case of language. He noted that state funding of minority language education would also not, in and of itself, be discriminatory. He argued, though, that in order to avoid discrimination in funding religious (or linguistic) education for some but not all minorities, states should consider whether, for example, there was 'constant demand' for such education. He noted that one legitimate criterion for deciding whether it would amount to discrimination not to establish a public minority school is whether there is a sufficient number of children to attend such a school so that it could operate as a viable part in the overall system of education. Thus, sufficiency of demand would be an important factor in determining state support for minority education.

The concept of proportionality, in the sense it was deployed in the *Waldman* case, is reflected in treaties for the protection of minorities, such as the FCNM and the ECRML, mentioned previously. These treaties provide for the possibility of children being educated through the medium of the minority language or for members of minorities to receive public services through the medium of their language. Under the treaties, such possibilities generally only exist in areas in which there are significant numbers or concentrations of speakers, and in some cases where there is 'sufficient demand' for such provision. This notion of demand sufficiency has been described as embodying a 'sliding scale' approach: where the effective demand for minority language provision is greater, the more significant is the actual level of provision (de Varennes, 1996: 169). Demand sufficiency represents the application of the concept of proportionality in yet another context. The provision of public services, such as education, involves a variety of costs. The concept of proportionality at work in this 'sliding scale' approach attempts to balance the interest of the individual in the minority language service with the interest of the state in managing resources effectively.

Proportionality therefore has the potential to help address many conflicts between state policy on the one hand and the interests of individuals and groups on the other. It also has the potential to address unjustified differences in the treatment of different individuals.

4.   Language, mobility and inclusion: Identifying the legal gaps

As noted earlier, mobility is most obviously impacted by states' policy and legislation on immigration and naturalisation, although as we will see, policies and legislation on matters such as education can also have important implications for mobility. While international law has inpinged to a certain degree on national legislation in relation to migration,[26] through, for example, specialist instruments on the rights of migrant workers such as the *International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families of 1990*,[27] and in relation to citizenship through, for example, treaties such as the Council of Europe's *European Convention on Nationality*,[28] migration and naturalisation remain areas in which states tend to guard jealously their sovereignty, particularly in times of heightened concern about national security (Cholewinski, 2007: 255). The most obvious limitations which international law may impose on the use of the sorts of language requirements that now exist in relation to residence and citizenship are provisions in international human rights instruments, and particularly non-discrimination provisions. These considerations will be discussed further in the next section of this chapter.

The position of EU citizens who migrate to other EU member states is markedly different from that of non-EU migrants, at least in relation to migration itself, if not to citizenship. The right of EU citizens and their family members to move and reside freely within the territory of other member states is set out in Articles 20(2)(a) and 21 of the *Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union*[29] ('TFEU'), and enshrined in Article 45 of the *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union*,[30] and is given effect to by EU Directive 2004/38/EC. EU member states are not entitled to restrict this right simply because the EU citizen has an insufficient understanding

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26. For detailed accounts, see, for example. Chetail, 2019, Plender, 2015, or Opeskin, Perruchoud, and Redpath-Cross, 2012.

27. UNGA Res. 45/158. It is important to note, however, that no EU member state has either signed or ratified this treaty.

28. European Treaty Service – No. 166, Strasbourg, 6.XI.1997. The treaty has been ratified by twenty-one EU member states: Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, Luxembourg, Montenegro the Netherlands, Portugal, North Macedonia, Norway, Republic of Moldova Romania, Sweden, Bosnia Herzegovina Slovakia and Ukraine. Among many other things, this treaty imposes certain obligations on states with regard to procedural matters such as the processing of applications.

29. Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, [2012] OJ C326/47.

30. [2012] OJ C326/391.

of the official language of the host state, and therefore the sorts of language-based conditions which many EU member states now impose on entry of non-EU citizens generally cannot be applied to EU citizens.

Article 45 of the TFEU guarantees freedom of movement of workers, although Article 3, paragraph 1 of Regulation (EU) No. 492/2011 of the European Parliament and of the Council provides that member states can limit the right of EU citizens to take up employment by requiring a level of linguistic knowledge where such is required by the nature of the post to be filled. In the case *Salomone Haim v Kassenzahnärztliche Vereinigung Nordrhein*,[31] which involved an Italian dentist who wished to practice in Germany, the CJEU held that a German language requirement imposed on Haim was acceptable on the basis that a capacity to interact in German was necessary in order to carry out a dialogue with patients, comply with rules of professional conduct and the law specific to dentists, as well as the performance of certain administrative tasks.[32] The court was careful to note, however, that any such language requirements should not go beyond what is necessary to achieve the objectives of carrying out a dialogue with patients, complying with rules of professional conduct, and the conduct of administrative tasks;[33] this is an expression of the principle of proportionality, discussed in the previous section of this chapter. The *Groener* case, also discussed in the preceding section, is another example of how states may limit the right of EU citizens to take up employment on the basis of language requirements. In the case, the CJEU was willing to accept the imposition of a language requirement, even where there was no occupational necessity in being able to speak the language in question (Irish), where the language has a special constitutional status in the member case in question.

Generally, EU citizens who exercise the right to move to another EU state are, like non-EU migrants, bound by the language regime of that state, and unless the host state offers services in languages other than the official language of the host state – perhaps, as a result of measures taken in compliance with the FCNM or the ECRML, or other measures voluntarily undertaken by the state[34] – they will, like other migrants, have to access such services through the medium of the official language. There are, however, certain exceptions to this in respect of migrants who are EU citizens, in recognition that language problems in dealing with public authorities can have the practical effect of inhibiting the right to freedom of movement. So, for example, Council Regulation 1408/71/EEC, which guaranteed citizens

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31. CJEU judgment of 4 July 2000, Case C-424/97, ECR 2000, I-5123.

32. Para. 59.

33. Para. 60.

34. See the discussion in the next section of this chapter.

of a member state working in another member state the right to participate in so-cial security programs of that host state, effectively provided that the EU migrant worker could submit documents to the authorities, institutions and tribunals of the host state in his or her own language, if the language was an official language of the EU.[35] Although this regulation was repealed by Regulation (EC) No. 883/2004 of the European Parliament and the Council, Article 84, paragraph 4 was essentially reproduced in Article 76, paragraph 7; furthermore, the older regulation still applies to certain workers. Regulation (EC) 987/2009 of the European Parliament and the Council, which sets out rules for implementing Regulation 883/2004, provides that EU migrant workers can request that certain decisions regarding social security benefits be in any of the official languages of the EU.[36] The CJEU has ruled that the authorities of member states must ensure that, in issuing social security decisions which are not subject to this regulation, "legal certainty is not prejudiced by a failure arising from the inability of the worker to understand the language in which a deci-sion is notified to him".[37] Taken together, though, this is a relatively limited regime.

A somewhat more significant provision for EU migrants which is a corollary of the right to freedom of movement that is guaranteed in EU law relates to the home country language in education. A 1977 Directive, Directive 77/486, requires that EU Member States must teach children of citizens of another EU member state who are working in the state one of the official languages of the host state, and also take "appropriate measures" to "promote the teaching of the mother language and culture of the country of origin". So, for example, the UK must ensure that children of Polish nationals who are working in the UK are taught English, but the UK must also take appropriate measures to promote the teaching of Polish and of Polish cul-ture. The purpose of the directive is two-fold: the facilitation of integration within the host state – hence the requirement to teach the language of the host state – and also mobility – the possible reintegration of such children into the member state of origin, should the EU migrant worker wish to return home, is facilitated by ensuring that, through the education system of the host state, children of the EU migrant worker are able to learn the language of the home state. However, a 1989 Commission of the European Communities report found that implementation of the directive was poor (Commission of the European Communities, 1989), and a 2008 EU Green Paper raised concerns about the limited impact of the directive, de-scribing its implementation as 'patchy' and 'difficult' (Commission of the European

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35. Article 84, paragraph 4.

36. The EU has twenty-four official languages. For detailed discussion of the language regimes within the EU institutions themselves, see van de Jeught, 2015, or Creech, 2005.

37. *Farrauto v. Bau-Berufsgenossenschaft*, Case 66/74, 1975 ECR 157).

Communities, 2008: 4, 13). Member states have developed their own policy approaches to the teaching of their official language(s), with seemingly little influence from the directive, while the more flexible requirement concerning allochthonous languages has had only 'some patchy impact' (European Commission, 2008: 14; see McKelvey, 2017: 80).

Interestingly, the Council of Europe's *European Convention on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers*[38] has similar provisions. Article 15 of this treaty provides that "the Contracting Parties shall take actions by common accord to arrange, so far as practicable, for the migrant worker's children, special courses for the teaching of the migrant worker's mother tongue, to facilitate, inter alia, their return to their state of origin". The Council of Europe's *European Social Charter (revised)*[39] requires states to promote and facilitate, as far as practicable, the teaching of the migrant worker's mother tongue to the children of the migrant worker.[40] The United Nations' *International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families* does not make specific reference to language, but does require states parties to ensure respect for the cultural identity of migrant workers and members of their families, and prohibits states from preventing them from maintaining their cultural links with their state of origin.[41] These provisions can be understood as acknowledging the importance of not discouraging migrants from "developing rich and complex cultural identities"; they also recognise "the instrumental dimension linked to the possibility of reintegrating in the country of origin" (Rubio-Marín, 2014: 97–8). Again, though, this UN convention has not been ratified by any EU member state. Finally, the United Nations' *Convention on the Rights of the Child*[42] ('CRC') provides that the education of the child must be directed at the development of respect for the child's own cultural identity, language and values,[43] suggesting the need for recognition of the linguistic identity of the child in the child's education.

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38. European Treaty Service – No. 93, Strasbourg, 24.XI.1977.

39. European Treaty Service – No. 163, Strasbourg, 3.V.1996. Thirty-four states have ratified this treaty, although several EU member states – Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Germany, Luxembourg, Poland,

40. Art. 19, para. 12.

41. Art. 31, para. 1.

42. Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly Resolution 44/25 of 20 November 1989.

43. Art. 29, para. 1(c).

5.   Discussion

While states have a wide latitude to impose language competency requirements on non-EU migrants – as discussed, EU migrants are generally exempt from such requirements – and on all migrants who seek to become citizens, because of the non-discrimination provisions in international human rights law, such requirements must be imposed in a manner that does not disproportionately disadvantage migrants on a variety of grounds, including language. Large numbers of migrants have an insufficient command of the official language of the host state. However, research suggests that certain categories of people, including older people, women, refugees and asylum seekers and members of Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) communities face greater barriers in gaining a sufficient command of the official language, and can all therefore be disproportionately disadvantaged by state language requirements (Böcker & Strik, 2011). This clearly raises the possibility that, if compensatory measures are not taken, such tests may be inconsistent with non-discrimination provisions in international human rights law. It should also be noted that such tests also need to be procedurally fair.

After arrival in the host state, many migrants will have an insufficient command of the official language of the host state, and this can also present real problems in accessing fundamentally important services, in particular health care services, emergency services, and certain key social services. There is now a much greater understanding of the negative impact that the failure to provide such services can have on persons with an insufficient command of the official language (see Piller, 2016). In addition to discouraging mobility, the inability to access services of a similar quality to those available to citizens having the requisite language skills raises significant equality issues, and also represents a barrier to full social inclusion. As in many other jurisdictions in Europe, public authorities in Scotland, including the health service and local councils, are now responding to the multilingual public which they serve by providing some information in languages other than English, for example through multilingual public notices, information sheets, and brochures, and in some circumstances they may even provide interpreters to assist in service provision. However, these responses are generally ad hoc, and not guided by either a legislative framework or a clearly articulated and consistently applied policy. There can therefore be considerable differences in practice even within one state (McKelvey, 2020). Even where states do respond with such measures, significant equality issues still exist. First, there is the issue of equal treatment amongst different groups of speakers: where the state offers some level of service through the medium of non-official languages, some languages, and therefore speakers of such languages, may be treated better than others, and speakers of many languages may

still receive no such services at all. Second, all speakers who find themselves in these circumstances are treated less favourably than speakers of the official language, who receive services in their native language as a matter of course.

Thusfar, the EU has only sought to address such issues in a very limited way. For example, Directive 2011/24/EU of the European Parliament and the Council, on the application of patients' rights in cross-border health care, provides that EU member states may choose to deliver information (but not services) in other official EU languages than the official language of the state. This provision is, however, not mandatory. Given the fundamental importance of certain public services, including health care and certain social services, it could be argued that the interests engaged are arguably at least as important as those engaged in asylum procedures or criminal proceedings, in which translation and interpretation services must be provided (Directive 2013/32/EU, and Directive 2010/64/EU, respectively). Indeed, in the *Haim* case, discussed above, while the CJEU ruled that it was permissible for EU member states to impose requirements that dentists have an appropriate knowledge of the state language, the court also noted that it is in the interests of patients whose mother tongue is not the national language that there exists a certain number of dental practitioners who are also capable of communicating with such patients in their own language.[44] There is, then, an argument that EU legislation should be developed to require service provision in areas of particular importance to the well-being of individuals, such as health care, social security, and so forth, in languages other than the official language of the state.

However, even in the absence of EU action, member states should be addressing this issue. As has been noted, in practice, local authorities, health care providers, and other government services are responding in the absence of legislation or a clearly articulated national policy, but such measures are ad hoc, and throw up many anomalies (McKelvey, 2020). As a first step, states should analyse these ad hoc responses, in order to identify both inconsistencies in provision and failures to make any provision. They should then at very least develop a coordinated policy for the provision of such services in languages other than the official or national language, and this should ideally be placed on a statutory footing. This would not, however, obviate the need for EU action. Significant numbers of EU citizens live in countries other than their home state. Many of these are elderly, and are more likely to need essential services such as health care, and are at the same time less likely to speak or, for a variety of reasons, be able to become sufficiently fluent in the language of the host state. Given the large differences in provision of key services

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44. Para. 60.

through non-official languages which almost certainly exist within the EU,[45] this seems to be an obvious and important area for EU legislative action.

The concept of proportionality provides guidance with regard to designing an appropriate framework. First, the more serious the consequences arising from the inability to communicate in the official language, the more compelling is the need for the state to ensure equality of treatment by providing access to the service through the user's language. In the most serious of contexts – for example, those analogous to the deprivation of liberty, which as noted above engages the right to an interpreter – the obligation to provide the service, perhaps through an interpreter or by the service provider her- or himself may be absolute. Second, in other cases, the level of provision can be determined by the application of the 'sliding scale', referred to in the previous section of this chapter, with greater provision available where there are greater concentrations or numbers of speakers of a particular language who are unable to communicate effectively in the official language.

With regard to education of the children of migrants, the language policy of state-supported pre-school, primary, and secondary education has been directed in the first instance at equipping all students with functional fluency in the official language(s) of the state, and education through the medium of that language (or one of those languages) has been the norm. As noted, some provision for the teaching of the children's mother tongue has been mandated for EU migrants as a result of Directive 77/486/EU or where the *European Social Charter (revised)* applies, although actual implementation of such obligations is problematic. Children of migrants from non-EU member states are generally in an even less advantageous position.[46]

Equality considerations may demand the provision of at least some mother tongue education. As the *Lau* case demonstrated, failure to provide any such education – at very least some form of transitional bilingual programming – to children of migrants who have an insufficient command of the official language through which education is generally provided, may violate the principle of equal protection of the law. It is now possible that it may constitute a violation of the right to education itself, a right guaranteed under Article 2 the First Protocol to the ECHR (as well as under other international instruments such as the CRC),[47] as a result of the

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45. See, for example, McKelvey, 2020, for evidence of such disparities in Scotland between provision by different public bodies serving the same segment of the population.

46. As noted, no EU member state has yet ratified the *International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families*, which, while not guaranteeing mother tongue education, does provide that states must ensure respect for the cultural identity of migrant workers and members of their families.

47. Art. 28, para. 1.

Cyprus v. Turkey [48]case. It had long been assumed that the ECHR-guaranteed right to education did not include a right to any form of mother tongue education.[49] In *Cyprus v. Turkey*, however, the ECtHR concluded that the requirement that children from Greek-speaking homes who had been educated at primary school in Greek attend Turkish-medium secondary education amounted to a complete denial of their right to education, as they did not have the linguistic competence to benefit from their education. The ultimate implications of this case are not yet clear, but it could be argued that it may support the proposition that some sort of special provision needs to be made for children entering school with little or no competence in the language of the school.

Research on childhood education, for example, demonstrates that both educational outcomes and life outcomes of children who have an inadequate command of the official language of the state are enhanced by providing mother tongue instruction in the early years of formal education (see, for example, Piller, 2016 and UNESCO, 2008) In these circumstances, failure to provide mother-tongue instruction for children with inadequate command of the official language, at least on a transitional basis until full fluency in the official language has been achieved, may constitute a violation of the principle of equal protection of the law. The argument is that such children are effectively being denied an education of the same quality as students who are fluent in the official language. Again, though, equality as between members of different migrant language groups must also be borne in mind. As the *Waldman* case demonstrated, if members of different groups are treated differently, the justifications for such differential treatment must be considered very carefully. And, again, the notion of the 'sliding scale', itself an expression of the concept of proportionality, may provide the basis for practice in this area.

6. Conclusion

The most significant way in which states regulate directly the mobility of persons is through law and policy on immigration and naturalisation. Because control of borders is such a fundamental aspect of state sovereignty, states are generally reluctant to allow international regulation in these areas. In recent years, states have increasingly imposed requirements of competence in the official language of the state at every stage of the migration process; this is often justified on the grounds

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48. [GC], no. 25781/94, ECHR 2001-IV.

49. *Belgian Linguistics Case (No. 2)*, Application no. 1474/62; 1677/62; 1691/62; 1769/63; 1994/63; 2126/64, (1968) 1 EHRR 252.

that acquisition of the official language facilitates integration, but it is clear that such requirements have also been used to restrict migration. Non-discrimination and equality provisions in important international human rights instruments may, however, have the potential to regulate such measures, to ensure that certain categories of migrants are not disproportionately disadvantaged by the application of such requirements.

Integration is certainly facilitated by equipping migrants with fluency in the official language of the state. However, many children of migrants face barriers to acquiring fluency through the education system, and increasing amount of research is demonstrating that some form of mother tongue an education, at least on a transitional basis, can assist acquisition and improve life chances more generally. Once again, existing international obligations have been relatively ineffective in addressing this issue. In such circumstances, non-discrimination and equality provisions may once again be capable of producing, and indeed demanding, changes in state policy and practice.

Many migrants nonetheless have an insufficient command of the official language, and this can result in serious disadvantages in accessing particularly important public services, such as health care, social services, and so forth. There is considerable evidence that many local authorities, health care providers, and other public institutions are responding to this reality with a variety of measures, but such responses are ad hoc, uncoordinated, and often not directed by an overarching policy. Once again, equality considerations may require not only that such issues be addressed, but that they be addressed in a comprehensive way. Given that such disadvantages can have an indirect impact on mobility, an EU response, aimed at addressing such barriers to inter-state mobility, may be justified.

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Frontiers of multilingualism

Multilingualism and security

The case of Latvia

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The 20th century left permanent marks on the European geographical, socio-political and linguistic maps. No EU member states other than Estonia and Latvia have five percent or more native Russian-speakers in their population, which makes the case of the Baltic States unique in the wider pan-European context. Russia, the EU's largest neighbour, has struggled to cope with the political reality of tens of millions of Russian-speakers being left outside of its borders. The mix of ethno-linguistic borders that do not coincide with politico-geographic ones raises several security-related questions; one of them is whether language can be used as a tool of manipulation, propaganda and source of unrest in society. Russia has securitised the protection of Russian-speakers abroad as analysis of its strategic foreign, security and military policy documents proved. In countries not included in NATO and the EU, such as Georgia and Ukraine, the Russian authorities have used the protection of ethnic Russians and Russian-speakers as a legitimate reason to violate the sovereignty and indivisibility of independent nations. Any country with a substantial Russian-speaking diaspora, especially in the former Soviet territories with less power and resources than Russia, may find its national security and societal resilience put to the test. The aim of the article is to analyse potential security implications stemming from different linguistic groups from the perspective of societal security, national security, risk to state sovereignty, and security at the wider EU level, as well as to identify challenges that may arise when conflicts of international actors spill over into state domains, and cause dissent within the local population.

1.   Introduction

The two world wars and regime change after the end of the Cold War had a substantial impact on Europe's geographical, socio-political and linguistic landscape. Repercussions have been significantly stronger in smaller countries that re-emerged from behind the Iron Curtain, like the Baltic States.[1] Five decades of Soviet occupation shifted the fundamental makeup of Baltic ethnic and linguistic composition, increasing the share of ethnic Russians and Russian-speakers[2] in the Baltics. Their comprehensive integration into wider society has been among the major governmental policies of these countries since the restoration of their independence in the early 1990s. Meanwhile, Russia – the EU's largest neighbour – has struggled to cope with the political reality of tens of millions of Russian-speakers being left outside its new geographical borders after the collapse of the USSR[3] and some even living in countries belonging to the Euro-Atlantic community, an area often representing different geopolitical, economic, and cultural orientations. The mix of ethno-linguistic borders that do not coincide with politico-geographic ones and a neighbour worried about these ethnic minorities has the potential to create tensions or even conflicts, with implications for societal, state, and international security.

The article examines the frontiers of multilingualism through the prism of Latvia's case, which has the largest share of ethnic Russians and Russian-speakers as a part of its population amongst all EU countries. It begins with an overview of the theoretical literature devoted to security concepts, illustrating an increased interest in comprehensive, society-centred studies instead of state-centric approaches shifting away from the realist dominance in security studies and opening space for transdisciplinary approaches, including multilingualism. The second part presents challenges of integrating language minority groups when a more influential neighbour state with the same ethno-linguistic background as the minority group may confront socio-political processes by adopting and implementing policies aiming

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1.   Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. No other EU member has 5 percent (or more) native Russian speakers in population, which makes the case of the Baltic States unique in a pan-European context.

2.   Terms 'Russian-speaker' or 'Russophone' apply to individuals who use Russian as the primary form of communication in their daily lives at home, work, or elsewhere. They apply to ethnic Russians, Belarussians, Ukrainians, Jews, and even ethnic Latvians from mixed families.

3.   After the collapse of the Soviet Union (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), its fifteen former republics, which besides the Russian Federation (RF) included Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan, declared independence. The Russian language is an official language in Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, and is still widely used in Latvia, Estonia, the southern Caucasus and Central Asia.

at exclusion of certain linguistic groups from society. The third section of the article sets out to illustrate potential prospects for building resilience at societal and state levels against malign influence or hybrid tactics employed by third parties. Strong emphasis is placed on the various roles a language can play at state and societal levels in a contested multilingual environment. Finally, the authors examine potential solutions for strengthening state and societal resilience, based on Latvia's case study.

2.   Security and language: Theoretical perspectives

Differences between theoretical approaches for analysing multilingualism within the discipline of international relations can be explained through the evolution of the security concept itself. Since the emergence of security studies after the Second World War, the security concept was associated primarily with the political realism.[4] According to Paul D. Williams, security was linked with "the four Ss of *states, strategy, science* and *the status quo*",[5] as *states* were the main referents of security; a *strategy* of using military force to avoid threats was the main academic and practical concern; it involved *science*, because it used strictly scientific methods similar to the natural sciences; and lastly it was about the *status quo* and avoiding any radical changes within the international community.[6] At first glance, multilingualism hardly falls within the military domain, either theoretically or practically, and nor does a language always overlap with the geographical borders of a nation state.

However, over the last few decades security studies have experienced transformations and emergence of new approaches that may include different aspects of multilingualism. Several authors have called this transformation a 'widening' or 'broadening' of the security concept.[7] The wave of broadening was largely initiated by

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4.   Williams, Paul D. (Ed.) *Security Studies: An Introduction*. London, New York: Routledge, 2008, pp. 2–3

5.   *Ibid,*, p. 3

6.   *Ibid.*

7.   Krause, Keith, Williams, Michael C. Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods. *Mershon International Studies Review*, Vol. 40, No. 2, 1996, pp. 229–254; McSweeney, Bill. Broadening the Concept of Security. In: McSweeney, B. (Ed.) *Security, Identity and Interests: A Sociology of International Relations*. Cambridge Studies in International Relations (No. 69). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1999, pp. 45–67; Buzan, Barry, Waever, Ole, De Wilde, Jaap. *Security: A New Framework For Analysis*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers. 1998, pp. 1–5; Saleh, Alim. Broadening the Concept of Security: Identity and Societal Security. *Geopolitics Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 4, winter 2010, pp. 228–241; Ozoliņa, Žaneta. Re-considering the Concept of Security. In: Ozoliņa, Ž. (Ed.) *Rethinking Security*. Riga: Zinātne, 2010, pp. 19–26.

Barry Buzan in his iconic book *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*. The work highlights two major ways in which the security concept was broadened, and therefore later became adaptable for research of multilingualism. First, the referent of security was broadened from the state to the individual, arguing that 'human beings are the prime source of each other's insecurity'.[8] Second, the range of security threats, insecurities and vulnerabilities became larger than military, including political, societal, economic, and ecological, security challenges.[9] This paved the way for language and multilingualism to be addressed by security researchers. Depending on the particular school of security studies, multilingualism could be regarded and analysed as either a security challenge (even as a risk or a threat) to a particular community within a state at the national level, or between different states at the regional and international levels. It could also be seen as a tool of particular political and economic players, states or international organisations to achieve specific interests.

A concept of 'securitisation' is a more extreme version of politicisation of security issues. Buzan, Waever, and De Wilde have argued that "'Security' is thus a self-referential practice, because it is in this practice that the issue becomes a security issue – not necessarily because a real existential threat exists but because the issue is presented as such a threat".[10] Therefore, from a constructivist perspective, a discourse on particular threats encouraging a wider public to accept violation of the regular rules or procedures for eradicating or containing the threat is more important than the objective reality about such a security challenge. To securitise an issue, according to Toms Rostoks, "it is necessary to have an actor, the intention to securitize something (usually, but not always, such intentions are based on a perception that a referent object is threatened by an existential threat) and a securitizing move that aims at convincing the audience (government and society) that extraordinary actions are necessary in order to protect the referent object".[11] According to Rostoks, securitisation can be practised both by regular political decision-makers seeking fast eradication of threats by applying non-regular methods, as well as by non-state actors trying to politicise an issue and gain support from both political decision-makers and the public in order to put a particular problem higher on the

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8.   Buzan, Barry. *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era (Second Edition)*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf. 1991, p. 35.

9.   *Ibid.*, pp. 112–134

10.   *Ibid.*, p. 24

11.   Rostoks, T. Securitization and Insecure Societies. In Ozoliņa, Ž. (Ed.) *Rethinking Security*. Riga: Zinātne, 2010, p. 65

political agenda, therefore also attracting non-routine actions and faster solutions.[12] He has noted some possible negative effects; for instance, "some securitizing moves may be motivated by genuine concern on behalf of particular referent object, but other moves are likely to be motivated by political competition among rival interest groups who may see securitization as a convenient way to attract public attention to their particular causes."[13] When securitising a language, this may create some confusion and hinder proper responses from decision-makers who may have to decide whether there are existential threats to a particular society, community and state, or such acts are used to gain political power and public recognition by individuals, groups or political forces.

According to Buzan, societal security, in which a language plays a major role besides culture and identity, is closely interlinked with political and military sectors because "in relations between states, significant external threats on the social level amount to attacks on national identity, and thus easily fall within the political realm". Focusing on multilingualism, he has argued that "matters of language, religion and local cultural tradition all play their part in the idea of the state, and may need to be defended or protected against seductive or overbearing cultural imports. If the local culture is weak or small, even the unintended side-effects of casual contact could prove disruptive and politically charged."[14] Societal security is compared to and understood as 'identity security' that may be threatened by migration, horizontal competition, vertical competition or depopulation. Migration is seen as a threat in terms of changes in the composition of population as a community, and its identity is either overrun or changed to that of another immigrating population. Horizontal competition becomes a threat to a community or country as its cultural and linguistic habits may change due to a neighbouring cultural influence. Vertical competition becomes a security issue when the identity of a local people is changed by either a larger identity (an integrating project) or divided into narrower identities (secessionist-'regionalist' projects).[15]

Another way to approach multilingualism and language from a different perspective in security studies is through the school of critical security studies. For example, Ken Booth has challenged various basic ideas of the realist school by denying that security and power can be realised only on a zero-sum basis (by taking them

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12. Rostoks, T. Securitization and Insecure Societies. In Ozoliņa, Ž. (Ed.) *Rethinking Security*. Riga: Zinātne, 2010, pp. 73–74

13. *Ibid.*, p. 77

14. Buzan, Barry. *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era (Second ed.)*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf. 1991, pp. 122–123

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 119–121

away from others), or that states should be the main referents of security. Moreover, Booth normatively argues that "true security can only be achieved by people and groups if they do not deprive others of it" and "it is emancipation, not power and order, in both theory and practice, that leads to stable security".[16]

In a similar setting, the concept of human security was itself introduced in 1994 as a triad of 'freedoms': 'freedom from want' (development aspects) and 'freedom from fear' (personal security aspects),[17] as well as 'freedom to live in dignity'.[18] The fact that the concept is universal (applicable to any nation in the world) and people-centred allows it to be used for various types of analysis of multilingualism and language policy. For example, one might explore how knowledge of a particular language (or lack of it) affects people's acquisition of basic needs, and minimum levels of security and dignity. Again, by focusing on one of the seven areas of the human security concept – the community or societal security – one may analyse how secure cohabitation of different language-speakers and people of different identities can be within the same spatial area, be it a village, a town, a country or a region.

Language and multilingualism have not become an integral part of security studies. However, several events[19] in the last decade have increased scholars' interest in analysing the role of language in cases of confrontation, conflicts and even potential wars among states in a situation of increased geopolitical competition.

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16. Booth, Ken. Security in Anarchy: Utopian Realism in Theory and Practice. *International Affairs*, Vol. 67, No. 3, p. 539

17. *Ibid.*, p. 24

18. Commission on Human Security. *Human Security Now: Protecting and Empowering People*. New York: Commission on Human Security. 2003, p. 4

19. They include the use of a language as a part of 'hybrid' attacks; massive information campaigns targeted at particular linguistic groups to create unrest or even conflict; use of force to achieve a country's national security interests where a language has served both as a motivation to use military force (defence of Russian compatriots living abroad) and as a tool of warfare itself when propaganda and information campaigns are applied to rally support among Russian-speakers in Russia and abroad (NATO Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence. Analysis *of Russia's Information Campaigns Against Ukraine*. Riga: NATO Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence. 2014, pp. 3–5. Retrieved from http://www.stratcomcoe.org/~/media/SCCE/NATO_PETIJUMS_PUBLISKS_29_10.ashx (last accessed 12 April 2015).

3.   Geopolitics and language: Local challenges arising from international frictions

Since declaring independence in 1918 Latvia has, owing to its geography and history, been exposed to geopolitical rifts with major implications for various ethnic and linguistic groups. After losing its independence during the Second World War and remaining behind the Iron Curtain for five decades, it regained its independence in 1991. The most notable change enacted by Soviet policy in Latvia was its drastically changed ethnic and linguistic composition. In particular, 15,424 people were deliberately deported from Latvia to Siberia in 1941 (Pelkaus et al., 2007), and another 42,125 in 1949 (Kārkliņš et al., 2007), the majority of whom were ethnic Latvians, and some 100,000 to 150,000 more fled Latvia as refugees during World War II to live in exile (State Archives of Latvia). Moreover, Russification – forced and targeted migration of ethnic Russians and Russian-speakers from other Soviet republics – significantly diluted Latvia's population during the Soviet era (Figure 21.1). Ever since, the changed ethnic and linguistic composition has had a notable impact on Latvia's political, cultural, economic and social processes.

Meanwhile, Russia's government, succeeding that of the Soviet Union, has struggled with the problem of tens of millions of ethnic Russians and Russian-speakers being left outside its new borders. The geopolitical schism between Russia and Latvia grew rapidly, as the latter joined both the EU and NATO in 2004. As far as the Russian authorities were concerned, Russian-speakers in Latvia (37% of its population), who form a part of 'the Russian world', had thus been sequestered into another geographical, political and economic tectonic plate.
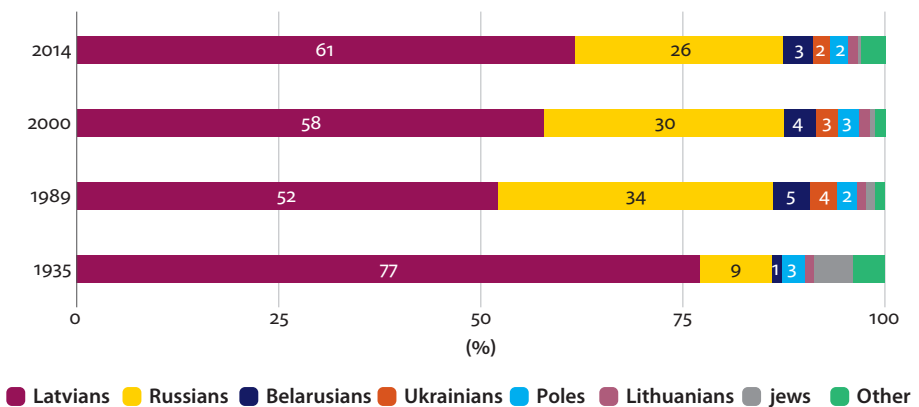
Figure 21.1 Ethnic composition (%) in Latvia (1935–2014)

While Latvia has pursued different societal integration policies, Russia has applied a policy of protecting Russian-speakers in Russia's immediate vicinity (Russia's Compatriots Policy). For example, Latvia and other Baltic states have experienced manipulation of their Russian-speaking minority through propaganda and disinformation campaigns, cyber-attacks, Russian-backed political parties, and orchestrated protest demonstrations. For example, Russia used language as one of the potential threats when Latvia was developing a new language law (Kelley, 2006: 170–171). In 2003–2004, Russian-language school teachers and students in Latvia participated in mass demonstrations.[20] The most visible episode when language became a matter of security was the campaign to organise a national referendum in Latvia in 2012, with the aim of getting Russian recognised as the second official state language. Following the referendum, in which this aim was rejected by 74.80% of citizens (Central Elections Commission, 2012), the Latvian Security Police concluded that the event was a direct outcome of Russia's Compatriots Policy in Latvia, which had negative consequences for Latvia's national security.

Since the 1990s the concept of 'Russian-speakers' has become an important element in Russia's foreign and security policy. In 1999 the Russian Federation (RF) adopted a federal law setting a very broad definition of compatriots (*соотечественники* in Russian). According to Article 3 of the law, all ethnic Russians abroad, including all inhabitants (both citizens and non-citizens) of the former Soviet republics could be regarded as compatriots (Russian Federation, 24 May 1999). It left an open-ended free choice for any ex-Soviet people to associate with this policy and hence to be regarded as compatriots of the RF (Kallas, 2016). The internal political debates in Russia at the time indicated that this policy was intended to cover 25 million Russian-speakers abroad (*ibid.*).

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20. The event gathered tens of thousands of Russian-speaking teachers and students (mostly from high school) shouting the slogan 'Hands off the Russian schools' and protesting against the new education law, which was adopted back in 1998 and after the end of transition period required an increased share of curriculum to be taught in Latvian at all state-financed schools. From one perspective, the events were just a civil activist movement rallying to change the government's position in order to defend their societal security. From another, it could be considered a provocation to achieve several aims, including securing election to political office, and to discredit Latvia in the international arena as it was joining the EU. The movement was led by an alliance of political parties known as PCTVL, which used the campaign to gain political support for its remarkable election to parliament in 2006 (winning 6 out of 100 mandates), and to gain third place in the EU Parliamentary elections in 2004 and 2009 (with 10.7% and 9.7% of the vote, resulting in 1 out of 9 and 1 out of 8 mandates respectively) (Centrālā vēlēšanu komisija (CVK) 2004, 2006, 2009). When the rest of the nation celebrated accession to the EU on 1 May 2004, some 20,000 Russian-speakers organised a protest march against the use of Latvian in schools.

In 2007 a much broader concept of 'the Russian world' (*russkiy mir*) was introduced, in which the main criterion was self-identification. According to Kallas (2016), this concept was based on an idea that the RF and Russian-speakers abroad together form one civilisation, which is based on three pillars: Russian language, common historical memory, and the Russian Orthodox Church. *Russkiy mir* thus came to include three types of identification with Russia: cultural (Russian language, Orthodox faith, historical memory), political (Russian state) and economic (being an economic actor in favour of Russia)' (ibid., pp. 7–8).

In 2006, Russia's supported repatriation (of both ethnic Russians and Russian-speaking compatriots) and *russkiy mir* became an integral part of a wider Russia's foreign policy toolbox. Since 2008 the term 'compatriots abroad' has been constantly included in all Russia's foreign policy concepts and military doctrines. Since 2010, the RF has invested significant financial and political resources in *russkiy mir* abroad, by creating new and supporting existing institutions, such as *russkiy mir* foundations, Pushkin institutes, Moscow houses and local NGOs.

The protection of compatriots and Russian-speakers in Russia and abroad is a matter of national and military security for the RF, as defined in Russia's Foreign Policy Concept (2013) and its renewed version dated 2016. It set ambitions to promote and strengthen the Russian language's global position, and to comprehensively protect the 'rights and legitimate interests of Russian citizens and compatriots abroad', by defending their rights in international fora, and by consolidating the Russian diaspora and its organisations abroad.

The RF and its authorities securitise the language and citizenship issue on a comparatively higher and more comprehensive level than any country in the West. For example, the Russian Military Doctrine (2014) suggests that protection of citizens inside as well as "outside the Russian Federation from armed attacks against them" (Kremlin, 26 December 2014) is one of the priority tasks of the country's armed forces. The campaigns in Georgia and Ukraine could be seen as illustrative cases of this policy. The National Security Strategy of 2015 securitises the protection of the Russian language and compatriots even further. It states that the decline of the Russian language in the world and attempts to falsify Russian and world history are threats to national security. Moreover, it defines the role of the Russian language as "the basis of the development of integration processes in the post-Soviet area, and a means of meeting the language and cultural requirements of compatriots abroad" (Kremlin, 31 December 2015). Lastly, the strategy capitalises on RF's achievements in Ukraine, demonstrating that the words are followed by concrete action: "Russia has demonstrated the ability to safeguard sovereignty, independence, and state and territorial integrity and to protect the rights of compatriots abroad" (*ibid.*).

4. How to cope – building societal resilience

4.1 Analysis

The case of Latvia provides evidence of how a nation can strike a balance between two competing geopolitical entities, the EU and the RF, as far as inclusion of linguistic groups into society is concerned. The issue can be approached from different perspectives – those of the state and society. The state's perspective presumes analysis of the respective country's laws and policy documents, whereas society's perspective focuses more on adaptation of political and social players to changes taking place domestically and internationally. We will therefore apply the concept of societal resilience, understood as "the ability of a society or community to deflect, withstand, and cope with adverse situations, including internal and external impacts, by using its own qualities, abilities, knowledge and resources that are accumulated and exercised in a networked and mutually reinforcing strategy, continuously developed at an individual and community level across society" (Bambals, 2016: 69). In particular, the resilience of Latvia's Russian-speaking community is analysed in this section through six parameters: (1) social capital; (2) skills, knowledge and abilities; (3) economic status and available resources; (4) identity-based self-determination and membership of a particular community; (5) threat and risk perception; and (6) the tool-box for crisis preparedness (Bambals, 2016: 53–54). The analysis helps to explain how successfully the Russian-speaking community has balanced on an edge of two geopolitical power plates, by integrating into the social contract model provided by Latvian state on the one hand, and by preserving their language, identity and societal security on the other.

4.2 Social capital

The first element of societal resilience within society is social capital and how it is accumulated through various contacts. The great majority of Russian-speakers in Latvia (84.9%) believe that the family is more important than any other element of belonging (for 6.9% it was the second most important) in the formation of their identity (SKDS, August 2014: 14). Three quarters of Russian-speakers (74.9%) have daily direct contacts and regular communication with Latvian-speakers. If we add the 15.1% who communicate with the Latvian-speaking community a few times a week, nine out of ten Russian-speakers are in regular contact with Latvian-speakers (*ibid*., 20).

Nonetheless, Latvians and the Russian-speaking minority differ in their most often used and preferred language of communication. While Latvians most often use Latvian to communicate at work, school, state institutions, and with friends and

family, the Russian-speaking minority prefers to use Russian. In particular, besides family and friends, with whom 85% and 84% of Russian-speakers communicate in Russian, the majority also tends to use Russian when addressing clients at work (45%) or strangers in the street (65%) and in everyday situations such as shopping (65%). Despite Latvian being the only official state language, a significant part of Russian-speaking respondents agree that they also use Russian in state institutions (45%), local government offices (47%) and medical institutions (60%), and at school (33%) or work meetings (18%) (Lauze, 2016: 95–96). Opinion polls demonstrate that Latvians often tend to switch to Russian in everyday situations, compared to a quite stable majority of Russian-speakers who stick to Russian when communicating with other Russian-speakers and Latvians. For example, when asking a question in Latvian in the street or an everyday situation, people tend to receive an answer in Russian. In comparison, when a question is asked in Russian in similar situations, in 35% of cases the answer is in Russian. This includes 22% of cases in state institutions, 21% in local government offices, 31% in medical institutions and 18% in schools and universities (Lauze, 2016: 99).

This leads us to conclude that Russian-speakers and Latvian-speakers live in their own 'mono-linguistic societal bubbles' , since the family is more important than any other form of belonging for the former, while the language of communication may act as a barrier for the latter. The latest opinion polls demonstrate that this still applies to societal inclusiveness in Latvia two and a half decades after the fall of the Soviet Union. At the same time, the polls or interviews do not reveal the average scope of social capital – the network of people's family, friends and acquaintances – for the Russian-speaking community, and the ratio of Russian- and Latvian-speakers within it.[21]

4.3   Skills, knowledge and abilities

The second element in Russian-speakers' societal resilience is their set of acquired knowledge and abilities both within their own community and in comparison with their Latvian-speaking counterparts. Opinion polls and statistics give no indication that Russian-speakers are at a disadvantage compared to the Latvian-speaking majority in Latvia.

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21. Latvia's Russian-speakers share many similarities regarding their social capital with the neighboring Estonia's Russian-speaking community. For example, polls for 2010–2011 show that in Estonia Russian-speaker are well represented in all sectors of country's economy and had daily contacts with all linguistic groups. Particularly, 21% of them worked mostly with Estonian co-workers; 28% in mixed environments with equal share of Russian-speakers and Estonian-speakers; while for 24% and 20% of Russian-speakers other co-workers were mostly or entirely Russians-speakers respectively (Conley & Garber, August 2011: 37).

Russian-speakers are linguistically well equipped. Over two thirds of them have a sound knowledge of Latvian – 49% can speak Latvian excellently or very well, and another 28% have a sufficient level of knowledge (SKDS, August 2014: 25). Other opinion polls in 2014 demonstrated that 91% of people with a mother tongue other than Latvian had knew Latvian at least to the basic level, while nearly all people in Latvia (including all linguistic groups) could speak both Latvian (96.7%) and Russian (98.5%) (Lauze, 2016: 52).

Younger people from non-Latvian backgrounds have proved to acquire better sets of skills and knowledge than their Latvian counterparts in Latvia owing to the multilingual settings embedded in the education system reforms of the late 1990s. The 1998 Education Law, which came into force in 2004, reinforced the position of Latvian and increased the proportion of the curriculum taught in Latvian. Although initially resisted by Russian-speaking schools and teachers, the reform bore fruit a decade later. In 2013, for example, ethnic minority students who began studies in their own language but switched to Latvian at secondary school had significantly better results in their secondary-school graduation exams than their counterparts in one (minority) language the whole time. The correlation was especially strong in biology, physics, chemistry, and maths (National Centre for Education of the Republic of Latvia, 2013). The case of Latvia illustrates recent research findings in neurolinguistics according to which bilingual people tend to be more efficient problem solvers and faster learners than people who know and learn in only one language.

4.4   Economic status

Latvia's Russian-speakers are well integrated into the country's economy. Although Latvians aged between 15 and 74 are somewhat more economically active (68.1%) than ethnic Russians (63.7%), the latter have a slight lead over other ethnicities, including Belarusians (62.5%), Ukrainians (61.7%) and Poles (63.2%). In general, all ethnic and linguistic groups are close to Latvia's average score of 66.3% (Valdmanis, 2016: 78).

What differs is the most popular choice profession among the two ethnic and linguistic groups, creating a situation in which Latvian- and Russian-speakers do not necessarily work together and interact. One reason for this is that several thousand Russian-speakers are not Latvian citizens, and so cannot work in the public and security sectors. There is also a historical and geographical explanation. In several industries, such as transit and transport, Russian-speakers are significantly more represented than Latvians as a result of the generational Soviet-era legacy. These industries operate throughout Latvian urban areas, which have the largest

ethnic Russian minorities, such as Riga and Daugavpils (Valdmanis, 2016: 77–83). A third explanation is rooted in human psychology. Several economists have argued that Russian-speakers are more willing to take risks, and hence are more business-oriented and choose the private sector more often than the public sector. In comparison, Latvians are more prudent and stability-oriented, and so seek employment in the public sector and civil administration. Yet the downside of this trend is that, as several studies have discovered, Russian-speakers are also more often employed in the 'shadow economy' (not paying taxes in part or in full), compared to Latvians (*ibid*., 83–84). Nonetheless, both Russian-speakers and Latvians have similar concerns about the economy and their status within it. In particular, economy-related issues are among the main concerns for all linguistic groups including Russian-speakers, who among the top three problems in Latvia which the government should prioritise have mentioned social security and social policy (increase of different allowances to pensioners, large families, etc.) (38%), decrease in unemployment and related socio-economic issues (34%), and the need to increase the overall welfare level (including higher wages and reduction in poverty and inequality) (26.5%) (SKDS, August 2014: 39–42).

4.5 Sense of belonging

The majority of Latvia's Russian-speakers see themselves as Latvians (64%), and are proud of their Latvian citizenship (58%) (SKDS, August 2014: 14). Moreover, around one half of all Russian-speakers have a strong attachment to their current geographical area of residence and work. In opinion polls, 56% of Russian-speakers express a sense of belonging and attachment to their home town (56%), the Latvian state (51%), or a specific region of Latvia (48%). Contrary to speculations regarding their potential loyalty to the Russian Federation, only one out of ten Russian-speakers (11%) feel any relationship to the Russian state or government (SKDS, August 2014: 7).

The strong attachment of Latvia's Russian-speakers to Latvia can be explained by several factors. Almost three decades after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the community has managed to root itself deeply in the Latvian societal fabric. The majority of Russian-speakers have Latvian citizenship, and they have used the associated rights to participate actively in Latvia's socio-political processes. National opinion polls in 2014 ($N = 801$) show that close to four out of five (78.5%) Russian-speakers have participated in the country's political processes in the past four years. Over half of all respondents have discussed politics with friends and relatives (52.7%) and constantly follow the political process in the media (50.6%). Likewise, more than one third have voted in municipal (36.5%) and parliamentary elections (34.6%),

and approximately one fourth (23.7%) have voted in a referendum (SKDS, August 2014: 22). Furthermore, Latvia's EU membership offers better economic, social, political conditions and opportunities in Latvia or any of the other 27 EU members than are offered in the RF, which has its own domestic socio-economic challenges.

At the same time, it should be noted that, although Russian-speakers do not have a strong attachment to the Russian state or its authorities, this does not automatically translate into readiness to counter its potential aggression and prove their words of loyalty with deeds. Nor does it mean that they would not swap Latvia for another state, if that would increase their security or economic status. For example, opinion polls demonstrate that only slightly more than one fourth of Russian-speakers (27.2%) would be ready to defend Latvia with arms in the event of an armed conflict. Likewise, over one third (35.2%) would be ready to emigrate from Latvia in return for a better salary and social guarantees abroad (SKDS, August 2014: 37; Bērziņa, 2016: 6). This may further reinforce the argument that loyalty and belonging to the social contract of the Latvian state are based on economic and personal benefits, and should not be taken for granted.

4.6 Threat and risk perception

Contrary to the rhetoric circulating in the media, facts on the ground and opinion polls in Latvia show that Latvia's Russian-speakers do not feel politically oppressed or endangered in terms of their identity security, but instead fear the same economic and health-related issues as their Latvian counterparts. The polls have proven otherwise, as in both 2002 and 2012, out of 32 potential risks and concerns, the top six have remained the same for both Latvian- and Russian-speakers. They include concerns about inability to receive and afford medical services, becoming ill, inability to receive a pension, inability to pay the rent, and being left without food (Ozoliņa & Sīmane, 2012: 63–64). None include concerns about inability to speak one's own language or preserve cultural and other identity-related features because of state- or society-level trends.

Furthermore, the trend of prioritising economic and health-related risks over national defence or societal security threats continued steadily in the years that followed. When in 2014 Russian-speakers had to name the three main problems which, if solved, would enhance the quality of their lives, the most popular answers included social security policies (39.9%), welfare (27.9%), high prices and inflation (22.2%), unemployment (19.5%). health security (19.4%) and high taxes (13.9%). Other issues were considered less important (SKDS, August 2014: 43–45). From a broader perspective, when polling all linguistic groups, the results from 2014 to 2016 have demonstrated a similar trend (SKDS, 2014; SKDS, November

2015; Bērziņa, 2016). It can be concluded that although the societal and personal security situation in Latvia is not perfect, it is equally imperfect for all ethnic and linguistic groups. Collectively, they are more worried about their financial prospects, economic competitiveness and health care than about each other and societal exclusion.

4.7   Tool-box for crisis preparedness

In order to explain the resilience of Russian-speakers at the societal and individual levels in response to external events, this section examines their assessment of the most important geopolitical events in recent decades. This includes Latvia's accession to NATO and the EU (2004) and attitudes towards these institutions, the referendum on the Russian language (2012) and Russia's actions towards Ukraine (2014).

Traditionally, since the first published opinion polls in early 2000s, Latvian society has favoured the government's chosen geopolitical path of membership of NATO and the EU. However, there are still differences in public support for them between Latvian- and Russian-speakers. Public support for NATO increased from 52% and 50% in 2001 and 2002 respectively to 79% in 2006 (Ministry of Defence of Latvia, 2002; Latvijas Fakti, June 2006). In 2014, soon after the Ukraine crisis emerged, 62% of people recognised that collective defence is NATO's core task, and 46% had a sense of belonging to the North Atlantic alliance. Yet Latvian- and Russian-speakers displayed markedly different opinions, with a gap of 24 percentage points between them. While a steady majority of Latvian-speakers (56%) supported NATO membership, fewer than one third (31%) of Russian-speakers did so (SKDS, 2014: 41). By 2015, not only had support from Russian-speakers diminished even further (24%), but a clear majority of them (59%) expressed distrust of NATO (SKDS, November 2015: 44). Various opinion polls the same year confirmed this, showing that nearly half of Russian-speakers (48%) disapproved of the alliance, while only 38% thought that Latvia's membership was the right policy (Bērziņa, 2016: 27).

Similar fragmentation in assessments by the two major linguistic groups could be observed regarding Latvia's EU membership. Whereas 70% of Latvian-speakers approved of the country's accession to the EU and 21% disapproved of it, Russian-speakers were less optimistic (43% approval), with fragmentation in views within their own community (41% disapproval and 16% 'don't-knows') (Bērziņa, 2016: 26). Latvia's overall attitude towards the economic bloc has shifted accordingly, with over two-thirds (69%) supporting it and one third (30%) disapproving of it (European Commission, spring 2015: 28). These divided opinions among both major linguistic groups may have several explanations. Individuals are not familiar with the economic and personal benefits that the country's membership of NATO and the EU will bring

them. People's concerns about personal financial, economic and health-related issues prevail over issues of national and economic security, and as neither actor directly influences these issues, their importance at the personal level becomes irrelevant. Finally, a large part of the Russian-speaking population receive Russian state-sponsored news through TV, radio and press, shifting their geopolitical assessment towards negative perceptions of NATO and the EU, in line with the Russian media.

Another major event has been the annexation of Crimea and clandestine military campaigns in Eastern Ukraine. Attitudes towards the event itself could help explain whether Latvia's Russian-speakers are neutral and tend to balance between Western and Russian geopolitical views, or are more likely to lean towards supporting one side against the other. Several opinion polls, especially when cross-examined, reveal a paradox in assessments by Latvia's Russian-speakers. On the one hand, the majority of them (61%) believe that they were better off economically during the Soviet era. This is strongly felt by at least half of all Russian-speaking respondents over 35 years of age (SKDS, August 2014: 19). On the other hand, the Russian-speaking community does not see the RF as able to replicate the grandeur of the Soviet era, and consequently the majority does not approve of its modern-day policies, including its actions in Ukraine. In 2014, 38% of all Latvia's Russian-speakers felt more loyal to Russia than to Latvia, while only 29% believed that Latvian society or the Latvian state would do better if Latvia was part of the Russian government's geopolitical project – the Eurasian Union – instead of the EU. Likewise, only 29% of Latvia's Russian-speakers approved of the Russian Federation's annexation of Crimea (SKDS, August 2014). The paradox goes even further, as disapproval of Russian policies does not automatically mean support of Western policies, and by implication those of Latvia. For example, Latvian- and Russian-speakers are divided in their opinion regarding the root causes of the Ukraine crisis. While the majority of Latvians (72%) blame the intervention by the RF, six out of ten Russian-speakers (64%) name Western intervention as the main cause of the prolonged crisis in Ukraine (Bērziņa, 2016: 18). Meanwhile, both major linguistic groups tend to be united in their position that Latvia should maintain a balanced position between the West and Russia. Only 40% Latvians strongly blame the RF for its actions in Ukraine, while 55% of Russian-speakers argue in favour of good relations with the RF and 34% want Latvia to maintain a balanced position (Bērziņa, 2016: 22).

Lastly, according to opinion polls, Latvia's Russian-speakers may be considered quite resistant to Russian state-sponsored hybrid campaigns. Even in Latgale, the region with the highest ethnic Russian concentration (62,4%), the majority of people (55%) have never heard of the local Russian state-backed political elite (i.e. Girss, Gaponenko) responsible for agitation and organisation of the referendum on the Russian language, and 76% of them do not recognise such Russian

government-sponsored organisations as 'Rossotrudnichestvo', which supposedly defends their rights and bring them closer to the Russian government's ideological 'Russian world' project (Bērziņa, 2016: 12).

5.   What can others learn?

It is not only Latvia which has experienced interest from a neighbouring country in its Russian-speaking community. Analysis of the politico-strategic documents of the RF, and empirical evidence in cases of malignant influence in neighbouring states to protect Russian-speakers, point to a long-term tendency and targeted policy rather than random circumstances. The analysis proves that the Russian language and Russian-speakers are playing an increasingly large role in Russia's foreign and security policy when interacting with neighbours bilaterally and through multilateral fora (such as the EU and NATO).

Language and 'protection of linguistic groups' have been used as a *casus belli* for cyber-warfare campaigns against Estonia (2007), and even for the military occupation and annexation of sovereign territories of Georgia (2008) and Ukraine (2014). For example, after the Estonian authorities decided to remove a statue of a Soviet-era war memorial (the Bronze Soldier) from central Tallinn in spring 2007, there were mass riots by the Russian-speaking minority. As in the case of Georgia, Russia's President Medvedev then declared that under the Russian constitution and federal laws "it is his duty to protect the lives and dignity of Russian citizens wherever they may be" (Kremlin, 8 August 2008), as a justification for the incursion of RF military forces into South Ossetia. This was followed by the Russian-led military occupation and annexation of Crimea on March 2014, followed by an extended campaign in eastern Ukraine. Ukraine was Russia's litmus test, proving its intention to use language (Russian-speakers and ethnic Russians), not just as leverage, or as a receptive audience for its 'soft power' to influence former Soviet states, as has been argued before by Pelnēns (2010) or Kudors (2014). It demonstrated that, in the name of the Russian language or citizenship, the Russian authorities are ready to go beyond the limits of international law, including breaching other states' sovereignty.

Study of the case of Latvia also applies to Estonia in demonstrating ambivalent ideological affiliations. Estonia's Russian-speakers also have a strong, positive feeling about the Soviet era, its political leadership and other circumstances. However, as in Latvia, their attachment to modern-day Estonia is much stronger. In 2010–2011, for example, a majority of Estonia's Russian-speakers (62% with Estonian citizenship, 70% among those without it) supported the claim by President Putin that the collapse of the Soviet Union was the greatest tragedy of the 20th century. Half of them

(51%) agreed that Stalin was a good person, and the majority of Russian-speakers agreed (70%) that the RF should intervene in Estonian affairs to protect ethnic Russians if their rights were violated (Conley & Gerber, August 2011: 27–32). In 2015 polls, the majority of Estonia's Russian-speakers demonstrated that they had a strong connection with the RF in terms of shared language and history (Kallas, 2016: 13). However, this feeling was no stronger than the sense of belonging to the Estonian state, and the majority of Russian-speakers (70–80%) felt themselves to be an integral part of Estonia, even though one fourth of the interviewees were born in the territory of the Russian Federation (*ibid.*). This is supported by another poll, which suggests that majority of Estonia's Russian-speakers identify and have the strongest connection with their present locality (47%) or Estonia at large (26%), whereas a mere 8% felt connected with the present Russian Federation (Conley & Garber, August 2011: 37).

After 2014 the concept of 'hybrid warfare' and 'hybrid threats'[22] became part of security studies and practice in Europe. The case of Latvia proved that one of the policies that increases resistance to hybrid threats is resilience. In states such as Latvia or Estonia, the authorities have to play a multi-level game to strike a balance between their national security and protection of their identity and culture, in which the majority language plays a major role, and the societal inclusiveness and security of all linguistic groups, including the Russian-speaking minority. At the same time, these smaller EU member states and their governments need to strike a balance between several colliding geopolitical tectonic plates at the international level – membership of the EU and NATO on the one hand, and good neighbourly relations with the Russian Federation on the other.

6.   Conclusion

Our analysis demonstrates that Russia – the EU's largest neighbour – has securitised the protection of Russian-speakers and nationals abroad more comprehensively than most countries around the world. Analysis of its strategic foreign policy, security policy and military documents provides enough proof of this. In countries not covered by the security guarantees of NATO and the EU, such as Georgia and Ukraine, the Russian authorities have used the protection of ethnic Russians and Russian-speakers as a legitimate reason (as they interpret it) to violate the sovereignty and indivisibility of independent nations. Its domestic legislation

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22. The phenomenon is understood as an orchestrated campaign to achieve political ends by using combination of military and non-military means, with greater focus on the latter. Such means include disinformation and propaganda, intelligence operations, cyber-attacks and much else.

and documents, based on the concept of the 'Russian world', which encompasses all ethnic Russians and Russian-speakers around the world, indicate that Russian foreign policy has predictable elements, for the government has been acting on announced priorities for years. Against this backdrop, any countries with a substantial Russian-speaking diaspora, especially in the former Soviet territories with less power and resources than Russia, may find their national security and societal resilience put to the test. This has created additional pressure points for regional, state, societal and individual levels of security.

We propose the following recommendations as ways of increasing state and societal resilience against harmful foreign influence in countries with significant Russian-speaking minority in the EU or its Eastern neighbourhood:

1. The Baltic states and Latvia, in particular, offer useful examples of resilience-building. Despite continuous and often clandestine pressures from Russian authorities, the Baltic states have integrated their communities, joined the EU and NATO, and successfully recovered from the economic recession of 2009. A key to success has been the public trust by all linguistic communities in the geopolitical course set by their governments since the early 1990s. One can argue that resilience against malign influence depends on the strength of the bond between the state and its people. It is therefore essential to increase public support by all ethnic and linguistic groups for government institutions and the social contract. Within the EU borders, this translates into more effectively explaining the benefits of being a member of the EU and of being a citizen of the politico-economic bloc.

2. Promote equal access and state-sponsored opportunities to learn Latvian, Russian and other languages. In the case of Latvia as a reference, the Russian-speaking community should have fast-track options to learn Latvian (or the other state language in other cases), while the Latvian community ought to be encouraged to learn Russian (or the other minority language in other cases). Resilience is directly dependent on social capital, encapsulating the scope, quality, and responsiveness of human networks generated by individuals over their lifetimes.

3. Educate society in media literacy, to provide the skills for deliberate navigation between sources of information with different levels of quality. Simultaneously, a qualitative and authoritative alternative news channel (preferably pan-European) should be offered in the Russian language for people who aspire to remain politically neutral. Currently, Russian authorities are filling the information vacuum with a near-monopolised offering of Russian-language news in the post-Soviet space. To break the status quo on regional or international levels, Russian-language media of comparable quality and scope to the BBC, CNN and other news heavy-weights should be established.

4. Establish national and EU-wide legislative acts to protect European citizens from the malignant influences of third parties and deter potential aggressors. Based on a study commissioned by an international group of qualified experts, similar to the Tallinn Manual on application of international law to the cyber-security domain, such legislation could deter potentially malicious actions and perpetrators with a clear set of rules of engagement and options of response. This also requires strengthening existing EU structures with appropriate human and financial resources, especially the EEAS East StratCom Task Force, to better support their work in rebutting false, non-factual stories in the media or investigate and prevent disinformation and propaganda.

5. Conduct further research and develop measurable indicators to better understand the changes in societal 'temperature' both over the whole spectrum of society and across time. This would require a national and, in time, regional or EU-wide institution going beyond the efforts of Eurostat or national polling and market research agencies, to systematically measure societal resilience, including investigations of the aforementioned inclusion/exclusion dilemma faced by multilingual communities. The European Centre of Excellence for Countering Hybrid Threats in Helsinki can serve this purpose as well.

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Multilingualism and consumer protection

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This chapter investigates the various language requirements in EU consumer law. The research conducted in this European project revealed that there is no general rule in the matter to guide the EU legislature. Requirements as to the use of languages vary from one field to another. The case law of the Court of Justice of the European Union also reflects this main finding.

As linguistic competences remain largely in the hands of the Member States, multilingualism is often at the origin of conflicts in the dichotomy between EU economic integration and Member States' sovereignty. National linguistic requirements may conflict with EU law (primary and/or secondary legislation), unless accepted on the basis of reasonable justifications according to EU law.

This chapter first proposes to classify the language requirements in EU consumer law on the basis of the objectives pursued by different legislations. This classification may allow Member States to adopt and adapt their national regulations in accordance with predetermined EU language criteria.

The second proposal made in this chapter is to promote multilingualism in EU consumer legislation. This may be achieved by developing an EU policy to increase awareness of the importance of multilingualism as an objective to be promoted in its own right within the EU (and not only as a tool accompanying the achievement of economic objectives). Developing such a policy may foster mobility and inclusion of EU consumers, including EU economic operators and citizens in general.

1. Introduction: Concepts and definitions

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse multilingualism in European Union (EU) consumer legislation and case law in order to assess its current status and to make proposals to promote multilingualism in EU policies in general and in consumer protection in particular.

In this connection, multilingualism and linguistic diversity must be defined in order to clarify the concepts used in this paper. Reference will be made in this first section to EU primary and secondary law as well as relevant case law of the

Court of Justice of the European Union (referred to below as 'the Court of Justice'). Similarly, the notions 'consumer' and 'trader/professional' will also be defined to form the basis for our analysis.

1.1   Multilingualism: A concept not defined in EU law

As largely agreed in the literature, EU law does not define the concept of multilingualism. A definition of this concept will therefore be proposed in the present contribution for our own purposes.

1.1.1   *Primary and secondary EU law*

Neither primary law nor secondary EU law define the notion of multilingualism, which is, however, very crucial to the functioning of the European Union.

If the notion of multilingualism is close to the one of linguistic diversity, only the last one is covered by primary law provisions: Article 3(3), subparagraph (4) of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) (this Article requires respect for cultural and linguistic diversity);[1] Article 4(2) of the TEU (respect for member states' equality under the treaties as well as their national identities);[2] Article 55 of the TEU (official languages of the European Union)[3] and Articles 21 and 22 of Charter of fundamental rights of the European Union (non-discrimination on grounds of, notably, languages and respect of cultural, religious and linguistic diversity).[4] Furthermore, another provision at the heart of this study is Article 169 of the TFEU[5] (protection of consumers).

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1.   "It [the European Union] shall respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity, and shall ensure that Europe's cultural heritage is safeguarded and enhanced."

2.   "The Union shall respect the equality of Member States before the Treaties as well as their national identities, inherent in their fundamental structures, political and constitutional, inclusive of regional and local self-government. It shall respect their essential State functions, including ensuring the territorial integrity of the State, maintaining law and order and safeguarding national security. In particular, national security remains the sole responsibility of each Member State."

3.   "This Treaty, drawn up in a single original in the Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Maltese, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Slovak, Slovenian, Spanish and Swedish languages, the texts in each of these languages being equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the Italian Republic, which will transmit a certified copy to each of the governments of the other signatory States."

4.   "The Union shall respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity".

5.   "In order to promote the interests of consumers and to ensure a high level of consumer protection, the Union shall contribute to protecting the health, safety and economic interests of consumers, as well as to promoting their right to information, education and to organize themselves in order to safeguard their interests …".

Secondary EU law does not provide definitions of multilingualism or linguistic diversity either. The purpose of the first regulation, adopted in 1958, was to set up the European linguistic legal framework (Milian i Massana, 2004: 211–260; Nic Shuibhne, 2004: 1093–1111; Weerts, 2014: 240).[6] However, this regulation, which is still in force, only establishes the working languages of EU institutions and the languages in which communications between the European Union and member states as well as EU citizens must be carried out today. The regulation does not create a legal framework for multilingualism in the European Union as such. Other secondary law provisions contain some requirements for linguistic knowledge or use which are very frequent in consumer law (see Section 4). When EU legislation adopts such requirements, national parliaments are bound by them in the area concerned, and so are obliged to act within the European legal framework then created.

1.1.2   *Case law of the Court of the Justice of the European Union*
Nor is the notion of multilingualism is defined in the case law of the Court of Justice. Multilingualism has never been established as a general principle of EU law (nor, to the extent to which these notions are linked, is the notion of 'linguistic diversity'). The Court of Justice has stated that the provisions of primary law concerning the use of languages in the European Union "cannot be regarded as evidencing a general principle of Community law that confers a right on every citizen to have a version of anything that might affect his interests drawn up in his language in all circumstances."[7]

Furthermore, although the Court of Justice prohibits any discrimination on grounds of language unless there is a justification, it has not adopted 'equality of languages' or 'linguistic diversity' (Milian i Massana, 2004: 245–248) as a general principle of European Union law.[8]

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6. Regulation No. 1 of 15 April 1958 determining the languages to be used by the European Economic Community, *Official Journal* No. L of 17 October 1958, p. 385.

7. ECJ, case *Kik v. OHIM* of 9 September 2003, C-361/01P, Rec. 2003, p. I-8283, para. 82.

8. "The general principles of European Union Law' are principles developed by the case law of the Court of Justice of the European Union and some of them are now laid down in EU primary law. This is notably the case of fundamental rights which have been recognised as general principles of EU Law ('the respect of fundamental rights is an integral part of the general principles of law protected by the Court of Justice", case *Internationale Handelsgesellschaft mbh* of 17 December 1970, C-11/70, Rec. 1970, p. 1125, particularly p. 1135). These general principles have been included in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, which has the same legal value as the treaties.

1.1.3   *European Commission documents and literature*

The notion of multilingualism is defined by the European Commission in some of its communications. According to this institution, the notion designates both the capacity of a person to use several languages[9] and the coexistence of multiple linguistic communities in a given geographical area.[10] The European Commission stresses that respect for linguistic diversity is a fundamental value of the European Union, "the action of the European Union and Member States to defend the multilingualism has therefore a direct incidence on the life of every citizen".[11]

According to Sophie Weerts, both notions of multilingualism and linguistic diversity have to be rigorously distinguished.[12] In her opinion, linguistic diversity is a statement of fact: coexistence in a geographical area with various languages whose purpose is not to produce linguistic uniformity (Weerts, 2014: 240). Linguistic diversity therefore has constitutional value. The notion of multilingualism, however, concerns a person's ability to use various languages.

Other scholars consider that the European Union "does not know an express definition of the concept of multilingualism" (Hanf & Muir, 2010: 25). Some others underline that with twenty-four official languages, linguistic diversity is an indisputable reality in the European Union which needs to take into account its legal aspect (Touijer, 2016: 387).

1.1.4   *Proposal for a definition of multilingualism*
in the framework of the MIME project

Based on the linguistic diversity enshrined in EU primary law, one might assume that Articles 21 and 22 of Charter of fundamental rights of the European Union can be considered as the basis of a 'principle of multilingualism in the European Union'.

In the light of the above, the notion of 'multilingualism' will be used to describe "the scope of action in which the European Union and/or the member states intervene in order to define an applicable linguistic regime in a specific situation, with respect for Article 3 (3), subparagraph (4), TEU and Articles 21 and 22 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union".

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9.   Some authors, like Pascal Ancel, say that the latter situation is called 'plurilingualism' (Conference of 20 October 2015, 'L'exemple du Luxembourg et de l'Union européenne', colloque Droit et langues et langue du droit, Académie royale de Belgique).

10.   Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: 'A New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism' » [COM (2005) 596 final – not published on the official journal], p. 4.

11.   *Ibid.*

12.   The European Commission does not really seem to distinguish between the notions of multilingualism and plurilingualism.

1.2   The consumer: A natural person at the heart of an economic relationship with a professional

We must now define the notions of 'consumer', 'professional/trader' and 'economic relationship' as used in this article.

1.2.1   *The notion of 'consumer'*

Taking into account the various definitions of 'consumer' in the main instruments of EU consumer law,[13] for the purposes of this article we choose to define the notion in a manner that coordinates these definitions: "any natural person who, in transactions, is acting for purposes which are outside his/her trade, business, craft or profession." It results from this definition that the consumer is a natural person acting for purposes which are outside his or her profession. However, our proposal allows account to be taken of the consumer acting mainly for himself and additionally for his profession. Indeed, in the case of mixed qualification, the former (acting for himself, and hence as a consumer) must prevail.[14]

In order to assess a practice, the consumer to be taken into consideration is the 'average consumer', defined as a consumer who "is reasonably well-informed and reasonably observant and circumspect, taking into account social, cultural and linguistic factors" (Benöhr, 2013: 16–17; Puttemans & Marcus, 2014: 32–35).[15] However, commercial practices or contracts concluded with consumers may affect a clearly determined group of consumers because these are specifically vulnerable to the practice used or the product involved by reason of mental or physical infirmity,

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13. See in particular Article 2, letter a, of Directive 2005/29/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 May 2005 concerning unfair business-to-consumer commercial practices in the internal market and amending Council Directive 84/450/EEC, Directives 97/7/EC, 98/27/EC and 2002/65/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council and Regulation (EC) No. 2006/2004 of the European Parliament and of the Council ('Unfair Commercial Practices Directive'), *Official Journal* No. L149, 11 June 2005, p. 22; Article 2(1) of Directive 2011/83/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2011 on consumer rights, amending Council Directive 93/13/EEC and Directive 1999/44/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council and repealing Council Directive 85/577/EEC and Directive 97/7/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council, *Official Journal* No. L 304/64, 22 November 2011, p. 64; And Article 2, letter e, of Directive 2000/31/EC of the European Parliament and the Council of 8 June 2000 on certain legal aspects of information society services, in particular electronic commerce, in the Internal Market (Directive on electronic commerce). *Official Journal* No. L 178, 17 July 2000, p. 1.

14. See Court of Justice of the European Union, case *Costea* of 3 September 2015, C-110/14, EU: C: 2015: 538.

15. Recital 18 of Directive 2005/29; CJEU, case *Ving Sverige* of 12 May 2011, C-122/10, Rec. p. I-39003.

age (children) or credulity. Although, we could reasonably expect the professional to consider this possibility, practices and contracts are assessed from point of view of an average member of this specific group.[16]

1.2.2   *The notion of 'professional'*

We must now also distinguish the notion of 'consumer' from the notion of 'professional', which is also defined in various legal acts.[17]

In this context, the Court of Justice has been requested to define precisely the notion of 'business' (or professional), which according to the Court is synonymous with the notion of 'trader' in consumer law.[18-19] According to its case law, a 'professional' is "any natural or legal person durably pursuing an economic goal and who, in transactions, is acting for purposes relating to his/her trade, business, craft or profession, and any person who is acting on behalf or for the account of this person" (Puttemans & Marcus, 2015: 35–39).

The 'professional' must be a physical or legal person acting for the purposes of his or her occupation, and in this article such criteria are met in the context of an economic relationship with the consumer.

1.2.3   *The notion of 'economic relationship'*

The last of our definitions concerns the notion of the 'economic relationship' which is created between a professional/trader and a consumer. An economic relationship must be understood in a broad sense, when a professional provides a service for the benefit of a consumer in return for payment.

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16. This is resumed in recital K of the European Parliament resolution of 15 December 2010 on the impact of advertising on consumer behaviour [2010/2052(INI)].

17. Directive 2005/29, Article 2, letter b; Directive 2011/83, Article 2(2); Directive 2015/2302 on package travel and linked travel arrangements defines the 'trader', Article 3(7).

18. CJEU, case *BKK Mobil Oil Köperschaft des öffentlichen Rechts v. Zentrale zur Bekämpfung unlauteren Wettbewerbs e.V.* of 3 October 2013, C-59/12, EU:C:2013: 634, para. 27 to 31.

19. In the present chapter the notions of 'trader', 'professional' and 'business' are considered as synonyms (as these notions are considered as being synonyms by the ECJ – please see above).

2. Multilingualism and consumer protection as part of the MIME project

As we will see, taking multilingualism into account in EU law in general (and in EU consumer law in particular) is a great channel to foster the mobility of the EU consumers, and, hence, of EU citizens.

Indeed, every EU citizen is, at some point, a consumer (according to our earlier). Taking into account and, when possible, regulating the linguistic aspects of the relations he or she creates with professionals/traders will facilitate economic transactions. He or she will therefore be encouraged to include new partners in his or her transactions, in his or her country of residence as well as in other EU member states.

Developing an EU linguistic policy in EU consumer law will also provide a legislative framework for economic operators, enhancing their business opportunities while ensuring fair practices.

A clear linguistic framework in EU and national legislation will therefore ease not only mobility of both individuals and companies but also the development of good (fair) trade practices.

3. Multilingualism and consumer protection as a potential obstacle to the achievement of the EU internal market

Multilingualism is frequently at the origin of tensions between EU economic integration and member states' sovereignty. Member states have jurisdiction to determine the linguistic regime applicable on their respective territories, which results in an obligation for citizens to use or to know a specific language. Most of the time, this is designed to protect national languages, i.e. national linguistic diversity. This kind of requirement, whether or not imposing a degree of multilingualism, may come into conflict with the primary and/or secondary law of the European Union that prohibits any domestic provision which constitutes a restriction on its application, unless on reasonable grounds.

Before studying European legislation, adopted principally in the 1990s and at the beginning of the 2000s, we should analyse the case law at the origin of this turning point that leads the legislator to adopt these laws. It must be noted that, although the EU legislature has intervened many times in order to regulate consumer law, this intervention has remained sectorial and applicable in a specific area. In other words, harmonisation of consumer law has not been completed.

3.1   National language requirements in consumer law under the scrutiny of the Court of Justice of the European Union

The case law rendered in the field of consumer protection allows us to determine the conditions set by the judiciary on national legislation governing language requirements. This analysis allows us to draw a first conclusion: there is no unique approach to language requirements. This first finding leads us to formulate proposals for enhancing the mobility of European consumers (and European citizens in general) by guaranteeing a sufficient degree of multilingualism in the EU, i.e. by providing sufficient safeguards for the respect of linguistic principles in order to create an effective economic context for consumers and also for traders.

3.1.1   *Case 'Piageme I' (1991)*

A first interesting case rendered by the Court of Justice was *'Piageme I'*.[20] It concerns a dispute between importing and distributing mineral-water firms in Belgium and the Peeters firm in the Flemish linguistic region of the country. Peeters sold mineral water. The bottles were labelled only in French or German – but not Dutch, the official language of the region. The plaintiffs requested that Peeters be banned from selling these bottles if not labelled in Dutch and, failing this, ordered to pay periodic fines.

However, a Belgian royal decree implementing Directive 79/112 of 18 December 1978 on the approximation of the laws of the Member States relating to the labelling, presentation and advertising of foodstuffs for sale to the ultimate consumer states that legal statements on labels must be written in at least one of the various languages of the linguistic region where the foodstuffs are sold (at least Dutch in this particular case).

Asking to assess the legality of the decree under EU law, the Court of Justice of the European Union found that imposing a more restrictive obligation than the use of a language easily understood by the consumer (as foreseen in Directive 79/112), or failing to inform the consumer by other means, has an equivalent effect to quantitative restrictions on imports (prohibited under Article 34 of the TFEU) (Gormley, 2009: items 11.98 to 11.105; Van Der Jeught, 2015: 204–215).

It follows that correct information ensuring sufficient consumer protection has been defined by the Court as accessible information in a language easily understood by the consumer, or else that such information is provided by other means.

The balance between economic integration of the EU and consumer protection through defence of the official language(s) of a member state seems to be struck

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20.   ECJ, case *Piageme et a. v. BVBA Peeters*, 18 June 1991, C-369/89, Rec. 1991, p. I-2971.

here on the side of economic integration in the EU rather than defence of linguistic diversity in member states – in order to ensure better functioning of the internal market and efficient freedom of movement, at the expense of better integration of national and linguistic cultures and stricter consumer protection.

3.1.2 Case 'Piageme II' (1995)

The importing and distributing mineral-water firms appealed against the aforementioned judgment (*Piageme I*). In this case the Court of Justice first stated first that the expression 'easily understood language' used in the directive is not equivalent to the requirement to use the 'official language of a member state' or 'a region'. In other words, this expression aims only to provide information to the consumer and not to impose the use of a specific language, as is however the case in various other provisions in EU legislation imposing the specific use of the language(s) of a member state when labelling certain food products (e.g. Article 8 of Council Directive 92/27/EEC of 31 March 1992 on the labelling of medicinal products for human use and on package leaflets).[21]

Therefore, after recalling its case *Piageme I* (see above), the Court of Justice stated that "the obligation to use a specific language for the labelling of foodstuffs, even if the use of other languages at the same time is not precluded, also constitutes a requirement stricter than the obligation to use a language easily understood".[22]

The Court then confirmed its the interpretation given in the first case and added a clarification. Besides the obligation to provide the consumer with information in a language 'easily understood by him or her', or at least provide that information by 'other means', this case law stipulates that the national requirement to use a specific language (i.e. the language most widely spoken in the area in which the product is offered for sale) is precluded by Directive 79/112 even if the simultaneous use of another language is not precluded[23] (Gormley, 2009: items 11.98–11.105).

Once again, the purposes of ensuring effective freedom of movement and good functioning of the internal market seem to carry greater weight than the purpose of defending of national (or regional) linguistic diversity for consumers. However, the Court seems to have slightly strengthened the protection offered to consumers in this case (in comparison to the *Piageme I* judgment) by requiring that 'necessary information' must appear 'at any time' on the product (when purchased but also

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21. ECJ, case *Groupement des Producteurs, Importateurs et Agents généraux des Eaux Minérales Etrangères, VZW (Piageme II) et a. v. Peeters NV*, 12 October 1995, C-85/94, Rec. 1995, p. I-2955, para. 14–16.

22. *Ibid.*, para. 18.

23. *Ibid.*, para. 31.

when consumed). This judgement confirms our conclusion in Piageme I. The Court focuses on the development of a functioning internal market rather than on the development of a linguistic policy as such.

3.1.3   Case « Goerres » (1998)

The Court of Justice had an opportunity to confirm the two first judgments in a case called 'Goerres' in July 1998.[24–25]

The protection of the linguistic identity of consumers was here placed at the level of information 'easily understood' by the purchaser. This information must appear on the label of the product itself (and not on an additional label displayed, for instance, at the point of sale). This balance is struck in order to ensure free and efficient free movement of goods, offering 'sufficient' protection for consumers according to the Court of Justice.

The Court's only concern hence seems to be ensuring efficient, free movement of goods while protecting consumers sufficiently.

No other concerns, such as developing specific criteria for member states to choose linguistic requirements, seem to emerge from this judgment.

3.1.4   Case 'Colim' (1999)

In this case, while reaffirming that a measure imposing the use of a language easily understood by consumers cannot exclude the use of such other means of providing consumers with information as the use of drawings, symbols or pictograms, the Court added that the requirement of a 'language easily understood by consumers' must be limited to the mandatory information determined by the member state concerned.

Access to information that a given member state does not decide to make mandatory must therefore be left to the assessment of the economic agent marketing the product. This margin of appreciation includes the choice of the language used on labels.[26]

This case confirms the previous ones, and is a further step in the harmonisation of markets, because, where there is no EU regulation and certain information is not made mandatory by national legislation, access to such information by consumers in an easily understood language does not have to be guaranteed (Gromley,

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24. ECJ, case *Goerres*, 14 July 1998, case C-385/96, Rec. 1998, p. 1–4431.

25. *Ibid.*, para. 25: "all the compulsory particulars specified in the directive must appear on the labelling either in a language easily understood by consumers of the State or the region in question, or by means of other measures such as designs, symbols or pictograms. **The placing in the shop of a supplementary sign adjacent to the product in question is not sufficient** to ensure that the ultimate consumer is informed and protected."

26. *Ibid.*, para. 42.

2009: items 11.98–11.105; Van Der Jeught, 2015: 204). Again, although the Court's case law will ensure a functioning internal market, it does not create systematic linguistic requirements. No 'rule', other than ensuring free movement of goods while protecting consumers sufficiently, can be found in that judgment.

3.1.5   Case 'Geffroy' (2000)

In a few words, this case was about whether it is legal for national regulations to impose the use of one (and only) language for the labelling of food products.[27]

Quoting its cases *Piageme I, II* and *Goerres*, the Court of Justice recalled that EU law prevents the application of national regulations imposing the use of a particular language for the labelling of food products.[28]

This case fully confirms previous case law when the actors are in a multilingual member state (as in *Piageme* or *Colim*) but also in a unilingual context (*Geffroy*). The purpose of a regulation, in terms of consumer protection and defence of linguistic identity, therefore has to provide the consumer with easily understood information in a single market. Again, the concerns of the Court of Justice are more to protect the consumers whilst ensuring effective freedom of movement within the EU than creating a proper EU linguistic policy that would apply within the internal market.

3.1.6   Case 'New Valmar' (2016)

A more recent case which did not concern the labelling of food products but the written language of cross-border invoices. Even if it is not directly linked to consumer law as such, it is worth mentioning in this article, for the Court complements its previous case law, analysed above.

In this case, the commercial Court of Ghent (Belgium) brought before the CJEU a preliminary ruling question concerning the interpretation of Article 36 of the TFEU to determine whether it prevents the application of a regulation issued by the Flemish community of Belgium (a federal entity of this member state) requiring all firms with headquarters on the territory of this entity to draw up cross-border bills in the only official language of this entity (Dutch) – failing which the bills would be null and void.[29]

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27. ECJ, *Yannick Geffroy et Casino France SNC* 12 September 2000, C-366/98, Rec. 2000, p. I-6579, item 14.

28. *Ibid*., para. 28.

29. CJEU, arrêt *New Valmar BVBA c. Global Pharmacies Partner Health Srl* of 21 June 2016, C-15/15, EU:C:2016: 464.

The Court ruled that the regulation involved is an obstacle to the free movement of goods in the EU. as it prevents agents from freely choosing the written language of their bills and requires them to use a language which they may not know and which may be different from the language of the main contract.[30]

Having stated this, the Court analyses the justification for this obstacle. It first stresses that encouraging the use of one or more national languages is a legitimate goal that forms an obstacle to the free movement of goods (recalling the *Groener, Runevic-Vardyn and Wardyn* and *Anton Las* cases).

However, even if the regulation involved can achieve such an objective, it must also be proportionate to this objective. However, this was not the case here; the Court found that the regulation involved went beyond what was necessary to achieve these objectives, as the measure was disproportionate.[31]

The judgement is in line with previous case law concerning the same issues (especially *Groener*[32] and *Anton Las*)[33-34] and offers a balance between the protection of linguistic diversity in member states and EU economic integration, based on the principle of proportionality. This balance is struck by the Court of Justice where national regulations do not impose the use of a specific language but allow agents to use another one.

Again, the Court developed a case-by-case approach and sought a balance between the interests involved (in this case free movement and protection of national linguistic diversity). It seems that there is no focus on the development of a unique and consistent approach regarding linguistic requirements as such.

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30. *Ibid.*, para. 41.

31. *Ibid.*, para. 54.

32. CJEU, arrêt *Groener c. Minister for Education and City of Dublin* du 28 novembre 1989, C-379/87, Rec. 1989, p. I-3967.

33. CJEU, arrêt *Anton Las c. PSA Antwerp NV* of 16 April 2013, C-202/11, EU:C:2013: 239.

34. We will not study these cases here, as they are not linked to consumer protection. It should be noted, however, that these cases are important for language-related matters. We will have the opportunity to make some references to this case law later on.

3.2 National language requirements can be accepted if they are proportionate enough to allow effective achievement of the internal market

When assessing national legislation containing linguistic requirements in the area of consumer protection, the Court allows the consumer to have "easy access to the compulsory particulars provided (in EU law)".[35] In order to ensure this, the CJEU will balance the goals involved (there is usually a goal of protecting national linguistic identity and another goal of promoting economic freedoms through free movement in the internal market), assessing the proportionality of the conflicting measure.

Particularly as regards labelling, conflicts between linguistic requirements and economic freedoms may be resolved by requiring a balance to be struck between the goals involved. It must, however, be noted that linguistic conflict is only managed by case law and via a consumer protection goal, not by a goal of protecting multilingualism or linguistic diversity as such. It appears that economic interests, implying freedom of movement, often takes precedence over consumer protection (Van Hamme, 2007: 365). According to B. de Witte (2008: 126), the Court has taken a 'business-friendly' approach in this matter.

4. Multilingualism and consumer protection as a bedrock for mobility and inclusion in the European Union

The tensions between mobility and inclusion can be eased through harmonisation policies. Indeed, when aware of the language criteria used in a specific sector, consumers (and professionals) will be more willing to move within the European Union as they will know beforehand how the languages are used and what knowledge they are expected to have, especially, as explained in the next section, when these criteria are based on the goals pursued by relevant EU legislation (or its implementation at the national level).

This section analyses EU legislation on consumer protection and multilingualism to attempt a categorisation of the language requirements in EU law.

Our analysis shows that EU legislation usually contains the following linguistic criteria:

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35. ECJ, case *Piagème a.o.*, i.e. *Piagème II, op. cit.*, para. 23.

some legislation requires reference to a 'language easily understood by consumers' (in the member States where a product is marketed);[36]

–   other legislation refers to the 'official languages of the member states' (in which the product is marketed);[37]

–   some legislation combines the two aforementioned requirements ('a language easily understood by the consumer' and 'the national languages of the member states');[38]

–   some legislation prohibits use of a language other than the one initially chosen (apart from the national language) before any transaction in a 'B2C'[39] relationship without clearly disclosing it to the consumer;[40]

–   some legislation containing linguistic requirements does not, however, require the use of any specific language, but only advance information to the consumer about the languages available for use.[41]

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36. See Article 7 (2), 9, and, most notably, 15 of Regulation No. 1169/2011 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2011 on the provision of food information to consumers, *Official Journal* No. L 304, 22 November 2011, p. 18; Article 16 of Directive 2000/13/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 20 March 2000 on the approximation of the laws of the Member States relating to the labelling, presentation and advertising of foodstuffs, *Official Journal* No. L 109, 6 May 2000, p. 29; Article 6(7) of Directive 2011/83/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2011 on consumer rights, *Official Journal* No. L 304, 22 November 2011, p. 64; Regulation (EC) No.1223/2009 on cosmetic products, *Official Journal* No. L 342, 22 December 2009, p. 59 (Articles 5(3); 6(2), subparagraph 2; 6(5); 11(3); 19(5)).

37. See Article 7 (b), subparagraph (1) of Directive 2001/95/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 3 December 2001 on general product safety, *Official Journal* No. L 11, 15 January 2002, p. 4; Article 14 (1) of Regulation (EC) No. 767/2009 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 July 2009 on the placing on the market and use of feed, *Official Journal* No. L 229 of 1 September 2009, p. 1; Article 8 (1) of Directive 2014/40/EU of 3 April 2014 of the European Parliament and of the Council on the sale of tobacco, *Official Journal* No. L 127, 29 April 2014, p. 1.

38. See Article 63 (2) of Directive 2001/83/EC on medicinal products for human use, *Official Journal* No. L 311, 28 November 2001, p. 67; Article 16 of the aforementioned Directive 2000/13 on the labelling, presentation and advertising of foodstuffs.

39. 'Business to consumer'.

40. See Annex I, Article 8 of the Directive 2005/29/CE of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 May 2005 concerning unfair business-to-consumer commercial practices in the internal market; *Official Journal*, No. L 149, 11 June 2005, p. 22; despite this provision, this important directive does not regulate language issues relating to unfair commercial practices.

41. Directive 2000/31 on e-commerce only requires consumers to be informed about the available languages to conclude the contract (Article 10(1)(d)). Furthermore, Article 16 encourages Member States to make codes of conduct accessible online in the different languages of the EU. See

It also appears that these instruments only partially tend to harmonise consumer protection (they only regulate specific questions such as contracts with consumers, unfair trade practices, advertisements, etc.). In doing so, these instruments foster mobility of products and persons (consumers and professionals) as they enjoy unified protection within the EU member states. The harmonised rules indeed tend to promote free movement of goods (and services) as they establish a common set of requirements (security, labelling, etc.), to be respected by member states and economic agents. As far as persons are concerned, harmonisation tends to create a common set of rules applicable to them, easing their mobility as well as their inclusion. as they will anticipate the rules applying to them in a specific situation.

However, this positive impact of harmonisation on the mobility and inclusion of consumers (as well as professionals) will only be completely operational and efficient if guided by a single linguistic policy. The latter must be based on predetermined criteria and chosen on the basis of the goals the legislation intends to achieve, even though the EU has no specific linguistic competences (for more details of the distribution of competences between the EU and the member states, and of the subsidiarity principle, see Smits, 2014: 343–357; Dony, 2015: 72; Van Der Jeught, 2015: 19–25).

In short, there is no single system in EU legislation.

The first observation is that the EU has no single approach to language use or knowledge requirements that are imposed upon EU member states in a B2C relationship (De Witte, 2008: 128).

However, one element of the research that seems constant is that there is no requirement to use a specific language for contractual purposes. The only obligation is linguistic consistency, such as not unilaterally the language of the contract after it is signed.[42]

Secondly, there are real linguistic requirements for labelling, product marketing or, more broadly, selling arrangements. There thus seems to be a demarcation between linguistic requirements applied to goods/selling arrangements (obligation to use certain languages) and contracts/services (linguistic consistency requirement).

Overall, there is no single approach in EU legislation. Language requirements change from one EU country to another without any specific logic behind the choices made in EU legislation. Some illogical situations may even arise. For example, the

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also Article 3(1)(3)(g) of Directive 2002/65/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 September 2002 concerning the distance marketing of consumer financial services, *Official Journal* No. L 271, 9 October 2002, p. 16.

42. However, very little EU legislation lays down specific linguistic criteria (e.g. 'a language easily understood by the consumer') for the information contained in a contract. See Directive 2011/83/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2011 on consumer rights (Article 6(7)).

linguistic requirement applied to the labelling of food for animals (requiring use of 'the official language of the member state') appears to be more stringent than the linguistic requirement applied to the labelling of food for humans (requiring only use of a 'language easily understood by the consumer'). There is no doubt that the 'official language of the member state' offers the best protection to the consumers in a specific state (see below). It is therefore particularly difficult to understand why EU legislation offered better protection for the labelling of food for animals than for the labelling of food for humans.

As just mentioned, it must be noted at this stage that, according to the Commission and the member states, the information must as often as possible and as long as the unity of the single market is ensured be transmitted to consumers in their own language, because this is the one they best understands.[43] This language requirement is therefore the one which is supposed to protect them best, as the information given will be more accurate for them.

Apart from this, the criteria for inclusion in any linguistic category are obscure, and the reasons guiding the choice in EU legislation of a specific language requirement are usually not disclosed (assuming there *are* any!).

The current situation presents a variety of linguistic rules applying to consumer law. Diversity in this field leads also to complexity.

Criteria allowing choice of any given requirement are therefore needed in order to ensure consistency, legal certainty and predictability of language requirements.

5.   Needs and interests for promoting multilingualism in EU consumer legislation

The examples detailed in the previous section show various linguistic rules for goods (their labelling, marketing, etc.) and for contracts and services.

Where contracts and services are involved, there is usually no specific EU linguistic rule, but a requirement of consistency in the use of languages when drawing up and implementing a contract (i.e. not changing the language of a contract after it is signed, or implementing it in another language).[44]

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43. Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament concerning language use in the information of consumers in the Community, Com(93) 456 final, 10 November 1993, para. 17, 21, 23 and 28.

44. However, as already mentioned in the previous section, very few EU regulations foresee a specific linguistic criterion (e.g. 'a language easily understood by the consumer') for the information contained in the contract itself. See Directive 2011/83/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2011 on consumer rights (Article 6(7)).

Where products (selling arrangements) are involved, EU legislation has more often imposed precise language requirements (e.g. obligation to use 'a language easily understood by the consumer for the labelling of food products', or 'the official language(s) of the member state').

As already stated, no single linguistic policy based on predetermined criteria can be found in EU consumer legislation. This situation leads to some illogical situations and to complexity.

Multilingualism seems not to be the main consideration for EU legislation in the field of consumer protection. Instead, multilingualism is rather a tool that helps to protect consumers in an economic context than a goal to be achieved in itself.

In our view, there are two specific needs and interests: (1) to adapt linguistic requirements according to the goals to be achieved by EU legislation, and (2) to promote multilingualism more explicitly, in order to improve protection for consumers (and EU citizens in general).

5.1   A need and interest for a linguistic policy guided by the goals pursued in EU consumer protection

This applies above all to the field of goods. As already noted, the field of contracts and services is largely dominated by the linguistic consistency requirement (see above).[45]

When it comes to goods (selling arrangements), as mentioned, there is a need to adjust the existing system without replacing it entirely.

The field of goods usually involves a contract between the parties, but consumers usually have no say in its conclusion, as it mainly concerns the purchase of a product that they can only choose to buy or not to buy. They have no other control over the transaction and, in particular, on the appearance of the product (mainly the linguistic aspects of labelling, instructions for use or guarantee) or, at an earlier stage, its advertising (and the linguistic aspects thereof).

Furthermore, as noticed in the previous section, the member states and the EU seem to agree that the most protective language requirement for consumers is the 'national language(s) of the member states' requirement, as they both set out from the assumption that consumers speak the language(s) of the member states where the relevant market is located).

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45. This requirement may be considered sufficient (in a context of limited linguistic competences of the EU), as this field involves usually the performance of a service under the terms of a contract. This linguistic consistency rule must, furthermore, be interpreted in the light of the proportionality principle.

Although this requirement promotes a good inclusion in the national market, it does not improve access to other markets for these products, because labelling will have to be adapted for every national market. The mobility of goods through the internal market may therefore be hindered, but with the legitimate justification of consumer protection.

Our proposal is therefore to classify language requirements in EU consumer legislation on the basis of the goals pursued by the legislation. These goals will vary according to the level of protection pursued. We therefore suggest creating a scale for language requirements in EU consumer legislation: the 'national language' criterion should be used when national consumers are most in need of protection (for example, in the case of hazardous products) and less stringent criteria (such as a 'language easily understood by consumers') when there is a need for less stringent protection, in order not to hinder in mobility of goods in the EU internal market disproportionately.

More practically, this presupposes creating a scale for language requirements:

– First, the 'language easily understood by the consumers' criterion should become the general rule because it creates a balance between the need to inform consumers sufficiently (if necessary and as a last resort through pictograms and symbols, as interpreted by the CJEU),[46] and the need and interest to ensure effective free movement of goods within the EU. Furthermore, such a rule ensures a certain degree of multilingualism and is therefore the most likely to be understood by most consumers.

– Second, when there is a need and interest for stronger protection (e.g. for a specific group of consumers such as children), the 'national language(s) of the member states' criterion should be applicable. As mentioned previously, the Commission and the member states seem to agree that the best information is given to consumers in their own national language.[47] This rule should apply where there is a particular need regarding the type of consumers (e.g. children, people with specific needs), the type of products (e.g. hazardous products, tobacco products) or the territory concerned (e.g. a rule applying to a given EU region with a specific language regime).

– Third, EU legislation should be allowed to deal with situations that may not fit into the two aforementioned categories of rules (e.g. tourists or expats, for whom a rule such as the national language of the member state does not help much). EU legislation must be given a margin of manoeuvre to deal with such specific situations that may call for language requirements differing from the two

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46. See above.

47. *Ibid*, para. 17, 21, 28.

classic ones just mentioned. Again, EU legislation should be allowed to adopt other linguistic rules; but these will have to be justified by specific reasons based on the goal pursued by the legislation involved – reasons that must be revealed before the legislation is adopted (during the legislative process).

Determination of the category should be motivated by the specific characteristics of the situation, based on expert advice, impact assessments etc. during the legislative process.

5.2   A need and interest to mainstream multilingualism in EU policies

As regards the second need and interest, multilingualism should be favoured in the field of consumer protection in particular, as well as other EU policies in general, as it is a constitutional value of the European Union.

As explained in the second section, Articles 21 and 22 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights favour respect by the EU of linguistic diversity, as do Articles 3 (3), subparagraph 4, and 4 (2) of the TEU (De Witte, 2014: 420). Multilingualism, and linguistic diversity, are clearly a constitutional value of the EU, but should also be promoted as a goal to be taken into consideration in every EU policy where needed (and in consumer law in particular).

As explained in the fourth section, whenever a conflict based on a linguistic issue came before the Court, it was usually solved so as to preserve the four economic freedoms of the internal market rather than the linguistic interests themselves. This shows that linguistic diversity, and multilingualism, were not the first concern when assessing the functioning of the internal market (instead, it was seen as a potential justification for an obstacle to free movement). Today, due account must be given to the provisions introduced into the Treaties since the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty and to the legal value of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. In this connection, the goals of multilingualism and linguistic diversity should seriously considered in EU consumer legislation.

Knowing that linguistic diversity is a constitutional value of the European Union (endorsed by EU primary law), language rules should be used to protect linguistic diversity itself, and hence also consumers when they need linguistic protection in the functioning of the EU internal market.

6.   Conclusion

There is no single linguistic policy in EU consumer law. Existing language require-ments change from one piece of EU legislation to another, without any specific logic behind the choices made in EU legislation. This creates illogical situations whereby better protection is offered to certain types of consumers who would not always need such a strong protection, and sufficient protection is not offered to others who would need it.

Multilingualism and linguistic diversity were not primary concerns for EU legislation and for the Court of Justice, as these two notions were essentially ap-plied to protect consumers in an economic context rather than as general goals to be achieved in the EU. Our proposal is therefore to introduce more coherence and consistency in that field and to categorise linguistic requirements on the basis of criteria defined according to the goals pursued by EU legislation. It is also worth noting that there is a need to mainstream multilingualism in EU consumer legis-lation as such, as well as in other EU policies in general, as a means of protecting linguistic diversity in the EU.

In doing so, the two proposals made in this article may help to develop a lin-guistic policy in the field of consumer protection that will improve mobility and inclusion of consumers (as well as economic agents) within the EU, as they will then enjoy more consistent protection throughout the EU.

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This section only lists doctrinal references; legal and jurisprudential references are provided in footnotes

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'Learning all from all'

A Roma approach to marginal multilingualism

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This study focuses on the possible resource represented by the traditional Roma method of acquiring 'marginal' multilingualism. This is a special form of multilingualism that has gone unnoticed in the thematic literature devoted to this topic: invented by the Roma, it is oral, simplified, acquired quickly, and informal. Roma traditional methods for accomplishing this include 'Learning all from all' and 'Learning by doing,'; this study focuses on 'Learning all from all,' a Roma group language-learning method that involves simplifying, selecting, and validating teaching contents in order to facilitate group goals; adopting with total flexibility the roles of teacher and student; and developing playful and joyful learning practices inside the group, in the context of shared responsibility to contribute to group survival. The method – which does not involve any pre-requisites and has been effective for centuries – could possibly be transferable to other marginal groups, if specific policies with such aims were to be developed in Europe. The first generation of Roma skilled in traditional and formal methods of learning languages could represent a resource for such policies, especially at the micro and meso levels.

1. Introduction

The aim of the study is to explore traditional Roma multilingualism and its potential in supporting the European Union's efforts to promote balanced societal inclusion (Wickström et al., 2018: 50–51), and to stimulate intercultural dialogues on sustaining contemporary complex linguistic diversity (Kraus, 2015), in conditions of increasing mobility.[1] The study is formulated in terms of the MIME framework outlined in Grin et al. (2014).

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1. In the course of this study on Roma multilingualism forty Roma and experts in the field were consulted. I am indebted to their contributions. The interviews are archived at Oradea University. All remaining errors are mine.

First we have to define who is meant by 'Roma'. The notion Roma is a politically correct reference to designate speakers of the Romani language,[2] speakers of Romani *pogadialects* (dialects of local European languages with Romani words incorporated), those who are culturally Roma but speak languages not mutually intelligible with Romani, such as Shataroshi, the language of the Gabors (a Transylvanian group), and the Kashtale, people who claim Roma identity but have lost their mother tongue. The central premise of this study is that Roma become multilingual due to the pressing need to be included in new sociolinguistic contexts, and they succeed in this because of their specific methods of acquiring new languages quickly, especially the 'Learning all from all' method. We suggest that this method of facilitating socio-linguistic inclusion could be adopted by other marginal groups to include them in society (strictly speaking, a process of language acquisition rather than 'learning'). In sum, the research question to be addressed is "How do mobile and illiterate Roma succeed in acquiring the basic elements of a new language quickly and effectively in a new linguistic context?"

The word Roma – singular form Rom – is an umbrella term for a number of related ethnic groups known by local names such as Sinti, Travellers, Gens du Voyage, Kallé and so on, in different languages from India to Europe. In 1857, a French scholar listed dozen of such names in Europe (Vaillant, 1857). The term Roma was first adopted at the Congress of the International Romani Union (IRU) held in Orpington/London in 1971, and is used hereafter in conformity with post-2020 EU documents, the scholarly literature, and general practice in the mainstream media. (However, on the Internet you can find many examples of the derogatory designations 'gypsy' and 'tsigan'.) Outside Europe, in the Near East or US, the most frequent term is 'Gypsies,' with alternatives including Bosha, Narwars, Gurbets, Luli. Some academics have opted for Gypsies as a more comprehensive term; others for Roma as an endonym. The term has been widely analysed in; the Romanian literature on the topic (e.g. Cherata, 1993; Fraser, 2010; Horváth and Năstasă, (Eds.) 2012, pp. 233–252; Kogălniceanu, 1842, 1891, 1964; and Stoenescu, 2015). After 2000, the term Rom/Roma acquired a pejorative meaning in daily life in Western Europe, where the Roma are seen as different from the local Gens du Voyage, Gitans, Sinti, Kalle, and so on. They are labelled beggars, traffickers and thieves who arrived from the East.

2.   Romani is the most common name for the Roma language/s. The linguistic family includes other types, like the Domari, Lomvaren and Domaki languages families, and so on. Romani has multiple varieties owing to the influences of each linguistic context language/s where Roma live. Under such influences, some Roma only spoke pogadialects (Courthiade, 2012). In Roma political documents, other endonyms are also used for the Roma language, such as Romanes (see Matras, 2005), Romani Chib, or Rromani (see Courthiade, 2012). A special regional IRU Congress (Matras, 2005) held in Sarajevo (1986) was dedicated to the language problem, including nomenclature. Numerous efforts were made to unify, standardise and codify five major forms of the Romani language, based on some well-characterised Roma languages/dialects (Matras, 2005).

2.   Positioning the study of Roma multilingualism in MIME

This chapter adopts the basic concept of the MIME project, and consequently the questions addressed fit into this framework. The relationships between the three variables that challenge today's European multilingualism include the expanding number of languages, high mobility, and the need for greater inclusion. The chapter's general perspective can be defined as "there is no cohesion without inclusion!" (MIME D 5.1), together with the implicit one "There is no inclusion without linguistic inclusion!" The Roma develop marginal multilingualism plus methods and techniques to satisfy these conditions for inclusion. It is extremely important for marginalised populations and individuals to be immediately and quickly inserted into any new milieu. The mechanisms of these methods deserve systematic exploration by linguists, teachers and social psychologists; in principle, they could be a valuable social asset and a resource for new informal learning methods and techniques to be employed for the purpose of socio-linguistic integration.

3.   Exploring Roma marginal multilingualism: main concepts

This chapter relies on primary notions, such as mobility, inclusion, marginal multilingualism (see Pop, 2018, for further details), socio-linguistic insertion, and the 'Learning all from all' method. These notions will be defined as follows:

– 'Mobility' is the free movement of EU citizens between member states for work, study, leisure, or retirement. Mobility requires open attitudes and easy means of communication between people with different linguistic backgrounds. This requires new strategies for language learning (Grin, 2018b: 18).
– 'Inclusion' is the sense of belonging and being connected with one's place of residence through participation in the social, political, economic, cultural life of the country, region and local area of residence (Grin, 2018b: 19). The MIME project's notion of inclusion is slightly adapted to the situation of traditional Roma multilingualism. It is conceived as a two-stage process involving both linguistic and societal inclusion.
– 'Marginal multilingualism' refers to methods and techniques for informally acquiring and easily transferring new linguistic skills – simplified, limited, but effective; the multilingualism commonly found among socially marginalised groups like the Roma, poor and uneducated migrants, and native uneducated people; and multilingualism whose role is to ensure the socio-linguistic inclusion of the person or groups in new linguistic contexts. Its main feature, distinct from 'elite multilingualism', is simplicity. The role of marginal multilingualism

is to meet the present and pressing needs of the group in order to survive and to support exit strategies out of marginal conditions. In the long run, it is aimed at guaranteeing the group's socio-linguistic insertion and cohesion.

– 'Socio-linguistic insertion' – a term coined for this study – is the first phase in the informal learning of a foreign language and a preliminary stage in the inclusion process.[3] It is the outcome of the early and spontaneous interactions of mobile Roma groups with the speakers of a new, unknown language. These interactions occur without formal training for learning the new language, and without relying on another common language or a mutually mastered *lingua franca*. They are concomitant with the group's initiatives to explore existing opportunities in the host community and to adjust to some of them. The acquisition of linguistic skills is aimed at gaining access to work, housing, schools and social and health services.

– 'Learning all from all' is a traditional Roma method and technique for acquiring a new language. It is a method for general use. Learning all from all involves simplifying the contents to be learned, a shift between teachers' and students' educational roles, and a special, entirely oral technique that is used by illiterate persons people and is rapid and effective. When collecting, practising and assessing learning content, the process of acquisition is joyful, is not stressful and is based on mutual sharing.

4. The study of Roma multilingualism

Desk research or the documentation of Roma marginal multilingualism is a difficult process. There is hardly any literature available yet. Some experts in Roma studies have described Roma children's multilingualism or other aspects of Roma languages in the framework of ethnography, history, religion, and so on. Furthermore, multilingualism is important in education and is relevant for the Romani languages, and dialects seen from a linguistic perspective. The studies cited together with the linguistic databases have provided fruitful observations concerning Roma marginal multilingualism.[4] We benefited from specialised reports drawn up by linguists and

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3.   It differs from the concept of *linguistic insertion* used in linguistics to describe vocabulary phenomena, such as epenthesis, elision or transphonologisation.

4.   The linguistic databases most frequently consulted were *Glottologue, Ethnologue*, and *Planisphere*, as general and global databases, and *Romani Humanities (Manchester), Romani Project (University of Graz), INALCO* (Paris), and *Dom Research Center (London)* for more specific information on Romani.

sociologists. The reports most relevant to our study were those provided by Matras (2013) and Horváth (2017).

In addition, the phenomenon of marginal multilingualism among the traditionally mobile Roma was explored through empirical data gathered for this study. These were collected in direct and indirect observations, including a case study of teachers of the Romani language in Bihor county (Romania), who in 2016 were sent questionnaires to provide data on the multilingualism of 772 Roma children.[5] Important additional sources included 40 interviews on Roma multilingualism, carried out between 2015 and 2017 and involving 20 multilingual Roma and 20 experts in linguistic and education. The empirical data were validated by cross-checking against various methods and the literature mentioned earlier. Interpretation was informed by this literature and by the MIME framework outlined elsewhere.

5.   The *Learning all from all* method

5.1   Roma marginal multilingualism

The Roma are generally bilingual; however, Roma living in the urban areas of multilingual towns and cities in Central European countries like Romania and Hungary are significantly multilingual, speaking three or four languages, while some exceptional individuals may be called polyglots or hyper-polyglots. (The literature refers to isolated, monolingual Roma groups with an exonym, *netoţi*, an archaic Romanian term for 'stupid people'.) To earn their living Roma must continually interact with others speaking a different language. As mobile people, they frequently change their social-linguistic contexts and acquire other languages. Hence, multilingualism is a marker of the mobile Roma identity (Hübschmannová, 1979; Reger, 1979; Sarău, 1998: 129; Pop, 2016, 2018; Horváth, 2017), just as much as their own language is a feature of their ethnic identity.

Illiterate Roma are multilingual due to the educational goals pursued in their primary socialisation and their lifelong-learning system (what Reger, 1979, refers to as the 'natural method'. Children are pushed from a very young age to actively acquire new languages and to interact with speakers of other languages; adults, too, must respond to the group's imperative to practise and constantly extend their collective multilingual skills.

It must be stressed that the linguistic context itself does not offer a sufficient explanatory factor for marginal multilingualism. The linguistic context *per se* would

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5.   The fieldwork for filling out the questionnaires and some interviews were conducted by Mona Stănescu, a researcher in the MIME project.

produce similar multilingual effects for all the groups living in each multilingual area, or at least for all mobile migrant groups. In contrast, our quantitative researches and direct observations in Bihor county, Romania, revealed that only illiterate or limitedly literate Roma are multilingual. Romanians and Hungarians living in this multilingual area are less interested in learning the Romani language.

Our reading of the data suggests that there are two interrelated factors in explaining Roma multilingualism. The first is the general acceptance among the Roma of the goal of socio-linguistic insertion. The second is the Roma's distinctive methods of language learning.

5.2   The Roma approach to acquiring a new language

During our research sessions we identified two Roma methods of learning foreign languages: 'Learning all from all' and 'Learning by doing'. The latter is a method used to instruct gifted persons in the professional secrets of the group and in ways of communicating about such secrets with other professionals of Roma origin. In this paper we focus on the first method only, since it is generally applicable.

As a method, 'Learning all from all' requires (i) selecting teaching contents, (ii) flexible roles between teachers and students, and (iii) a specific educational technique. It should be noted, however, that in addition to the pragmatic topics related to socio-linguistic insertion in a new context, an important kind of teaching content is *gilea* – the narratives that play a crucial role in Roma identity formation, portraying them, among other things, as naturally multilingual and gifted linguistic interpreters. *Gilea* encourage Roma improvisation and creativity, presenting the speaking of a new language as simple and immediate magic, and reassuring them that this 'magic' is their group 'monopoly'. Many *gilea* have been published on how the Roma have invented ways to face challenges, with the hearers being invited to tell their own personal version of any story. Thus, in the fieldwork sessions, the same informant told us two different stories about the same activity, even when we specifically asked him to repeat the first story exactly. 'It is more beautiful', he said.[6]

Apart from *gilea*, teaching content consists of practical subjects, but these do not represent an inventory list that is to be memorised. Topics are identified through an active, 'teach-yourself' attitude specific to entrepreneurial people; the method is more about "How to acquire useful tools?" than about *de facto* content. According to data from our interviews and teacher questionnaires, Roma children also imitate

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6.   The Romanian philosopher Mircea Eliade (1907–1986) offered a view of the role of magic in Roma identity in his short novel *La Ţigănci* (*With the Gypsy Girls*).

the adults and ask questions such as "What is it?" and "How do you say this or that in Romanian or Hungarian?" This means that they start acquisition early and focus on a narrow linguistic register, i.e. vocabulary and structures, and that they are constantly paying attention to how others speak. Constant readiness to learn and active, uninterrupted searching for learning resources ease the process and naturally expand the list of the acquired content.

The process of content acquisition unfolds in two stages, the first spontaneous, the second technical. In the spontaneous stage, each person tries to speak another language, chosen at random, by imitating his or her family or group members. The individuals' capability and the group's resources expand the teaching content to include a minimal vocabulary and some phonetics. The vocabulary consists of common words, some general formulas, and several elements of professional or slang vocabularies. The source of knowledge is mainly the entire group and, exceptionally, Roma 'experts' in the new language. The didactic process is accelerated by practising the new language in and outside the group. At this stage, the process consists in memorizing and practising these basics of the language.

In the technical stage, the vocabulary becomes wider and phonetically more coherent, and the method more complex. In this stage, the group takes responsibility for developing more structured ways to learn, including going beyond the group's members and interacting with *gadges* (*gadjos*, non-Roma) who are native speakers. Although even at this stage the vocabulary of the new language is not too extensive, the Roma continue to collect and select teaching content for purposes of socio-linguistic insertion. The resulting simplicity and brevity of the content allow them to be easily mastered, and to be open to improvisation; the ability to produce joy in the learning process is also a criterion.[7] In these intensive language practices, phonetics improve to a great extent, while grammatical structures are acquired.

One of the Roma interviewees, a salesman, who experienced multiple and different linguistic contexts, described in detail how his fellow Roma specifically select content to learn a new language. "The numbers and what we immediately need in the market come first. That is, we learn from one of us the words related to the selling and negotiating process, by saying exactly what he says. Afterwards, we look for some formulas to survive independently!". Another Rom claimed: "We are able to

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7.   Interesting comparisons can be made with the method of Michel Thomas (see http://www.michelthomas.co.uk/how-it-works.php, accessed 2021, February 9, or any of his audiobooks). The two methods have in common the absence of formal instruction and written support for the student, along with an emphasis on confidence-building and stress-free learning. Furthermore, they share the active search for linguistic similarities, and for simplifications. There are also substantial differences, notably with respect to the goals of language learning. For the Roma, only a limited set of practical competencies are aimed for, and accuracy is not an objective.

get by with around 200 words. For complicated legal issues, we employ interpreters. We deal with day-to-day matters only".

The 'quality' of the content, simply taken as the ability to communicate fairly factual aspects of the language, is internally guaranteed by the *Romanipen*, the Roma code of ethics, which includes such concepts as *pakiv* 'Roma honor' and *phralipe* 'Roma brotherhood'.[8] Evidence for this 'quality' was uncovered during field research, for example in the case of an illiterate Rom from Bihor who proved he could express himself in French due to the 'brothers' lessons'. He said that he likes to do homework on a daily basis.

Teacher and student positions are understood and enacted more as roles than in terms of status. This fact allows smart children, youngsters or women to become equal in the traditional roles of educators with the traditionally respected Roma elders, i.e. reputedly wise persons. This relative accessibility of the teacher's role encourages individuals' efforts to progress. In our data, a 13-year-old girl, the only literate family member, became her family's interpreter and teacher for two years in France. The youngest son of a family of salesmen became a key linguistic resource person, first for the family and extended family, and subsequently for an entire Roma 'transnational/trans-linguistic' professional group. A Roma father proudly admitted that his son taught him Russian. The pupils in a classroom in Lugaşu de Jos, a place located in Bihor county, taught in a natural manner – with an attitude of 'doing the right thing' – Romani words to their official teacher. In their ordinary relationships with the teachers, the Roma pupils are quite shy.

There are, however, some limits to what these traditional methods can achieve. Today's digitalised and mobile world confronts the traditionally illiterate Roma with the need to step into the world of written languages, learn to drive, use bank cards, mobile phones and computers, or improve their professional skills and qualifications. We did meet an illiterate person able to use a bank card or write down a short text such as "I am OK", but he replied to our question "How do you use the bank machine?" "I memorised the positions of the required keys!". The Roma's traditional ways of acquiring new languages are thus confronting new challenges, and it remains to be seen how they will evolve in response.

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8.   *Romanipen* also means the Roma rules of life (habits, and traditional professions) and institutions (*Romani Cris*). See more in Damjanovic (2016): *Inaugural Address on the Rromanipen*, an address at the opening of the World Roma Organization Congress 8; and ANOSR (2016).

5.3   The coherence of 'Learning all from all' as a shared enterprise

The Roma's technique in the 'Learning all from all' method encompasses attitudes, procedures, and assessments which favour rapid and efficient progress in learning. The pattern that connects these elements in a coherent tool of learning is illustrated below (Figure 23.1).
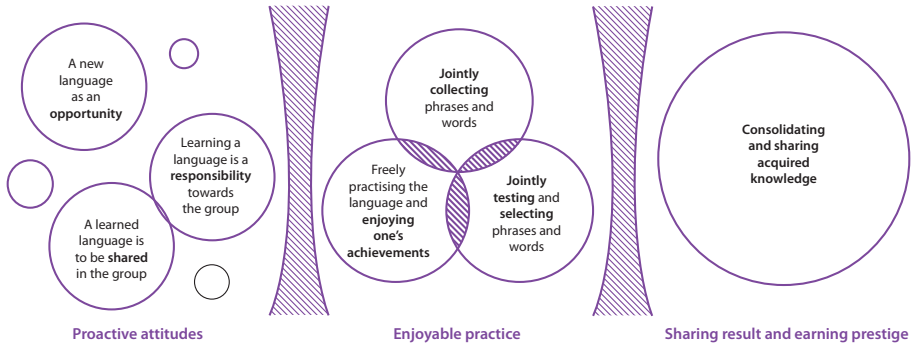
Figure 23.1 Learning everything from everyone

Proactive attitudes

The Roma consider acquiring a new language to be an opportunity, not a burden. They also consider it their personal responsibility to contribute to the survival of the group. These proactive attitudes allow any member – child or adult – to serve the group's interests by acquiring or inventing ways of gaining access to a new language. The Roma learning techniques allow individuals to share valuable contributions with group members and to acquire prestige among their fellows, as well as satisfy their personal interest in developing a new specific ability. This enables them to respond to challenges enthusiastically and confidently. "They go to Scotland because they know how to speak Scots. For now, I can speak only Irish English, but Scots is easy, I can manage with it, with the brothers' support."

Enjoyable practice

The acquisition of a new language is an enjoyable process in practice too. Traditional Roma collect words and formulas from anybody, in quite a playful manner, without any reservations. New resources are developed by persuading local native-speakers to provide the Roma with accurate words, understandable phonetics and functional linguistic structures. Interactions with providers of various supplies and services in Roma camps, such as social workers, mediators or charity workers, yield resources for wider language learning. When the Roma engage in such interactions frequently

and substantially, including by asking questions, they are highly effective in learning the local language. Intermarriages can be an even more important resource, especially as their long-term nature guarantees the quality of the newly learned language.

Traditional Roma particularly enjoy practising and sharing their linguistic achievements when they know these are excellent. Isabela, a 15-year-old Roma girl from a village in Bihor county in Romania, proudly and repeatedly spoke French with a professor of French (from the University of Oradea) on holidays in France. It was a game for her. "Isabela said, 'We French speakers…' with a kind of superiority," the professor remembered. "Her accent was perfect!" The professor considered that Isabela was speaking French to let the other group members know how smart she was and that she was ready to share her abilities with her brothers. Traditional Roma speak about their linguistic 'excellence' proudly and repeatedly, and the joy and zest associated with language practice are cultivated as sources of energy for continuing progress.

An important part of the effectiveness of 'Learning all from all' lies in the shared process of validation, which replaces the stress of external evaluations with common testing of the learned content in the real environment. All members of the group together decide which of the achievements are valuable, and grant prestige in the community to those who have made valuable contributions. At the same time, the group penalises those whose claims are shown to be incorrect, by ridiculing them and by refusing to accept their future claims. Ridiculing a claimed contributor is an effective form of exclusion and a way of ensuring accuracy of linguistic data. This emphasis on successful testing of the *acquis* in the real environment avoids the stress of individual confrontations with a judgmental system, and removes the obstacles that learners might otherwise experience in their first attempts at communication. It allows learners' entire energy to be expended joyfully on acquiring new knowledge, freeing them from individual fears and limitations.

Shared prestige

The final stage in the 'Learning all from all' technique is the group's confirmation of the results achieved and the contributors' recognition by the group. The prestige given to the individuals contributing most serves to strengthen and motivate them as the engine of future learning enterprises.

To briefly summarise these findings, the Roma method fosters learners' creativity and capacity for improvisation, while harnessing these qualities to a clearly defined pragmatic goal. It allows learners to enjoy the learning process. It produces readiness to learn continuously and from varied sources, and to consider the whole of life as an opportunity for acquiring new knowledge and taking advantage of what has been learned. It is particularly useful for mobile people.

6.   Discussion: A Roma approach to inclusion?

In the context of the challenges of contemporary mass mobility, the findings of our study reveal a potential new resource in the process of managing migration and fostering integration of marginalised populations. Could the multilingual Roma be the source of an effective method of informally and rapidly acquiring elements of a new language, to be deployed as a European strategy for ensuring that newly arrived or self-excluded migrants in Europe can achieve primary insertion into local society? The approach described here as 'Learning all from all' may – after in-depth multi- and interdisciplinary studies – become a tool to be transferred to other groups and persons in similar situations: mobile illiterates, entirely dependent on oral learning; socially disadvantaged groups, both marginalised and self-marginalized; and people with roots in previous migrant groups. It could be a path to their socio-linguistic inclusion, and later to their social integration.

To make the method practicable it needs to be studied by linguists, psycholinguists, teachers and other scholars with expertise in language learning and experience in transferring it to other groups with similar needs. As part of this effort, researchers must send European society a new message concerning the Roma, namely that they are to be seen as contributors to the wider European project. In turn, Roma groups must be sent a message from European society in general, expressing readiness to reconsider their status in Europe, to de-stigmatise them and to rid them of the label that they are merely consumers of social benefits. It is time for a different perception of Roma in Europe, one that can be furthered by advertising and emphasising their contributions in this domain and, more importantly, to boost their future contributions.

Central to the Roma's method is their understanding that local linguistic skills offer the means to survive and flourish in a specific place. This yields many benefits, including willingness, continuous efforts and joy in acquiring new linguistic tools and skills. Decision-makers need to hear from community educators about the importance and value of such goals, and their potential to motivate groups of potential beneficiaries to learn from the Roma's method of language learning. Until this happens, the method is a resource that will continue to be ignored in Europe. On the other hand, progressing from socio-linguistic insertion (such as the Roma aim for) to social inclusion (such as policy-makers and educators may favour) is a complex process that should be addressed in further studies.

7.   Conclusion

This study on the Roma people and their multilingualism was undertaken in the MIME's innovative framework. Roma multilingualism in Romania and other Central and Eastern European countries is largely connected with their mobility across countries, languages and cultures. Between 2015 and 2018, field research in Bihor county in Romania confirmed that Roma are indeed multilingual in a special way, which we have termed 'marginal multilingualism'. The study also revealed that this is an answer to the imperative of their situation: *surviving in mobility*. How do the Roma accomplish this? They have invented a special method of acquiring new language competencies orally and quickly: 'Learning all from all'. In this method, the Roma systematically select the teaching contents that are useful to their socio-linguistic insertion. The teachers' and students' roles are interchangeable and adapted to provide incentives to face the challenges of reality. Group-specific learning techniques involve practising linguistic elements closely collected with the efforts of all the group's members, efforts that are enjoyable and highly appreciated in the group, and evaluation of progress as an achievement on behalf of the group as a whole.

The traditional Roma's marginal multilingualism is a resource that combines traditional and informal multilingualism and ways to achieve both. It is a truly European resource, and one that holds promise for the revival of European tolerance and the development of immediate and direct communication with non-speakers of any European language, or even with self-excluded European residents who are blocked by linguistic and cultural barriers. Until now, the Roma language learning method has been an ignored resource, both in its reality for the Roma, and as a promising possibility to help disadvantaged and marginalised people to acquire the commonly spoken language *in situ*. This needs to change, as part of efforts to strike a more sustainable and satisfactory balance between mobility and inclusion in Europe.

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Language use in international retirement migration

The case of Scandinavian retirees in Alicante, Spain

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Most research on migration and language has examined labour, refugee or family migrants. International retirement migration provides a different perspective on mobility, inclusion and multilingualism. The present chapter examines language use, linguistic challenges and linguistic strategies in the context of retirement migration from Scandinavia to the Alicante province in Spain. Interviews with retired migrants and local key persons showed that retirees often found it difficult to learn the local language, but that a range of other linguistic strategies were available to them. These strategies involved using either their native language or English. Use of the native language occurred in expatriate communities and in settings where interpretation or translation was available. Intercomprehension among retirees speaking different Scandinavian languages was also observed. A final native language strategy was exit – a temporary or in some cases permanent return to the retiree's (former) home country. The chapter summarises these observations in a typology of linguistic strategies. It also highlights a number of context-specific conditions for these strategies in the case under study – the presence of well-established expatriate communities, the association between retirement migration and tourism, and the widespread use of English as a lingua franca. Given this particular linguistic landscape, Scandinavian retirees were mostly able to manage everyday communication without knowing much Spanish. Serious language-related problems appeared in specific situations, mainly related to health and elderly care, contacts with legal authorities, certain housing-related matters, and emergencies.

1.   Introduction

In recent years, international retirement migration (IRM) has emerged as a significant form of intra-European migration, with growing numbers of retirees from Northern Europe settling around the Mediterranean in places where they experience improved quality of life. A growing body of research indicates that these migrants often have poor knowledge of the local language. Retired migrants tend to form communities based on common national origin and common language, with little contact with host societies. Language thus seems to be a crucial issue for understanding the lived reality of retirement migration. Yet very few IRM studies have focused explicitly on language use and on the linguistic landscapes that have emerged as a consequence of retirement migration.

The purpose of the present chapter is to analyse language use in the context of IRM. What are the main linguistic challenges that arise? What different strategies are used, by retirees and by other actors, to meet these challenges? What are the local preconditions for such strategies?

The chapter draws on an interview-based case study of retirement migration from Scandinavia (Norway and Sweden) to the Alicante province in Spain. In relation to our research questions, this is an interesting case for at least two reasons. First, Scandinavian languages are not normally spoken by the local Spanish population. Interaction between immigrant retirees and Spanish society therefore almost always requires linguistic adaptation of some kind. Second, most retirees live in places where Scandinavian communities have developed over several decades. These communities promote a variety of linguistic initiatives and opportunities, and therefore enable us to examine a wide range of different linguistic strategies.

After initial positioning of the study and a clarification of key concepts, we provide a review of literature on international retirement migration with a particular focus on language use, a description of the data and methods used for the empirical study and an overview of the study context. In the central empirical sections of the chapter, we examine in depth the communicative needs of and linguistic challenges facing Scandinavian retirees in Alicante and summarise their responses to these challenges in a typology of linguistic strategies. In the discussion and conclusion, we review our main findings and discuss their limitations and implications.

2. Mobile retirees and inclusion

This chapter applies the MIME framework, with its focus on mobility, inclusion and language, to one specific form of migration – the intra-European migration of relatively affluent retirees. By using this framework, and especially by placing language use at the centre of the analysis, the chapter makes a distinctive contribution to IRM research while also having relevance for migration studies in general.

IRM displays very diverse and flexible forms of mobility. Some retirees settle permanently in their new home country, but many pursue seasonal migration (Casado-Díaz, 2006). Most retirees also foresee a permanent return in case of serious illness or bereavement (Oliver, 2008). A study of the transnational mobility of retired migrants in Spain showed considerable variation in the timing, frequency and duration of their stays in Spain. It also showed intense 'mobility' by telephone, mail, email, fax, newspapers, television, radio and the Internet in order to stay in contact with the country of origin and with family and friends living there (Gustafson, 2009; cf. Ciobanu, Fokkema & Nedelcu, 2017). Moreover, mobility may become part of a desired lifestyle and self-identity among migrants, as it comes to represent activity, freedom and 'positive ageing' (Oliver, 2008).

At the same time, there is concern among scholars, and to some extent also policymakers and practitioners, that the mobility represented by IRM is detrimental to inclusion and social cohesion. Foreign retirees tend to form ethnic 'enclaves', isolated from the host society, especially in larger retirement destinations. Language barriers are often cited as a key factor in this lack of inclusion (O'Reilly, 2008: Appendix 1; Torkington, 2015).

Yet language issues have rarely been the main focus in previous studies of retirement migration. Instead, IRM research has used a range of other social science perspectives, including individualisation (Huber & O'Reilly, 2004), positive ageing (Oliver, 2008), lifestyle migration (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009), migrant transnationalism (Božić, 2006; Gustafson, 2008) and transnational welfare (Coldron & Ackers, 2009).

In contrast, this chapter puts a distinctive emphasis on language. It provides an in-depth case study of language use among mobile retirees and examines the linguistic challenges, linguistic strategies and local linguistic landscapes that have developed in the context of large-scale retirement migration. This perspective provides an improved understanding of the phenomenon of international retirement migration.

3.   Key concepts and tools

Retirees migrate for many different reasons (Warnes, 2009), but in social science and migration research the term *international retirement migration* (IRM) primarily refers to retired people from the Western world who move in search of better quality of life (King, Warnes & Williams, 2000; Gustafson, 2013). This is how the term is used here.

The starting point of the present chapter is a mapping of the *linguistic challenges* that retirees face when they settle in a country where their native language is not the official language. This requires some kind of *linguistic adaptation*, and that adaptation is analysed in terms of different *linguistic strategies*. The term 'linguistic strategies' is used in a broad sense, to refer to actions taken by individuals and institutions in order to manage communication in the context of linguistic diversity. These actions are sometimes carefully considered, sometimes taken on an ad hoc basis or prompted by circumstances beyond the actors' control.

In the case under study, actors include not only the retirees themselves, but also host-country authorities and officials, local expatriate clubs and associations, businesses and service providers, language professionals, and so forth. These various actors, the various languages they use and the various situations in which they use them constitute the local *linguistic landscape*. Knowledge about this linguistic landscape is crucial for analysing the linguistic challenges facing mobile retirees.

In order to examine this linguistic landscape, the linguistic challenges faced by mobile retirees and their strategies for dealing with these challenges, we conducted interviews with Scandinavian retirees and local key persons in the Spanish province of Alicante. More details are given in the *Data and methods* section below.

4.   International retirement migration and language

4.1   Literature review

The mobility of older persons to attractive retirement destinations is sometimes described as a form of lifestyle migration – "relatively affluent individuals, moving either part-time or full-time, permanently or temporarily, to places which, for various reasons, signify for the migrants something loosely defined as quality of life" (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009: 621). The desired lifestyle usually includes a warm and pleasant climate that allows outdoor activities throughout the year. In addition, popular destinations are often associated with natural, cultural and social values, and sometimes also with lower living costs and lower taxes (King, Warnes & Williams, 2000; Casado-Díaz, Kaiser & Warnes, 2004; Oliver, 2008).

Although migrants' socio-economic status varies, IRM stands out as a relatively privileged form of migration. Several studies have shown that persons with high incomes and above-average education levels are overrepresented. Moreover, mobile retirees are no longer dependent on labour incomes but receive all or most of their incomes from pensions and savings. Many retirees maintain homes in their countries of origin and engage in seasonal migration (King, Warnes & Williams, 2000; Casado-Díaz, Kaiser & Warnes, 2004; Gustafson, 2008).

Quantitative estimates of IRM are difficult to make. IRM involves not only permanent settlement, but also seasonal migration and other forms of temporary mobility (O'Reilly, 2000). Moreover, many migrants do not register as residents in the place of destination, due to ignorance, convenience or a desire to maintain legal rights in their former home countries (Coldron & Ackers, 2009). Official population statistics therefore clearly underestimate the extent of IRM. The consensus among migration scholars is nevertheless that retirement migration has increased considerably over the past few decades (King, Warnes & Williams, 2000; Casado-Díaz, Kaiser & Warnes, 2004). There are several factors underlying this development – increasing longevity and improved health among older people, higher disposable incomes and wealth among retirees, improved infrastructures for travel, more extensive experience of (pre-retirement) international mobility, political developments such as the free mobility of persons within the European Economic Area, and the emergence of a retirement migration 'industry' that provides services for migrants (King, Warnes & Williams, 2000; Gustafson, 2013).

IRM also has an important linguistic dimension. Many retirees move to places where their native language is not the majority or official language, and research has consistently found that retirees who migrate for 'lifestyle' reasons often acquire little or no proficiency in the languages of their new home countries (e.g. King, Warnes & Williams, 2000; Casado-Díaz, 2006; Torkington, 2015; Börestam, 2018). This situation is in contrast with current norms of immigrant integration (Torkington, 2015). A common view, both in the public debate and in research, is that successful integration requires migrants to learn the host-country language (Esser, 2006).

More specifically, sociolinguistic research emphasises that language has a dual role or function. First, it is a tool for communication – migrants who do not learn the local language will have problems understanding others and making themselves understood. This may, for example, make it more difficult for them to get a job and to participate in the social and political life of their new home country. Second, language is a resource for creating identity and meaning, so insufficient knowledge of the local language may also lead to lack of a sense of belonging or inclusion (Alcalde, 2018). As a consequence, an immigrant language shift into the host country language has become a strong social norm. Linguistic practices that do not conform to this norm – for example ethnic/linguistic enclaves or extensive translation services for

immigrants – are sometimes regarded with suspicion (Kymlicka & Patten, 2003; Schäffner, 2009). To an increasing extent, states also require immigrants who wish to obtain permanent residency or citizenship to pass language tests (Goodman, 2012).

However, research on migration and language has mostly examined labour, refugee and family migrants, and often focussed on labour market outcomes (Esser, 2006; Chiswick & Miller, 2015). It is unclear to what extent findings from such research apply to retirement migration. Migrant retirees have left the labour force, their motives for migration are different from those of younger migrants, and learning a new language may be more difficult during old age (Oliver, 2008; O'Reilly, 2008: Appendix 1). In addition, the present chapter suggests that the linguistic landscapes in important IRM destinations today render questions of language and integration more complex. The linguistic challenges faced by retired migrants and the strategies used for meeting these challenges differ in important respects from the situation of labour, refugee or family migrants.

4.2   Data and method

The present chapter draws on a study of Scandinavian retirement migration to the Alicante province in Spain, with a focus on the Norwegian community in Alfaz del Pi and the Swedish community in Torrevieja. Data were collected during three field trips to Alicante between 2014 and 2016. Semi-structured interviews were held with 14 Scandinavian (Norwegian and Swedish) retirees and 20 local Spanish and Scandinavian key persons, in order to gain insights into the linguistic situation from both the migrants' perspective and from the perspective of the host society.

The retirees were six women and eight men, between 66 and 81 years of age, living either permanently or on a seasonal basis in Alicante. They were recruited in a local Scandinavian church and in two residential areas where many Scandinavians lived. The interviewees had strong ties to these Scandinavian settings, as they enabled them to speak their native language and interact with persons of the same national origin.

The key persons were an advisor at the provincial office for foreign citizens in Alicante, three municipal politicians, a Scandinavian consul and his secretary, representatives of two Scandinavian associations, the vicar of a Scandinavian church and two welfare workers employed by this church, the head of a Scandinavian volunteer organisation in Spain, a professional translator, the director of a nursing home, an interpreter working in a private nursing home, a medical doctor and a physiotherapist with their own practices, a Scandinavian real-estate agent and consultant, and two Spanish policemen.

Interviewees were asked questions about retired migrants' linguistic abilities, linguistic problems and linguistic strategies. All the respondents were asked about their personal experiences; key persons were also asked more general questions about language issues in relation to the local retirement communities. The duration of the interviews ranged from half an hour to almost two hours.

Verbatim transcripts of all interviews were coded thematically. The main coding themes were linguistic abilities, language-related problems or challenges, linguistic strategies, and the retirees' sense of belonging in Spain. These themes were complemented by subthemes, partly inspired by previous research, and partly emerging inductively from the analysis of the interviews.

In further analytical work, the coding was used to interpret the interviewees' accounts in relation both to our research questions and to previous research on language and retirement migration. We paid particular attention to the situated character of linguistic challenges and strategies – which strategies were used in which situations, in response to which linguistic challenges, and due to which contextual factors? This analytical procedure resulted in a typology of linguistic strategies, presented in Section 4.6, and an in-depth understanding of the preconditions for these strategies.

4.3   Scandinavian retirees in Alicante

Following early charter tourism, North European retirees started moving to Spain already in the 1960s and today Spain is the main European IRM destination. The British make up the largest group of foreign retirees, but other retired migrants, including Scandinavians, have also arrived in large numbers. The main reasons for their migration are associated with climate, health and other lifestyle factors. For some migrants, economic factors also play a role (Helset, 2000; Källström, 2003; Gustafson, 2008; Membrado, 2015; Laksfoss Cardozo, 2018).

According to Spanish population statistics, 16,018 persons born in Norway and 19,318 born in Sweden were registered as residents in Spain in 2015 (online database at www.ine.es). A majority, 52%, of the Norwegians and 37% of the Swedes were 60 years of age or over. In stark contrast to these population data, the official Norwegian website in Spain (www.norgeispania.es) estimates that around 50,000 Norwegians live in Spain and an association for expatriate Swedes estimates that between 70,000 and 90,000 Swedes live 'more or less permanently' in Spain (Svenskar i världen, 2015). Clearly, many Scandinavians in Spain are not in the official records, and there is reason to believe that under-registration is particularly high among retirees, who often reside in Spain on a seasonal basis.

The focus of the present study was on retirement migration to Alicante, the Spanish province with the largest numbers of foreign retirees (Membrado, 2015). Spanish population records report 7,306 Norwegian and 3,266 Swedish residents in Alicante. Most of them were 60 years of age or over – 56% of the Norwegians and 61% of the Swedes. Retirement migration to Alicante is strongly related to tourism and heavily concentrated in the coastal areas. Several municipalities have very high proportions of foreign residents, often living in their own separate residential areas (Membrado, 2015). There is a sizable Norwegian community around Alfaz del Pi (north of Benidorm) and a Swedish community mainly based in Torrevieja (Figure 24.1). Casado-Díaz's study of retired migrants in Alicante indicates that Scandinavian retirees in the area are mostly married or cohabiting couples, often with a background as managers, executives or self-employed persons. Most of her respondents were seasonal migrants, who spent several months each year in their home countries (Casado-Díaz, 2006).
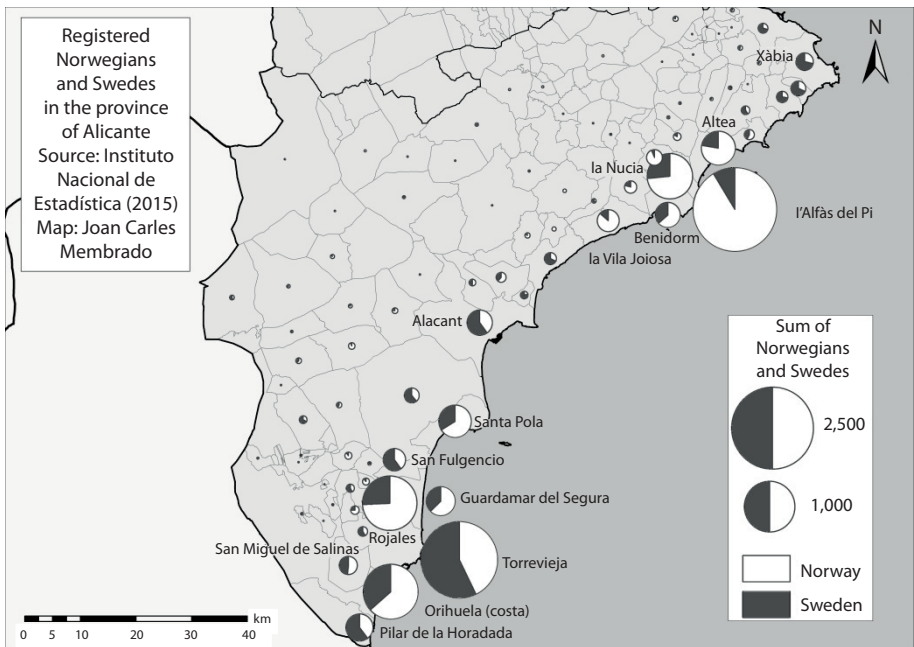
Figure 24.1 Norwegian and Swedish residents in Alicante according to official statistics

4.4   The linguistic landscape

Retired Scandinavians who settle in Alicante encounter a diverse linguistic land-
scape. The Alicante province is part of the larger administrative region of Valencia,
which has two official languages – Spanish (*castellano*) and Valencian (*valencià*).
Bilingualism exists among locals and in certain official settings, but Spanish has
become increasingly dominant along the coast and especially in southern Alicante
(Membrado, 2012; Laksfoss Cardozo, 2018). In addition, with large-scale tourism
and foreign settlement, coastal Alicante has developed into a highly international
and multilingual setting. Three contextual factors are important for understanding
the linguistic situation facing retired migrants in this area.

First, several immigrant groups – including Norwegians and Swedes – have
developed their own expatriate communities. There are Scandinavian consulates
and churches, clubs and associations, and dense social networks that create 'bond-
ing' social capital among migrants (Casado-Díaz, Casado-Díaz & Casado-Díaz,
2014). A wide range of Scandinavian businesses provide services – including local
news media – in the Scandinavian languages (Källström, 2003). Several interview-
ees emphasised that these expatriate settings enabled Scandinavian retirees to use
their native languages in many everyday situations. It was clear from the interviews
that many retirees had chosen their retirement destinations largely because of the
presence of these social and linguistic settings.

Second, Alicante has been an important tourist area for decades and retirement
migration is strongly interrelated with tourism. Spanish residents and local author-
ities sometimes regard it as part of the tourism industry, as 'residential tourism'.
Due to tourism, shopkeepers, waiters and local officials are used to meeting and
communicating with foreigners who do not speak Spanish, and the tourism indus-
try is generally viewed as economically beneficial to the province. The association
with tourism is important to local social acceptance of the large IRM communities
(Mantecón, 2010).

A third and related factor is the status of English as the international *lingua
franca* (Hülmbauer & Seidlhofer, 2013). English serves as a kind of 'second lan-
guage' along the Spanish coasts, especially in the tourism and hospitality industry.
In Alicante, local authorities often provide information in English, and English is
commonly used by workers in the service sector. This is obviously an advantage
for British retirees, but also for many retired migrants who are not native English-
speakers. Scandinavian retirees often have better knowledge of English than of the
local languages.

4.5   Communicative needs and linguistic challenges

As large numbers of Scandinavian retirees settle in Spain, a range of communicative needs arise – needs that in some situations become problems or challenges. This section examines the communicative needs that appeared in our interviews, outlines the main linguistic challenges, and reviews how these challenges were dealt with.

Learning Spanish
An initial challenge for retired Scandinavians moving to Spain was to learn Spanish. Many retired interviewees tried to learn the language but most of them reported limited success. Some started taking Spanish courses even before they moved, and many took language classes in Spain. In addition, retirees often learned or practiced Spanish in less formal ways. They watched Spanish television and read Spanish newspapers; they practiced their Spanish in shops, restaurants and when they met Spanish neighbours or workers.

Yet it was clear that Scandinavian retirees in Alicante often had limited ability to communicate in Spanish. One common theme in the interviews was that retirees felt they were 'too old to learn'; some also complained that Spanish was a difficult language to learn. Seasonal migrants might take a Spanish course during the winter, spend the summer in Scandinavia without practising Spanish, and then have to start all over again when they returned to Spain. Another common theme was that retirees found it difficult to practice their Spanish, as they spent most of their time in the Scandinavian communities and rarely talked to Spanish people.

Those Scandinavian retirees in the area who were comfortable speaking Spanish had often moved to Spain at a younger age, as labour migrants, and thus learned Spanish before they retired. Retirement migrants who communicated in Spanish beyond standard phrases were described as a few individuals who, often for family reasons, made considerable efforts to escape the ethnic 'bubble'.

Social life
There were several reasons for the emergence of such a 'bubble'. There was a steady inflow of Scandinavian retirees who settled in Alicante. Since they had few or no previous social ties in the area, they needed to establish new social networks. This is an important function of the expatriate clubs and associations that have emerged along the Spanish coasts. Communication in these settings was mostly monolingual, but there was also some interaction between Norwegian and Swedish residents (both speaking their native language). On the contrary, there was little contact between Scandinavians and other foreign retirees.

Social interaction with Spanish residents was also limited. The Spanish usually had their own long-established social networks of family and friends, and did not necessarily wish to socialise with newly arrived foreigners who might not stay for very long. Other factors such as age, social class and different cultural preferences might also play a role.

Moreover, Spanish and Scandinavian residents tended to live in different residential areas, as the Scandinavians often moved to housing estates that were constructed for, and sold directly to, foreign buyers. In a number of municipalities in Alicante, most of the inhabitants are in fact foreign residents and the native Spanish population are a minority (Membrado, 2015).

Some of the interviewees regretted that they had so little social contact with the Spanish, but most of them were satisfied with their social life and with the support and security they felt in the Scandinavian communities.

Health and old-age care

The most serious language-related problems and challenges for Scandinavian retirees in Alicante concerned health care, medical treatment, and the consequences of declining physical or intellectual abilities. As European (EU or EEA) citizens, Scandinavian retirees had access to free public health care, which was generally considered to be of good quality. However, doctors and nursing staff in public care usually spoke Spanish.

Many retirees therefore turned to private health care. This was a flourishing sector with everything from Scandinavian doctors and other health professionals with their own practices to full-scale international hospitals with largely English-speaking medical staff and interpreters who could assist patients from a wide range of countries.

Health issues, diagnoses and medical treatments are sensitive topics that require good communication, as repeatedly shown in research (Schwei et al., 2016; Showstack, 2019). Retirees in the study often went to Scandinavian doctors or to hospitals with Scandinavian interpreters. Some brought a Spanish-speaking friend or neighbour, or even a professional interpreter, with them to the health centre. As an alternative, seasonal migrants might go to doctors in Norway or Sweden during their summer stays there. Spanish health professionals were also reluctant to treat patients with whom they could not communicate in their native language, partly for convenience but also because misunderstandings could entail serious medical risks.

There were also private nursing homes for Scandinavian retirees who needed assistance in their daily life, with Scandinavian-speaking staff, access to Scandinavian TV channels, and meals and other daily routines adapted to Scandinavian habits. Home care services with Scandinavian-speaking personnel were available as well. Yet

private alternatives may be expensive, especially for those who need long-term institutional care. Several key persons in the study said that the most serious language-related problems among foreign retirees concerned those who did not speak Spanish, could not take care of themselves, and were unable to pay for private care. They might end up in distress in their own homes or socially isolated in a Spanish institution. The best solution in such cases often seemed to be a return to their former home country.

Police and legal issues

Contacts with the police and the legal authorities were another sensitive area. In emergencies, foreign residents could dial the emergency number and get help in English and certain other foreign languages (but no Scandinavian language). This could be a problem for older retirees with insufficient knowledge of English. When reporting a crime to the local police, they needed to speak Spanish or bring an interpreter. According to the two policemen interviewed in the study, it was common for foreigners to bring a Spanish-speaking friend or neighbour with them to the police station, but some paid for professional interpreters.

Native-language interpreters, provided by the legal authorities, were normally used in formal police interrogations, in legal proceedings, and when foreigners needed to sign legal documents in Spanish. However, Scandinavian key persons in the study said that interpreters used by the courts were sometimes lacking in competence and professionalism.

Policemen patrolling the streets often met tourists and foreign residents who asked for help or advice. The interviewees said they usually managed to communicate, either in Spanish or in English, although sometimes on a rather superficial level. The police also had English versions of certain forms, for example for reporting minor traffic violations.

Buying goods and services

Another kind of challenge concerned buying goods and services. Minor communication problems and misunderstandings were common, such as buying the wrong product in a shop or not being able to use the ticket machine on the tram. Such events might be embarrassing, but for most respondents they did not constitute a serious problem. Some interviewees consulted a Spanish dictionary before they went shopping, others accessed digital translation programs via their phones or iPads. Another alternative was to use shops or service-providers where they could speak their native language – either ethnic businesses or Spanish companies with Scandinavian-speaking personnel.

A special problem concerned telephone calls. Telephone support services in Spanish, especially IVR (Interactive Voice Response) systems, might be difficult to

use, and there were also reports of irresponsible telephone sales to foreign residents with poor knowledge of Spanish.

More serious consumption-related problems reported in our interviews mainly concerned housing issues – the purchase or construction of a house, major renovation or repair work, and related services. Several key persons gave examples of how misunderstandings and insufficient knowledge (e.g., about necessary permits) due to language problems might cause conflicts, practical problems and economic losses. They recommended that prospective buyers use Scandinavian consultants, interpreters or translators to avoid these risks. Several retirees in the study had done so.

Contacts with local authorities

Retirees who lived in Spain, permanently or on a seasonal basis, needed to settle certain formal issues with the Spanish authorities. They needed to register as inhabitants in the municipality where they lived, get a residence certificate and a tax identification number, find out what taxes and fees to pay and what laws and regulations to follow.

Local and regional authorities in Alicante provided basic information (in print and online) for foreign residents in English and certain other foreign languages. Such information was often not available in any Scandinavian language, and for Scandinavian retirees this form of communication seemed to be of limited importance. Instead, our interviews indicate that the main source of official information was the Scandinavian associations in the area. A key function of their meetings, newsletters and websites was to provide information, in their members' native language(s), about legal and practical issues in Spain. Yet there was a concern among local officials that many foreign retirees did not register as inhabitants, and that the municipalities therefore received insufficient state funding for local administration and infrastructure.

When retirees contacted local authorities personally, their strategies varied. If they knew that a Scandinavian-speaking person worked in the local administration (this was the case in Alfaz del Pi), they tended to use that person as a first contact. Both Alfaz del Pi and Torrevieja also had international residents' offices with English-speaking personnel. When retirees needed to visit other municipal departments, they could not expect to meet English-speaking staff. In such cases they often brought a Spanish-speaking friend or neighbour, or (less often) a professional interpreter.

4.6   Linguistic strategies

The analysis of communicative needs and linguistic challenges facing Scandinavian retirees in Alicante shows that several linguistic strategies were in use (Figure 24.2). Importantly, most retirees employed different linguistic strategies depending on the situation. This section summarises the use and usefulness of these strategies, with a particular focus on their situated character.

1. Communication using the host-country language
2. Communication using the migrants' native language
   - Expatriate communities
   - Interpretation and translation
   - Intercomprehension
   - Exit
3. Communication using a *lingua franca*

Figure 24.2 Linguistic strategies

1.   *The host-country language*

The first strategy was obviously to learn the host-country language. The more migrants learned, the better they could manage everyday communication with local residents and the more they could participate in Spanish societal life. Many retired migrants attempted to learn Spanish, but very few became fluent Spanish-speakers. Those who had taken Spanish courses might read newspapers and other texts and produce words and phrases in Spanish, sometimes aided by a dictionary or translation software. Yet they often found it difficult to understand spoken Spanish. Few would be able to go to a Spanish doctor, report a crime at the local police station, or have an in-depth conversation with a Spanish friend. Hence, Spanish was mainly used in occasional interaction with Spanish neighbours, shopkeepers and other service staff, sometimes in combination with English or other means of communication. In more sensitive situations, many retirees preferred to use their native language or, if that was not possible, English. Attitudes towards learning Spanish varied. Some interviewees felt that, being residents in Spain, they ought to learn the local language. This attitude reflects common social norms of immigrant integration. Others felt that learning Spanish was too difficult and not worth the effort.

2.   *The migrants' native language*

The second strategy, to use the migrants' native language, was possible under certain conditions and in certain situations. Figure 24.2 highlights four different cases.

Much of the retirees' everyday lives took place within the *Scandinavian communities*, where they could use their native language. They socialised with other Norwegian or Swedish retirees, received most information about Spanish society

through the local Scandinavian clubs, media and social networks, and often used Scandinavian-speaking service providers. Clearly, the Scandinavian linguistic and cultural settings gave retirees a sense of security, comfort and familiarity, which most of them appreciated. The choice to settle in an area with established Scandinavian communities can itself be regarded as a linguistic strategy.

Moreover, *interpretation and translation* were widely available, allowing retirees to use their native language in communication with the Spanish. Interpretation between Spanish and Norwegian/Swedish was provided in courts and in formal police interrogations, at several private hospitals and occasionally in contact with local authorities, whereas in most other situations it was up to the retirees to bring an interpreter. Some used professional interpreters, but it was common to ask a Scandinavian friend or neighbour to help. Retirees also used translation software to facilitate everyday communication and understanding, but were well aware of its limitations.

For Scandinavian retirees, *intercomprehension* might sometimes be an option. Intercomprehension implies mutual understanding among users of proximate languages, for example Norwegian and Swedish (Börestam, 2002; Börestam, 2018), and it was reported by several respondents in the study. At least two important Scandinavian clubs in the area provided arenas for meetings between Norwegians and Swedes (and to a lesser extent Danes and Swedish-speaking Finns). Intercomprehension also occurred in ethnic businesses (Norwegian-speaking staff serving Swedish clients and vice versa) and in settings where interpretation was provided. For example, there were both Norwegian and Swedish interpreters at private hospitals who interpreted for both Norwegians and Swedes.

A final way of using one's native language was *exit* – to leave the host country and return to one's (former) home country to perform certain activities. Several retirees in the study said they went to the doctor during their seasonal stays in Scandinavia rather than in Spain. It was also common for retirees to return permanently to Norway or Sweden if they had severe health problems.

3.   English as a *lingua franca*

The third strategy was to use English. Due to the tourism industry, English serves as a second language along the Spanish coasts. Interviewees said they could often use English in encounters with shopkeepers, waiters and other service workers, and sometimes also at municipal offices and other local authorities (but generally not in police stations). Public-service interpreting between Spanish and English was sometimes available, and much of the information from local authorities was published in English.

Local officials seemed to think that if they made information available in English, it would be accessible to all Scandinavian retirees in the area. Our interviews

suggest this was not the case, as there were older retirees (born before the Second World War) who did not speak enough English. Also, Scandinavian retirees generally preferred to receive information in their native language. In spite of these reservations, the English language clearly facilitated contact with the Spanish society for many retirees.

5.   Discussion

Previous research on international retirement migration has shown that many retired migrants acquire limited knowledge of the host-country language. Yet there is a lack of research on the challenges that this entails and on the linguistic strategies employed by migrants and other actors in IRM destinations. In order to examine these questions, we carried out an interview-based case study of Scandinavian retirement migration to the Alicante province in Spain.

We found that Scandinavian retirees in coastal Alicante often had trouble understanding Spanish, despite attempts by many to learn. Moreover, learning the host-country language was not perceived as an obvious choice or a necessity, as it has historically been for most other migrant groups (Kymlicka & Patten, 2003). Instead, retirees employed a range of additional linguistic strategies for their everyday communication. These involved using either their native language or a *lingua franca*.

The native language was useful when socialising with retirees from their home countries and when using local Norwegian or Swedish service providers. Retirees could also use their native language when translation or interpretation was available. Moreover, intercomprehension among speakers of Norwegian and Swedish was common in certain settings. A final type of native language strategy was 'exit' – returning to the country of origin. A common alternative to native language communication was to use English as a *lingua franca*. English is often used by local businesses and authorities. In addition, translation and interpretation is more often available in English than in the Scandinavian languages.

The typology of linguistic strategies is a key contribution of the present chapter. The analysis also highlighted a number of contextual factors that made this broad range of linguistic strategies possible in the particular case under study. One factor was the presence of well-established expatriate communities (Källström, 2003; Laksfoss Cardozo, 2018). In these communities, retired migrants could use their native language and they could also get help, either paid or on a voluntary/ friendship basis, when communication in the host country language was required. The expatriate communities, and their isolation from native Spanish settings, were reinforced by ethnic residential segregation (Mantecón, 2010; Membrado, 2015). A second factor, the overlap between IRM and tourism, contributed to the local

social and linguistic acceptance of foreign residents – at least those arriving from relatively rich northern European countries. A third factor was the widespread use of English, largely due to tourism.

In this linguistic environment, Scandinavian retirees could often manage their everyday lives without using Spanish. Our study suggests that serious linguistic problems were restricted to specific situations, in particular regarding health and old-age care, contacts with the police and legal authorities, housing-related issues and emergencies. In most day-to-day situations, retirees managed to communicate using one or several of the strategies outlined above.

Yet language is not only a means of communication but also a resource for creating identity, meaning and belonging (Alcalde, 2018). Whereas mediated forms, such as translation, interpretation or a *lingua franca*, may fulfil basic communicative needs, developing a sense of identity and belonging in the host country probably requires migrants to learn the host-country language. The Scandinavian retirees in our study rarely expressed any strong sense of identification or inclusion in relation to Spanish society. Their main identification was with Norway or Sweden, and their sense of inclusion in Spain generally referred to their local municipalities and especially to the Norwegian or Swedish communities there (Gustafson & Laksfoss Cardozo, 2017).

As Casado-Díaz et al. (2014) put it, the retirees developed bonding social capital within the expatriate communities rather than bridging social capital in relation to the host society. At least to some degree, this seems a deliberate choice by the retirees. Many were clearly attracted by the Scandinavian social and linguistic settings in Alicante, and moved to the area without any strong desire to be included into Spanish society or to learn Spanish.

Conversely, the host society did not provide strong incentives (or pressure) towards inclusion. This was largely due to the relatively privileged position of these migrants, in terms of purchasing power and socio-economic status, together with the perception that retirement migration was part of the tourism industry.

In addition, there were substantial barriers to developing bridging social capital. Even those retirees who wanted to interact with local Spanish people and learn Spanish found it difficult to do so in residential areas and municipalities with high proportions of foreign residents. Those few native Spanish-speakers who lived or worked there had their own social networks and did not necessarily want to act as unpaid language teachers in their everyday encounters with foreign retirees.

Some of the retirees still experienced a conflict between social norms of integration and their own limited knowledge of Spanish. Yet the language-related problems that they reported in the interviews mostly concerned practical issues, and rarely involved personal feelings or self-identity.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, large-scale international retirement migration provides a novel perspective on mobility, inclusion and multilingualism. Not only does it give rise to a broad range of linguistic strategies, but it also poses challenging empirical, theoretical and normative questions about language use, multilingualism and migrants' place in the host society in the context of relatively privileged migration.

Whereas many immigrants in Europe today face increasing demands for cultural and linguistic adaptation in their host societies, such demands have limited relevance for the mobile retirees examined here. Instead, they meet highly supportive local linguistic landscapes that allow them to use their native language or English for most of their everyday communication. Taken together, the observations and analyses presented here suggest that the linguistic settings provided by retirement destinations such as Alicante allow retirees to improve their quality of life by moving to attractive places while at the same time maintaining a sense of inclusion in ethnic communities where native-language communication is predominant.

This study examined Scandinavian retirees in Spain, whose native languages were generally not spoken by the host-country population. Retirees from more important linguistic areas – native English-speakers in particular – have better opportunities to use their own language and consequently even less incentive to learn the host country language. Moreover, our case study as well as most previous IRM research have examined destinations with large numbers of foreign retirees, often with established expatriate infrastructures, and strongly associated with tourism. In places without these characteristics, migrant retirees will have fewer opportunities to use their native language or a *lingua franca*. At the same time, some of the obstacles to learning the local language will be smaller. Retirees will more easily make contact with natives, and those natives will probably be more likely to expect retirees to learn their language. Yet the migrants' age and their position as retirees may still constitute obstacles to language learning. These conditions should be kept in mind when considering the applicability of our findings to other cases of international retirement migration. They also invite comparative work on IRM communities that differ from those examined here. The typology of linguistic strategies (Figure 24.2) would be useful for such work.

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Multilingualism and creativity

An integrative approach

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This chapter investigates the relations between multilingualism, multicultural experience and creativity at both a theoretical and an empirical level. Starting with a general discussion about the cost and benefits of linguistic diversity, we argue that one of the benefits of multilingualism is enhanced creativity and, hence, a greater potential for innovation. After introducing formal definitions of multilingualism and creativity, both of which are complex and can prove difficult to conceptualize and operationalize, we discuss previous research on bilingualism and creativity, as well as on multicultural experience and creativity. We synthesize this literature and identify its strengths and limitations. A key issue is that the impact of bilingualism/multilingualism and multicultural experience on creativity had never been studied jointly so far. The empirical section of the paper then estimates multivariate models with a large sample ($n = 596$). Results shows that both multilingualism and multicultural experience are positively associated with creativity, with standardized effect sizes ranging from .20 to .50 depending on specification. These results are discussed in methodological and theoretical perspective. We discuss implications for language policy, as well as the challenges related to causal inference and the possible generalization of these results at the group level.

1. Introduction

The claim is often made, whether in the media or in political discourse, that there is a positive correlation between diversity and creativity. If such a link indeed exists, the ensuing social, political and economic implications may be significant, particularly in the case of linguistic and cultural diversity. Any such correlation between linguistic diversity on the one hand and creativity on the other would provide powerful arguments in favour of diversity-enhancing policies. The reason is that creativity is widely seen as the driver of innovation, which in turn fosters prosperity. States and their surrogates, including supra-national organisations such as

the EU, would then be well advised to support policies that encourage multilateral worker mobility, the learning of foreign languages in schools, the protection and promotion of minority languages, and multilingualism in the internal operations of international organisations – starting, of course, with the EU itself.

However, the actual contents of the claim that diversity and creativity are positively correlated generally remains vague or somewhat slogan-like. This trend was possibly ushered in by the UNESCO report entitled 'Our creative diversity' (1996), and even in academic research it is not uncommon to come across contributions that appear to take for granted, with little more than anecdotal evidence, the claim that diversity breeds creativity. Although such a correlation arguably exists, it lacks strong empirical corroboration. Furthermore, the theoretical contributions explaining it (or part of it) are scattered over various research traditions.

It is therefore necessary to examine this relationship more closely, and to do so with a rigorous methodology and comprehensive theoretical approach. This is the mission of this chapter, in which we first consider various theoretical elements that can shed light on the possible multilingualism-creativity connection, before presenting the methodology and results of our own research. In the final section, we discuss these results in relation to fundamental theoretical questions and in terms of some general implications of diversity for language policy and diversity management.

2. Psychometric approaches in the MIME framework

The research reported on in this chapter is part of the MIME project and it fits into the MIME analytical framework outlined in Chapter 1 and discussed in more detail in Chapter 2 of this book. At the core of the framework lies the idea that linguistic diversity has both benefits and costs, whether material or symbolic (both are relevant in a public policy approach). Too little diversity means lost opportunities; opting for more diversity results in higher benefits and higher costs; and at some point the material and symbolic costs of diversity exceed its material and symbolic benefits, which means that the optimum, from a public policy standpoint, is what economists call an 'interior solution', i.e. neither *zero* nor *infinite* diversity.

One of the crucial dimensions of the problem, then, is the nature and magnitude of the benefits that may be associated with diversity, and this is where the diversity-creativity link comes into play. If diversity enhances creativity (which in turn stimulates innovation and, further down the line, prosperity), this is typically a component of the benefits generated by diversity, and those benefits require proper identification and measurement. These benefits, of course, are not limited, as claimed by some, to functional or material gain considerations. On the contrary, the research

paradigm in which this economic tradition is anchored insists on the importance of the symbolic dimensions involved (see, for example, Grin, 2020; Gazzola, Grin & Vaillancourt, 2020). In this chapter, both symbolic and material benefits are involved; such creativity-related benefits may range from self-expression and individual well-being to innovation and the marketing of new products.

One important feature of the benefits that linguistic diversity may confer through its positive impact – if any – on creativity is that these benefits transcend the 'contingent versus absolute divide. Let us briefly recall this distinction (discussed in more detail in Grin, 2019): 'contingent multilingualism' defines a context of choice *in which the world is linguistically diverse*, and where the question is therefore whether individuals and groups (or even whole societies) should also nurture their own multilingualism. For example, is it useful for most European residents to speak one or two foreign languages in addition to their native language, whether for work, leisure, travel, or any other reason? (Answer: yes). 'Absolute multilingualism' refers to a hypothetical context of choice in which the world is, or may well be, monolingual. If the world is monolingual and all communication problems between speakers of different languages have thus vanished, the question then is whether human societies may nonetheless have reasons to encourage and cultivate a certain degree of multilingualism. The answer is yes if, among other possible reasons, the linguistic diversity found in multilingual people makes them happier, healthier, more accomplished or more prosperous. Creativity is one of the phenomena that possibly connects multilingualism with those positive outcomes, hence the need to analyse this phenomenon rigorously and, to the extent possible, estimate orders of magnitude for it. This is precisely what this chapter sets out to do.

Let us point out, however, that this paper focuses on the link between *individual* multilingualism and *individual* creativity. At the same time, this raises the broader policy problem of the link between multilingualism viewed in more general terms (that is, both individual and collective) and the creativity that may emerge, beyond the individual, in diverse work *teams*. Probing the existence of a link at the individual level, as is done here, is a necessary first step. However, common sense suggests it is reasonable to assume that demonstrating such a link at individual level foreshadows a similar demonstration at group level, once there is also an efficient solution for communication among the members of a linguistically diverse group.

3.   Key concepts and definitions

We begin this theoretical section with extensive definitions of multilingualism and creativity. In addition, we also briefly consider the challenge of creativity assessment.

3.1   Definition of multilingualism

Let us characterise multilingualism as the fact that a person has high proficiency in several languages (in the specific and simpler case of bilingualism, in two languages). There is, however, some debate regarding what exactly 'proficiency' means. One definition of proficiency is 'the ability to function in a situation that is defined by specific cognitive and linguistic demands, to a level of performance indicated by either objective criteria or normative standards' (Bialystok, 2001: 18). Two implications quite naturally follow. The first is that a given ability to speak language *X* may be considered adequate or sufficient in one context (say, a leisure activity) but not in another (say, a professional activity). The second is that there is actually no sharp line separating monolingualism from bilingualism, and no sharp line separating bilingualism from multilingualism.

Hence, in this chapter, as in the MIME project in general, we consider that multilingualism is better described as a matter of *degree* than as a categorical variable. Empirically, we rely on the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, which distinguishes between six levels (A1, A2, B1, B2, C1 and C2) and usually four skills (reading, writing, listening and speaking), sometimes five if 'interaction' is singled out. The key idea here is that we do not make a strong distinction between narrow definitions of multilingualism (i.e. very high proficiency in two or more languages) and a combination of more limited abilities, such as fluency in a first language and basic knowledge of a second.

Two additional remarks are in order. The first concerns the claim that languages, being social constructions, do not 'really' exist. Multilingualism should then be seen primarily in terms of fluid manifestations of code-mixing and code-switching, in which the boundaries between named languages ultimately disappear. Speakers' lived experience, however, seriously challenges this notion (Edwards, 2012; McSwan, 2017); and below in we consider named languages as empirically appropriate and analytically valid concepts.

The second remark concerns the fact that most of the literature relevant to this chapter (as we will see below) often comes from research on 'strong bilingualism', which compares people having strong abilities in two languages with supposedly monolingual people. Indeed, much of this literature deals with people from backgrounds that favour such strong bilingualism, such as immigrants who are fluent in both a native language and a host language (Mexican immigrants in the US, Turkish

immigrants in Germany, for example). Most exceptions to this general rule come from studies focusing on second language acquisition.

To sum up, our approach to multilingualism is based on four key ideas. First, we consider that different, distinct languages do exist and are identifiable as such. Second, we consider linguistic abilities as a continuum (rather a mere monolingual/bilingual dichotomy). Third, we also go beyond bilingualism and consider abilities in several languages. Fourth, we do not specifically focus on migrant populations. As we will see later, systematically focusing on such populations may be problematic because they are characterised by cultural traits that may be confounded with linguistic abilities.

3.2   Defining creativity

Before turning to the literature relevant to the multilingualism/creativity link, let us take a closer look at creativity. Quite broadly, creativity can be defined as 'the interplay between ability and process by which an individual or group produces an outcome or product that is both novel and useful as defined within some social context' (Plucker, Beghetto & Dow, 2004: 90). This compact definition calls for a bit of unpacking. First, it says that creativity can be achieved by *individuals* or *groups*. Second, there is a distinction between *abilities* and *process*. Indeed, creativity can be seen as emerging from a set of relatively stable abilities (e.g. knowledge, intelligence, flexibility) but also from a complex process (or, more precisely, from the interactions between sub-processes such as the generation and selection of ideas). Third, this definition emphasises the fact that a creative product must be both *novel* and *useful*. These two attributes are very important in creativity research; the former (sometimes referred to as originality or uniqueness) is the most intuitive and fundamental feature of creativity, but the latter (sometimes referred to as quality or appropriateness) is just as crucial. Original but inadequate ideas are useless; both criteria must be met.

Another important distinction is the one between creative potential and creative realisation or achievement (e.g., Runco, 2013; Sternberg, Grigorenko & Singer, 2004). *Creative potential* usually refers to the presence, in the individual, of various traits (e.g. openness) and aptitudes (e.g. divergent thinking) known to be relevant to creativity. The notion of *creative realisation* or creative *achievement* refers to manifest, observable creativity, either in the form of a single product or as the overall creative output of a given person at a given point in time. The transformation from potential to realisation is neither direct nor guaranteed; rather, it is a long and uncertain process that can be influenced by numerous variables (mentoring, social support, persuasion abilities, life opportunities, societal attitudes toward creativity, etc.).

Finally, it is also important to distinguish between creative *domains*, for instance the minimal distinction between art and science. In principle, such distinctions can be almost infinitely refined (e.g. visual arts, painting and photography, portrait and landscape photography, etc.). As of today, there is no strong theory of domains; only a few practical classifications are used in creativity questionnaires (e.g. Carson et al., 2005). A potential pitfall here is to amalgamate some domains with creativity, for instance by considering that anything falling within the scope of art is creative, or that some vocational activities are intrinsically creative while others are not. This is true to a certain extent but, fundamentally, creativity can occur in any domain, and not only in stereotypical 'creative domains'.

3.3   The challenge of creativity assessment

All this should make clear that empirical testing or assessment of creativity is a complex matter. Indeed, creativity measurement has been approached using many methods. Very roughly, these can be organised into two main classes: *questionnaire-based* and *task-based* methods. Questionnaire-based methods are generally used to assess personality traits, preferences, attitudes, and thinking styles related to creativity (creative potential), as well as self-reported creative interests, activities, and achievements. These measures are very convenient and offer a quick way to assess several creativity-related variables. Nevertheless, all these questionnaire-based instruments may be seen as relatively indirect (and, to some extent, weak) measures of creativity because they are based on self-evaluation only – and people are liable to evaluate themselves incorrectly.

By contrast, measures based on creativity tasks allow direct evaluations of actual creative products. These tasks can be divided in two sub-categories: divergent thinking tasks and realistic/complex creativity tasks. Divergent thinking tasks are open-ended tasks in which participants are asked to produce a large number of different and original ideas in response to a given situation. Responses are generally scored for fluency (raw number of ideas), flexibility (variety of ideas), and originality (often scored as statistical rarity in a given sample). In realistic/complex creativity tasks, participants are asked to actually complete a creative product – write a short story, make a drawing or a collage, etc. Typically, these products are assessed by peers or experts, using a single dimension (i.e. 'creativity') or distinguishing between originality and quality (see Fürst & Grin, 2018 for further detail).

To sum up, the key idea in modern creativity measurement is to consider several constructs (e.g., creative potential and creative achievement; creative personality and creative processes; originality and quality of creative products) using different assessment methods (various questionnaires and different types of tasks). Accordingly, this type of approach is one of the guiding principles of our empirical work.

4.   Multilingualism and creativity

In this section, we address the question of the connections between multilingualism and creativity. We start with a literature review before presenting our own research and findings.

4.1   Literature review

To assess the plausibility of a connection between multilingualism and creativity we first rely on three research traditions: bilingualism and cognition, bilingualism and creativity, and foreign experience and creativity. We use this relatively indirect approach because there are very few empirical studies that focus *specifically* on multilingualism and creativity (most contributions actually focus on bilingualism). To conclude this theoretical section, we synthesise this research and propose an in-depth assessment of the strengths and limitations of previous research.

Bilingualism and cognition
Although creativity is rarely equated with normal cognition (for an exception, see Bink and Marsh, 2000), the fact remains that several general cognitive processes are relevant to creativity, and some of these processes have been found to be positively related to bilingualism. The processes in question are those underlying 'executive functions', i.e. a vast and diverse group of cognitive abilities related to cognitive control (e.g. attentional control, cognitive inhibition, and flexibility).

As regards attentional control and inhibition, the key idea is that every time bilingual people person speak language *X*, they have to inhibit language *Y*. In other words, constant 'competition' between languages in the bilingual mind requires attentional control that is simply non-existent in their monolingual counterparts. Although the notion of a domain-wide inhibitory system remains a matter of debate, the idea here is that engagement in language inhibition has implications that go beyond strictly linguistic spheres (Bialystok, 2017). This enhanced attentional control and inhibition can be seen as favourable to creativity, because one of the key challenges in most creativity tasks is precisely to inhibit the most frequent – and therefore unoriginal – ideas (for example, see Finke et al., 1992).

As a corollary of the above, other studies suggest that bilingualism favours flexibility, switching and monitoring of attention (for an overview, see also Bialystok, 2017). These studies have shown that bilingual people (children, in particular) perform better than monolinguals in tasks that require switching abilities (e.g. sorting tasks in which the sorting rule changes). This ability is arguably related to inhibition – the old criterion (the sorting rule) must be inhibited in order to discover new ones. This enhanced flexibility of bilinguals is possibly mediated by language-switching abilities (Barbu et al., 2018). And just like inhibition, flexibility is important for

creativity – actually, it almost defines creativity (see, for example, Guilford, 1950) – because it implies the ability to produce a variety of ideas and alternate between various perspectives and points of views.

To sum up, although some of these indirect routes are plausible (i.e. bilingualism influencing cognitive abilities that are in turn relevant to creativity), the connection between executive functions and creativity is in fact a very complicated one – some studies suggest that more inhibition is better, and others the opposite (e.g., Fürst & Lubart, 2013). A recent meta-analysis suggests that the link between bilingualism and executive functions is actually very weak or even nil when correcting for publication bias (Lehtonen et al., 2018). For all these reasons, we need to take a closer look and consider studies that directly test the link between bilingualism and creativity.

Bilingualism and creativity

In addition to the indirect evidence mentioned above, other studies focus directly on bilingualism and creativity. However, these studies are fewer. A small number of exceptions aside (Okoh, 1980 and Ghonsooly & Showqi, 2012), most of the research in this area was done by Anatoliy Kharkhurin; it is summarised in his 2012 book, *Multilingualism and Creativity*.

Empirically, Kharkhurin reports several studies in which bilinguals outperform monolinguals in a variety of creativity tasks. In one study (Kharkhurin, 2008) he shows that Russian-English bilinguals, as compared to monolinguals, display higher fluency (number of ideas) and flexibility (variety of ideas) in a battery of divergent thinking tasks. No difference was found, however, in originality of ideas. In another similar study (Kharkhurin, 2009), complementary (or conflicting) results were reported. Indeed, in this study comparing Farsi-English bilinguals with English monolinguals, it was found that bilinguals outperformed monolinguals on originality scores but not on fluency and flexibility.

Theoretically, Kharkhurin argues that bilingualism can expand concepts and broaden access to information, thereby increasing the number of mental elements and the probability of finding interesting conceptual combinations. He calls this process 'language-mediated concept activation' (Kharkhurin, 2009, 2012). The idea is that, through the confrontation of words' different meanings and focus on various subtleties in language, translation-related questions can sharpen linguistic skills and consequently increase clarity of thinking. Indeed, language is a cognitive ability essential not only for communication, but also for conceptualising experience.

Multicultural experience and creativity
Finally, another research tradition relevant to this chapter includes studies focusing on the positive relationship between multicultural experience and creativity. By allowing access to different cultures, multilingualism can let people see the world through different lenses (e.g. Singleton & Aronin, 2007). Diversity of experience can surely be a valuable advantage for creativity, which often occurs when remote, very different ideas are combined (e.g. Mednick, 1962; Smith, Ward & Finke, 1995). Being confronted with a variety of cultures and having the opportunity to compare different habits and values consistently leads to a variety of points of view. Flexibility in thinking and exposure to various cultures are notions close to the psychological dimension of openness, and it turns out that both diversity of information and openness are positively related to creativity (Feist, 1998; McCrae, 1987; Maddux & Galinsky, 2009; Root-Bernstein & Root-Bernstein, 2004).

Strengths and limitations of past research
Past research has shown that bilingualism seems to enhance creativity. However, many of these studies suffer from substantial limitations which make it difficult to conclude that overall, multilingualism is positively correlated to creativity.

– *Focus on bilingualism and migrant populations*. A first problem is that most studies do not in fact assess multilingualism but bilingualism. Moreover, these studies generally focus on highly proficient bilinguals, in most cases migrants. One can hardly draw conclusions on the impact of multilingualism in general from observations of highly proficient bilingual migrants.
– *Use of narrow manifestations of creativity*. Another limitation is that many studies assess creativity using a rather limited methodology. Many studies equate divergent thinking with creativity, which is problematic.
– *Weak control for multicultural experience*. Finally, most studies focusing on bilingualism and creativity do not control for multicultural experience. Given that multicultural experience is also positively correlated with creativity, this may compromise the strength of the conclusions because multicultural experience and multilingualism are unlikely to be independent; rather, it is more likely that multilingualism favours multicultural experience, and vice versa.

4.2   Method

Participants
The total sample of this study consists of four distinct subsamples. These are briefly described below; for a complete, detailed description of these subsamples and procedures, see Fürst and Grin (2018a). The first sample is composed of 262 students at the University of Geneva. Data gathering in this sample was based on a paper-and-pencil questionnaire (see below for a detailed description). The second sample ($n = 120$) was collected through an online procedure. The questionnaire was the same, but was provided in a computerised version instead of paper and pencil. Sampling was explicitly designed to include both monolingual and bilingual participants. The third dataset was gathered during a pilot study run at a language fair in Liège (Belgium). This sample was small ($n = 59$) but it allowed us to test and fine-tune a new data gathering procedure based on real-life creativity tasks (as opposed to the questionnaires used until then – see below for a full description of these tasks). Finally, the fourth data set was gathered at the University of Geneva ($n = 179$). Participants answered the same questionnaires as in the previous studies, and also completed the three creativity tasks tested in Liège.

Procedure
As indicated above, samples 1 and 2 were assessed with questionnaire-based instruments only. Participants in samples 3 and 4 also completed creativity tasks. In the case of the fourth sample, the entire data-gathering procedure took place in a controlled environment. Participants came to the study room in small groups of four people and completed the study on a tablet PC. They started with questionnaires, then completed the creativity tasks (their productions were automatically and instantly saved in a database when they were done), and finally they rated randomly selected output by previous participants, displayed on the computer interface.

Specifically, there were three such tasks: an 'everyday' imagination task, in which participants were asked to find as many creative uses for cardboard boxes as possible; a writing task, in which participants were asked to write a short story on a preassigned topic; and a drawing task, in which participants were asked to draw an original alien creature. This procedure has high ecological (real-life) validity, for it mimics peer evaluation, which is widespread in many creative domains, be it in the arts or in science.

Instruments

In the questionnaires, multilingualism was operationalised through the total number of languages known by a person (up to six), along with his proficiency in L2, L3, and L4 (based on the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*). Cultural diversity was operationalised through diversity of origins, time spent living and travelling abroad, and a proxy of 'multicultural identity' (a question in which participants could report up to five countries that are important to them). Creativity was first operationalised through interests, practices and achievements in various creative domains (e.g. visual arts, performing arts, music or scientific research). Two key creative processes known to be positively related to creativity were also assessed: idea generation (having pleasure and ease in generating many new and original ideas in a variety of situations) and idea selection (being critical, exacting and persistent in the selection and elaboration of one's ideas).

Creativity was also operationalised with three creativity tasks (cardboard boxes, story-writing, and 'alien' drawing). In these tasks, creativity ratings were obtained by mutual rating across participants. They rated each other's products through a double-blind randomised procedure. Each participant rated three outputs by previous participants according to several criteria. In the end, we obtained 24 ratings for each participant: three creativity ratings for two different ideas in the cardboard task; three ratings according to three criteria (creativity, originality, quality) in the story task; and three ratings according to three similar criteria in the drawing task. Additionally, participants in this study completed a remote association task (a measure of creativity based on association of ideas and relying on a standard, objective rating procedure). For a detailed description of this material and other, complementary statistical analyses, see Fürst and Grin (2018a, 2018b).

Analyses

The analytical procedure used in this chapter relies on Structural Equation Models (SEMs; for an introduction, see among others Byrne, 2013). In a nutshell, these models can be seen as a combination of factor analysis and multiple regression: latent variables (or factors) are estimated from observed variables (as in factor analysis), and correlations or regression coefficients between latent variables can be estimated. In the models discussed below, we start by estimating four key latent variables: MULTILINGUALISM, FOREIGN EXPERIENCE, CREATIVITY TASKS, and CREATIVITY QUESTIONNAIRE. These latent variables were estimated using the observed variables described just above.

- The Multilingualism latent variable encompasses the number of languages known and proficiency in three languages (other than first language).
- The Foreign Experience latent variable embodies four indicators: experience of *travelling abroad* (number and diversity of trips); experience of *living abroad* (number of countries and total duration of stays); *diversity of background* (a variable combining information about respondents' nationality and country of birth, as well as parents' country of birth); and *multicultural identity* (number of countries that respondents had reported as 'important' to them).
- The Creativity Questionnaire latent variable is based on interests, activities and achievements in various creative domains, as well as questionnaires assessing idea generation and idea selection.
- Finally, the Creativity Tasks latent variable combines the shared variance between three creativity tasks: the *boxes* and *story* tasks (in which participants rated each other) and the remote association task.[1]

4.3   Results

The first model (Figure 25.1) aimed at estimating correlations with the four key latent variables. In this model, we see that creativity, when measured by questionnaires, is correlated with both multilingualism and foreign experience. The overall correlation (across the four samples) is much stronger for foreign experience ($r = .54$) than for multilingualism ($r = .18$). However, both are significant. Additionally, it should be noted that there is substantial variability in these estimates across the four subsamples. The coefficients for each subsample are shown in brackets in Figure 25.1. For instance, the correlation between the creativity questionnaire and multilingualism is stronger in the second, general population sample ($r = .40$) than in the two student samples (.28 and .24). This correlation was not significant in the third, smaller sample.

As regards creativity measured by creativity tasks, things are a little different. First, this information is available only for one subsample (in the last of the four studies); this is symbolised by the use of dashed lines in Figure 25.1. Two obvious consequences of this are that the statistical power is much smaller ($n = 174$ instead of $n = 596$) and that group comparison is not possible. Despite this limitation, an interesting result emerges: the latent variable of creativity tasks correlates with

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1.   The correlations between these three tasks are modest, but sufficient to create a latent variable (see Figure 25.1). This latent variable arguably represents an indicator of 'general' creativity, because it focuses on what these three tasks have in common. However, it should be acknowledged that this variable has a very strong *verbal* component, since both the remote association test and the story-writing task are verbal in nature. The boxes task also relies on some verbal abilities, but to a lesser extent. The drawing task, which did not correlate well with these three tasks, was not included in this model.

multilingualism (r = .15, p = .10) but not with foreign experience (r = .09; p = .25). The discrepancy between these two correlations is not very large, and a significance level of .10 is barely acceptable, but these results nonetheless provide further evidence that multilingualism correlates positively with creativity.[2]
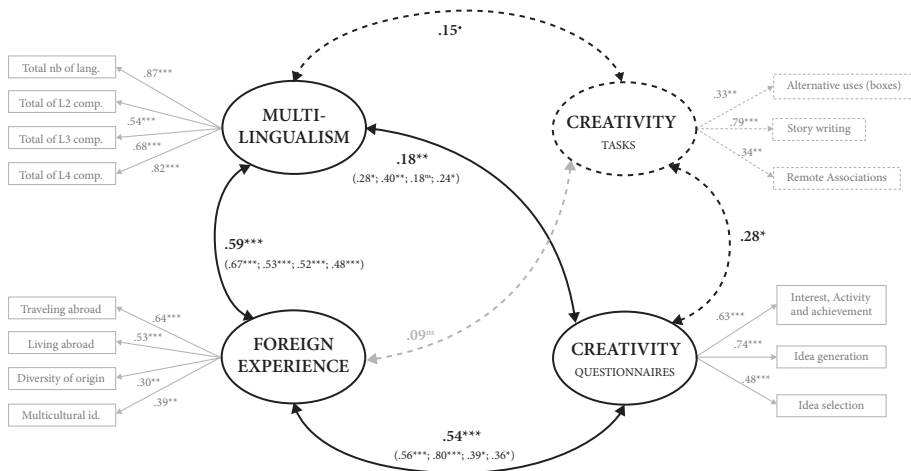
Figure 25.1 A more complete model of creativity, multilingualism and foreign experience

Details of model fit: χ^2(DF = 100) = 274.1; $p > .05$; χ^2/DF = 2.74; **RMSEA** = 0.068 (95%CI = [0.059–0.078]); **SRMR** = 0.081; **CFI** = 0.89; **TLI** = 0.87.

Significance levels: ♦: $p < .10$; *: $p < .05$; **: $p < .01$; ***: $p < .001$. Total sample size: solid lines: N = 592; dashed lines: N = 174. All coefficients are standardized (interpretable as correlations). Values in parentheses are coefficients specific to each subsample.

At this point, two important questions remain: (1) what happens to these effects when we include control variables such as age or gender? (2) to what extent are the effects of multilingualism and foreign experience on creativity redundant? The model depicted in Figure 25.1 shows that both these variables are correlated with creativity questionnaires; however, the correlation between multilingualism and foreign experience is high (r = .59) and quite stable across subsamples (0.48 < r < 0.67); these two variables share a significant amount of information. In this context it is possible, for instance, that multilingualism has no effect on creativity when measured using questionnaires, once we control for the impact of foreign experience.

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2.   This particular result also has high value because in this case multilingualism and creativity were not measured with the same method – i.e. we used a *questionnaire* on multilingualism on one hand, and creativity *tasks* on the other. This is worth emphasising, because when two different variables are measured with the same method (typically with questionnaires) correlations between them are often inflated by a common-method effect.

The model presented in Figure 25.2 provides answers to these questions. This model can be seen as a generalisation of a multiple regression model. Basically, the two creativity variables are the dependent variables, and they are both predicted by the two cultural diversity variables. In this model, additional control variables included are gender, which has a positive impact on multilingualism (women have higher scores), and age, which has a positive impact on foreign experience. The time spent on the 'boxes' creativity task was also included as a control variable. All these control variables have a significant effect and allow a 'cleaner' estimation of the effects investigated here. One consequence is that the correlation between multilingualism and foreign experience is now a little smaller ($r = .36$), probably because the initial correlation in the previous model was slightly inflated by age and gender differences; however, this correlation remains significant. Conversely, the correlation between creativity tasks and creativity questionnaires is now higher ($r = .35$), arguably because the latent variable reflecting creativity tasks is a better indicator of creativity once we take into account the time spent on the boxes task.
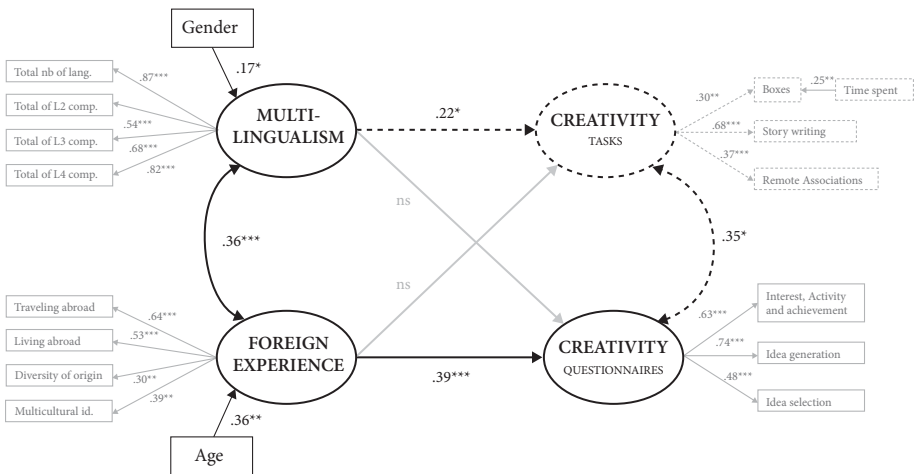
Figure 25.2 A more parsimonious model of creativity, multilingualism and foreign experience

Details of model fit: χ^2(**DF** = 148) = 217.3; $p > .05$; χ^2/**DF** = 1.48; **RMSEA** = 0.057 (95%CI = [0.04–0.073]); **SRMR** = 0.078; **CFI** = 0.87; **TLI** = 0.86.
All coefficients are standardized. *: $p < .05$; **: $p < .01$; ***: $p < .001$. Sample size: solid lines: $N = 592$; dashed lines: $N = 174$.

A more critical difference is the simplification of the network of relationships between the four main variables of interest. Instead of a model in which all correlations are estimated, only a few paths were estimated here, namely (i) the impact of multilingualism on creativity (when measured through respondents' scores on

creativity tasks and (ii) the impact of foreign experience on creativity (when measured with answers to questionnaire items). What we found in this model is the following:

– there is a positive impact of multilingualism on creativity tasks (β = .22);
– there is a positive impact of foreign experience on creativity questionnaires (β = .39);
– there is no other significant effect: multilingualism has no impact on creativity questionnaires when the effect of foreign experience is taken into account;
– likewise, foreign experience has no impact on creativity tasks (estimating these two additional parameters did not improve the model and led to non-significant effects, as represented by grey arrows on Figure 25.2).

Finally, in order to offer a yet more synthetic view, one more model was estimated. This model is shown in Figure 25.3. In this model, two *second-order latent variables* were estimated: overall 'cultural diversity' and 'overall creativity'. The cultural diversity variable represents shared variance between multilingualism and foreign experience, and can been seen as the very core of cultural diversity. Similarly, the overall creativity variable combines shared variance between creativity questionnaires and creativity tasks, and can be seen as an empirical approximation of 'general creativity'. This model was estimated in the last subsample (N = 174), because the shared variance between creativity questionnaires and creativity tasks was available in this subsample only. Sample size is relatively small; however, strong and interesting effects emerge.

First, it was possible to extract significance and meaningful covariance for the two second-order latent variables cultural diversity and overall creativity – a necessary condition for testing the relationship between these two variables. Second, on the basis of this model, the relationship between a new latent variable that captures ethnic, linguistic and cultural (ELC) diversity and creativity was found to be strong (β = .54). However, the standard error of this effect was also relatively large (0.22), which means that the precision of this estimation is quite modest. If a similar study were replicated with a larger sample, this effect could be substantially lower – or higher, for that matter. Nonetheless, this effect was significant at the $p < .01$ level, and definitely suggests a fairly strong positive relation between these two variables. In the light of all the results described here, we can safely say that there is a positive relationship between the cultural diversity embodied in a person's profile and his creativity.

At this point we could emphasise that generally speaking, using highly multivariate research designs like the one proposed here, is necessary to investigate such complex questions. Indeed, there is no such thing as a single good measure of creativity, multilingualism, or cultural diversity in general. Besides, when considering variables one by one, all we find is a collection of scattered small effects.
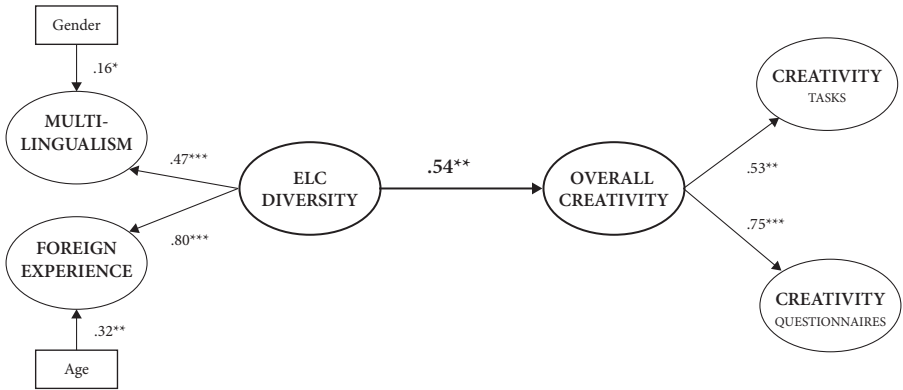
Figure 25.3 An even more parsimonious model of cultural diversity and creativity

Details of model fit: χ^2(DF = 149) = 223.2; $p > .05$; χ^2/**DF** = 1.51; **RMSEA** = 0.059 (95%CI = [0.042–0.074]); **SRMR** = 0.08; **CFI** = 0.87; **TLI** = 0.85.
All coefficients are standardized. *: $p < .05$; **: $p < .01$; ***: $p < .001$. Sample size: N = 174. ELC: Ethnic, linguistic, and cultural.

However, when considering shared variance at a higher level of abstraction using combinations of several variables, the relationship between cultural diversity and creativity becomes more evident.

5. Discussion

Our results show that enhanced individual creativity can legitimately be included among the likely advantages of individual multilingualism. To our knowledge, this result, presented in more methodological detail elsewhere (see Fürst & Grin, 2018a, 2018b, 2020), is the first to confirm the existence of a link under six important conditions that enable us to move beyond the results found in the existing literature. In particular, our approach to the relationship between multilingualism and creativity presents the following features:

1. It applies to the general public, rather than a specific subset of the population (usually relatively recent immigrants).
2. It separates out the effects of linguistic skills and multicultural experience (rather than treating them as a single joint independent variable).
3. In addition to multicultural experience, it uses a wide range of control variables that help to focus on the multilingualism/creativity link as such, eliminating some of the noise due to other determinants of creativity.

4. Multilingualism is operationalised with an information-rich variable based on seven skill levels ('none', plus the six standard levels of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*), and respondents' self-assessment in terms of that scale, but based on descriptors.[3]

5. Our study focuses on creativity as such (as distinct from abilities that are assumed to be correlated with creativity, such as 'divergent thinking').

6. It proposes a sophisticated treatment of creativity as a dependent variable, because creativity is simultaneously approached through questionnaire-generated information about respondents' practices, and through respondents' performance on various creativity tasks.

All this makes the claim that contemporary societies should find it in their interest to support multilingualism among their members far more plausible. It is worth emphasising that the existence of a positive link even when controlling for multicultural experience has significant policy implications: it suggests that people who have few or no opportunities to encounter cultural differences (for example through travel, experience of living abroad or other forms of exposure) would benefit, in terms of creative abilities, from developing *linguistic* skills. This can be achieved through well-designed language education policies that the state can make available to all, including those who have no occasion or perhaps no particular inclination to travel and experience cultural differences.

Let us, however, remind the reader that such findings, even though they may be seen as genuine advances, should be considered as steps towards more conclusive results providing justification for public policies in support of foreign and second language education.

The first limitation is a classic one in quantitative research, and has to do with causality and its direction. A statistically significant association between two variables X and Y (even if reflected in a substantial effect size – in this respect the coefficients reported in the preceding section may be considered noteworthy, but not substantial) only establishes the existence of a link without *per se* proving causality in one direction or another. Bringing in a wide range of control variables, as in our multivariate analysis, makes a relationship between X and Y more plausible, but further tests are needed to confirm that the causation flows from multilingualism to creativity rather than the reverse. It can then not be ruled out that it is people who are more creative in the first place who opt to learn more languages, or push their skills in certain languages to a higher level.

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3. These descriptors had been duly pre-tested in previous research, including an earlier study on language skills with over 40,000 respondents; see Grin et al., 2015.

Interpreting our results as proof of a causal effect from individual multilingualism to individual creativity also requires a theoretical explanation. Some explanations have been proposed in the literature (see Section 4 of this chapter), but more remains to be done, whether through the use of broader databases containing a wider range of variables, or by triangulating with other studies on closely related topics, such as the links between multilingual skills and personality traits such as 'openness' (Grin & Faniko, 2012).

Finally, identifying and measuring a relationship at the individual level only partly answers the question of the actual importance of multilingualism for the creativity, innovative capacity and, ultimately, success of a society, since creativity and innovation often emerge at group level. To what extent can a relationship observed at the individual level be considered predictive of what happens in groups, such as working teams, large organisations or even nations as a whole? In other words, can we move from the notion that multilingual people are more creative to the notion that multilingual groups, organisations or countries are more creative and hence potentially more successful, all other things being equal?

At the group level, it may seem at first glance that *monolingualism* is favourable to creativity. Generally speaking, strong group cohesion leads to better group performance (e.g. Evans & Dion, 1991). By implication, group creativity probably relies (at least partially) on group *cohesion*, through factors such as fluency of communication and speed of information processing across members of the group. High-speed processing means that, in a given time frame, more ideas can be produced, suggested, discussed, evaluated, combined, selected and developed. This is true at the individual level (Rindermann & Neubauer, 2004) and can most likely be generalised to group level. If circulation of information is slow or poor in any way, the whole creative process may be compromised, because of misunderstandings or weariness related to communication issues. In this connection it may therefore seem preferable for people in a group to share a common and perfectly mastered language. Hence, from this perspective, universal monolingualism would seem to be the best option for group creativity.

However, diversity is likely to contribute to group creativity. Just as at the individual level, multilingualism allows groups to access different cultures and sources of information. In fact, it is monolingualism that often appears problematic, for it may lead to cultural hegemony and impoverishment. In a monolingual context, foreign potential sources of information have to be translated. But translation choices may be commercially driven, whereas creativity is not always related to commercial success. In such a context, some high-quality, inspiring works may therefore long remain unknown. This potential limitation may affect information diversity and encourage conformism, groupthink or excessively monolithic, culture-centred beliefs. None of this is good for creativity. It is therefore preferable to foster multilingualism as a

way to achieve higher creativity, through the potential benefits of dissent and overall diversity within the group (Leung & Chiu, 2008; Nemeth & Nemeth-Brown, 2003).

In the end, there is probably an optimal trade-off between the advantages of a unique common language (for the sake of processing efficiency) and a multitude of other languages (for the sake of diversity of information). Wherever this optimal point is, multilingualism and its impact on creative processes and outcomes remain part of the assessment.

6.   Conclusion

The results presented in the preceding pages clearly establish the existence of a positive relation between multilingualism and creativity. To our knowledge, these results are totally new, because the particular combination of variables and analytical instruments just discussed had never been tested: the models used here concern a broader population than the usual immigrant samples, rely on varied and sophisticated measurements of creativity, and explicitly include (and control for) multicultural experience as distinct from multilingualism. Of course, further research is required, in particular along the lines sketched out in the preceding section, and on no account should the analysis presented in this chapter be deemed final, since various extensions may be considered in order to deepen our knowledge of the manifold connections between multilingualism and creativity. For example, a fuller range of creativity tasks would be welcome; language skills could be tested, rather than merely self-assessed; data permitting, the context of use of multilingual skills could be controlled more explicitly; and in general, a number of effects can only be estimated with a larger number of observations.

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Does global English influence the perception of professional ethical dilemmas?

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For many multilinguals, the use of a given language is specific to certain areas of life, such as family, social or professional life. This may mean that, for a given person, lexical precision does not imply fluency, and vice-versa. Therefore, having a certain type of skills in a second language does not guarantee a successful use of this second language in all circumstances. This may be especially true with respect to emotional versus factual communication and contents. When a language normally only employed for factual communication is used to express emotional content, the level of precision or understanding may suffer. This research asks the following question: does the use of Global English in the workplace affects the alertness of non-native English speakers in perceiving ethical dilemmas? The hypothesis we explore is that non-native English-speaking employees of organisations in which Global English is the main communication tool, or one of them, may suffer from such communicational, or linguistic, asymmetry, as defined in the paper. In doing so, this study contributes to the 'Global English' research agenda and examines the consequences of the use of English. Our statistical results suggest that the importance of linguistic asymmetry becomes acute in situations where ethical issues – with their blend of emotional and technical aspects – emerge in contexts in which otherwise only professional, i.e. factual and technical, contents prevail. The linguistic asymmetry may impair the level of ethical alertness of non-native English-speakers working in organisations where English dominates.

1. Introduction: Global English – an interdisciplinary conundrum

The hegemony of English as the language of globalisation is undeniable (Gural & Smokotin, 2014) and has resulted in a tremendous increase in the number of English-speakers around the world. Its rise to prominence, fuelled by globalisation, has placed it at the centre of a new world linguistic order (Fishman, 1999; Maurais,

2003). English is the only 'hypercentral' language in De Swann's 'World Language System' (2002, 2010), which means that it serves as a hub of system, i.e. as a contact language between all other world languages. This dynamic has given rise to a number of studies examining the complex dynamic of interactions between various languages in the workplace, from a linguistic (e.g. Gunnarsson, 2013) and from an economic perspective (e.g. Grin, Sfreddo & Vaillancourt, 2013). The English language is dominating the world stage in a number of areas, especially business, commerce and finance, a phenomenon usually referred to as World English, or English as a *lingua franca* (ELF) (Crystal, 2000; Graddol, 2007).

The concept of Global English is more comprehensive and captures the wider impact of this global domination on broader social issues; it is therefore well suited to this study, which focuses on ethical issues in the workplace. Global English, according to Galloway and Rose definition (2015: 224) "is a paradigm that includes concepts of world Englishes, English as a lingua franca (ELF) and English as an international language (EIL). It examines the global consequences of English's use as a world language. In many ways, the scope of Global Englishes widens the lens of World Englishes, ELF, and EIL to include many peripheral issues associated with the global use of English, such as globalisation, linguistic imperialism, education, language policy, and planning."

As English has become the *lingua franca* of international business and finance, to the point where English business terms are penetrating other European languages (Anglemark & John, 2018), studies have paid attention to the effect of the introduction of English as the official corporate language. Deneire's (2008) study of the adoption of English in French companies identifies an 'English divide' between more educated and less educated employees and between upper management and shop-floor employees, which can lead to power inequalities and exclusion. It has also created a need for a distinction between Native English as a native language and English as the *lingua franca* in the business domain (Kankaaranta et al., 2018) or, as the authors call it, frontstage and backstage English. Employee speaking backstage English in multinational companies where frontstage English is the official language of corporate communication may feel disadvantaged and disempowered. For global corporations, the choice of language(s) matters and is not devoid of consequences.

The management literature on implementation of a corporate *lingua franca* describes how it can lead to reduced informal interactions and small-talk and more formal and task-oriented communication, (Lauring & Tange, 2010; Louhiala-Salminen et al., 2005), a phenomenon known as the 'silencing effect' (Piekkari et al., 2014: 235). The use of the oral 'Business English lingua franca' (BELF) affects the way power is exercised and establishes new operational cultures (Charles, 2007). Lastly, Volk, Köhler and Pudelko (2014) used a cognitive neuroscience perspective to study how such situations can result in skewed decision-making, as non-native speakers may be

adversely affected in their cognitive abilities. These findings echo the literature on the effect of (multi-)bilingualism on moral judgements. The growing literature concerning foreign language effects (FLEs) on moral judgements has produced interesting results which suggest that in ethical issues the use of native or foreign languages may alter the outcome (Sediyy, 2016). Non-native speakers working in a foreign language environment tend to be more pragmatic and less emotional when facing ethical issues (Costa et al., 2014). The use of a foreign language seems to 'favour outcomes over intentions' (Geipel et al., 2016) and can also alter risk/benefit judgments, thereby increasing the likelihood of a risky option being selected (Hadjichristidis et al., 2015). Even if evidence at hand generates statistical discussion (Wickelmaier, 2015), these various streams of literature all explore in their respective disciplines the consequences of 'linguistic asymmetry' – a notion elaborated later in situations where Global English has a dominant role in the work environment.

These findings have relevant implications for the field of ethics in corporations and especially for global finance, an industry prone to scandals and where the use Global English is prominent, in a version dubbed by a commercial ad as Wall Street English. Education is another important dimension of global finance. The neo-liberal economic paradigm, and later the financial one, were both born and initially prospered in an English-language context. In the last half century, in the wake of Thatcherism and Reaganism, and enhanced by the dynamics of Global English, they have taken over world educational curricula in economics, management and finance. This expansion has led to a homogenisation of curricula (Chesney, 2009) and facilitated the global spread of this utterly consequentialist mindset (from the ethical perspective) supposedly presented as an objective analytical framework (Dembinski, 2009).

This chapter aims to contribute to this literature and focus on the linguistic 'asymmetry' that may arise for non-native English-speakers whose work environments belong to the global space where Global English is the main language of communication, but whose private lives are rooted in a local linguistic environment.

This study contributes to this research agenda and examines the consequences of the use of English by asking the following research question: does the use of Global English in the workplace affect the alertness of non-native English speakers in perceiving ethical dilemmas? This chapter explores how a different set of linguistic skills between the workplace and the private sphere can affect work ethics. This research examines survey respondents' varying self-assessed English language skill levels in various areas of life – such as family or work – and tries to assess whether differences between them can be linked to low perception of ethical issues. It is assumed for the purpose of this research that respondents whose mother tongue is not English but work in an English-speaking environment in fact communicate in Global English. Consequently, the word 'English' will mean 'Global English' in the remainder of this text, unless otherwise specified.

This exploration in the interface between sociolinguistic and corporate governance meshes with MIME's overall objective of examining the relationship and potential trade-off between mobility and inclusion in the context of a multilingual Europe. The data used to illustrate this analysis is derived from a survey covering two populations exposed to English but only a small number of native speakers: the first population consists of 683 respondents working in various institutional settings, including finance and business, while the second population is composed of 282 students.

The introduction relates our research question to a number of literature strands which approach the phenomenon of Global English from various disciplinary perspectives, and with specific methodologies. The next section presents the key characteristics of the two populations surveyed in this research. Linguistic habits and skills in English are then explored and a measure of 'centrality of English' is proposed. The next step evaluates the role of English in the workplace, before elaborating in some depth the notion of ethical dilemmas in professional contexts. The key statistical findings and the notion of 'linguistic asymmetry' are then presented, and the final section discusses the potential meaning of our results, and suggest some avenues for further research.
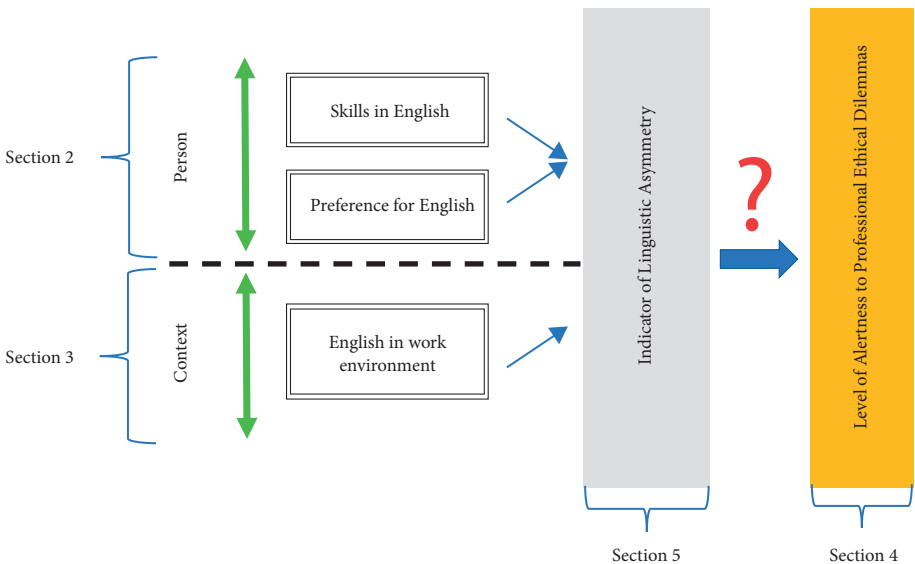
Figure 26.1 Organisation of the argument

2. The database

For the purposes of this research two distinctive populations have been surveyed with two versions of the same questionnaire: a comprehensive one for the population of professionals, and an abridged one for the student population. The surveys have been conducted in parallel, encompassing a total of more than 1200 individuals.

1. The comprehensive questionnaire was developed and properly tested on a selected limited group of respondents. It encompasses in total 70 questions structured in four sections: (a) training, location and personal background (questions 1–9); (b) linguistic skills and use of languages (questions 10–45); (c) the work environment and use of English (questions 46–62); (d) experience of ethical dilemmas in the work environment (questions 63–70).

2. The comprehensive questionnaire was sent to the contacts of Observatoire de la Finance, a think tank registered in 1996 in Geneva (Switzerland) and internationally active in the field of finance and ethics. The corresponding population is composed of experienced professionals who in a recent years have shown interest in issues related to ethics in the context of economics, finance or management research or activities. The overall response rate was 12.6%, with 905 questionnaires returned, of which 683 were fully completed, i.e. a response rate of 9.6%.

3. The abridged questionnaire was limited to the first two sections of the comprehensive one: personal background, and linguistic skills and language use. It was used to survey groups of students at four European universities: the University of Fribourg (Switzerland), the University of Zurich (Switzerland), ASERI (University of the Sacred Heart, Italy) and SGH-Warsaw School of Economics (Poland). The questionnaire was either completed in paper form during class hours, or a link to it was provided to students. In total, more than 300 students have answered the questionnaire, of which 282 questionnaires were fully completed. The response rate here is much higher than for professionals, but for logistical reasons impossible to assess with full precision.

4. The two surveys were conducted in 2017. The comprehensive questionnaire was administered directly by the Observatoire de la Finance between January and August 2017 with Lime Survey, hosted on its server in Geneva (Switzerland).

Figure 26.2 contains the main descriptive information about the two populations under scrutiny. They clearly differ in terms of age: students' average age is 22 while professionals are on average close to their mid-fifties. The two populations belong to different generations which may also have different language habits.

While the student population is strongly (86%) focused on acquiring skills in economics, finance or management, the background of professionals is more diverse, with about one third (28%) coming from the humanities and social sciences. Another difference is locational: one third of the professionals are 'expats' in the sense that they currently live in a country different from their birthplace, while only 7% of students are in that situation.

		Professionals	Students
Number of questionnaires	fully completed	683	282
	partially completed	222	26
Gender	Female	29%	38%
	Male	71%	84%
Age	Average (year)	53	22
	Under 35 years	15%	98%
	35 to 44 years	16%	2%
	45 to 54 years	21%	–
	55 to 64 years	22%	–
	Over 65 years	26%	–
Permanent residence	Switzerland	38%	60%
	Europe	43%	39%
	Outside of Europe	19%	1%
Country of residence	Same as country of birth	66%	93%
	Different as country of birth	34%	7%

		Professionals	Students
Highest degree achieved	Bachelor	9%	47%
	Master	41%	11%
	PhD	37%	2%
	Other	13%	40%
Field of expertise	Humanities & social sciences	28%	1%
	Economics, finance & management	60%	86%
	Hard sciences and engineering	7%	8%
	Other	5%	5%

Figure 26.2 Key descriptive statistics of the sampled population

3.   Preference and skills in English

Section 2 of the questionnaire (applied to both populations) explored in more depth the linguistic abilities and habits of respondents with the main objective of identifying the use of English and the related skills. For this exploratory study, a typology of linguistic contexts (or domains) has been established drawing on Fishmanian notion of 'domain' and on Wellmanian classification of meanings

(García & Schiffman, 2006: 18; Wellman, 1961). Figure 26.3 shows the typology of six domains/contexts based on relevant linguistic competencies. The typology is derived from a combination of two dimensions: the first dimension ranges from low to high command of lexical precision, the second from ability to convey and understand only descriptive, factual and critical contents, to ability to deal also with affective, emotional and value contents. The six contexts of the typology are: reading poetry, family context, social life, social networks, education/training, and professional context. All the respondents were asked what is the language they prefer to use – is easiest for them to use – in each of the six contexts.
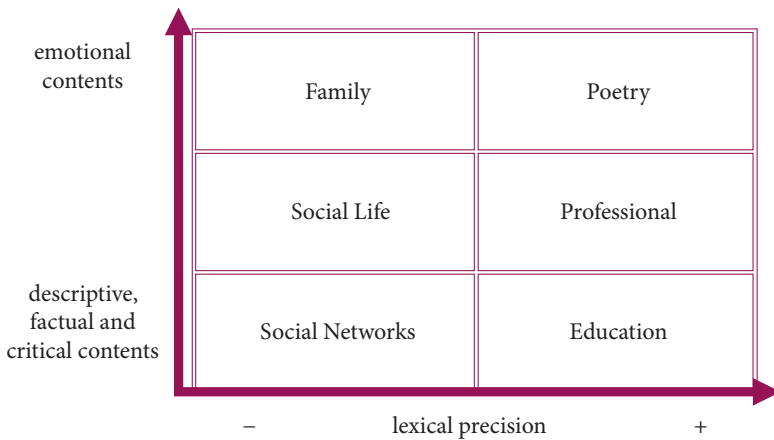
Figure 26.3 Typology of linguistic domain and related competencies/skills

Regarding the preferred language, the overall picture is that the student population is significantly more multilingual than the professional one: 70% of students aim at using more than one language on a daily basis, against 48% of professionals.

The next issue is to explore whether English plays a special role for these populations in relation to the overall number of languages preferred across the six domains. The answer is provided by the 'centrality of English' indicator (C_E) compiled as the ratio between the number of domains (D_E) in which respondents use English as the preferred language, and the total number of languages of first preference they use across all six domains (N_L).

Centrality indicator: $C_E = D_E/N_L$
Example: $D_E = 2$; $N_L = 4$; $C_E = 2/4 = 0.5$

For instance, let us consider a person using English in two out of six domains, while also using three underlined other languages in the remaining four domains. For this person, the value of C_E will be 0.5. When English plays the same role as the other languages, then C_E is equal to 1. Indicators with values higher than 1 correspond

to situations where English plays a dominant role; C_E culminates with 6 for those who use English across all six domains. At the opposite extreme, C_E at 0 means that English is inactive across the six domains.

Figure 26.4 shows the intercepts of values of C_E for the two populations. It is 0 for 37% of the students and 45% of professionals, meaning that they do not aim at using English in any of the six domains. For 15% of professionals, the role of English is weak ($0 < C_E < 1$), while this is the case for 26% of students. For the remaining 37% of students and 40% of professionals, English plays a central role ($C_E \geq 1$).
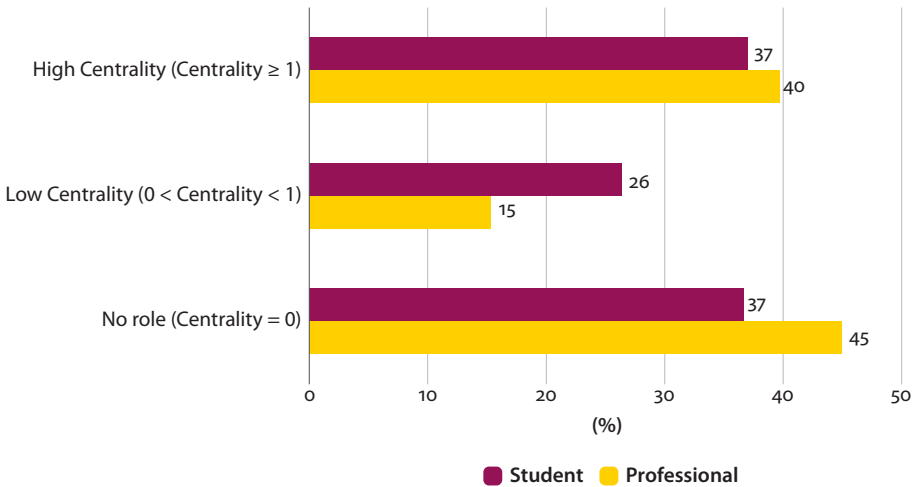
Figure 26.4 Centrality of English

Figure 26.5 shows the frequency of the use of English by each of the two populations in the six domains. In three domains, namely professional context, education/training, and social networking, English is consistently used by more than 33% of respondents, while its use is systematically lower than 22% in the three remaining contexts. This suggests that English is used by many respondents in a functional or specialised way, to handle mainly factual, descriptive and critical contents with a limited affective, emotional and value component. In other words, this analysis suggests that for a non-native English-speaking population, the role of English is relatively high but the language may not be equally mastered and cannot be handled with the same agility in all situations, contexts and contents.

This above hypothesis is confirmed by a strong correlation between centrality of English and level of skills in English. The skill level was assessed by a set of four questions, derived from the Council of Europe methodology. Each of the questions addressed one of the fields of linguistic abilities: listening, reading, conversation and writing. Each proposed four options describing the actual skills of the respondent who was allowed to make only one choice per question. The maximum achievable score for the set of four questions was 16.

	Family		Poetry	
Emotional contents	Professional	15%	Professional	19%
	Students	6%	Students	16%
	Social Life		Professional	
	Professional	22%	Professional	43%
	Students	14%	Students	38%
Descriptive, factual and critical contents	Social Networks		Education	
	Professional	36%	Professional	41%
	Students	44%	Students	33%

−　　　　　lexical precision　　　　+
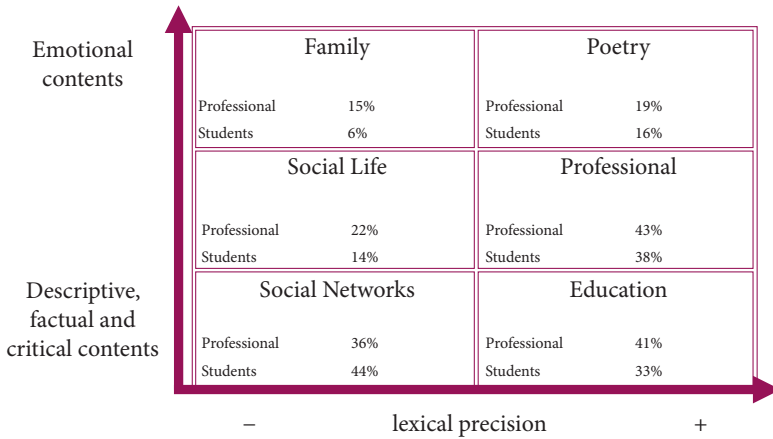
Figure 26.5 Preference for English, by linguistic domain

Figure 26.6 shows the distribution of the surveyed populations according to the level of their linguistic competencies, with native speakers forming a separate group. As mentioned above, the level of correlation between the centrality and competency in English is high for the whole population ($N = 959$): $X^2 = 338,4$; $p < 0,01$; $\varphi = 0,34$.
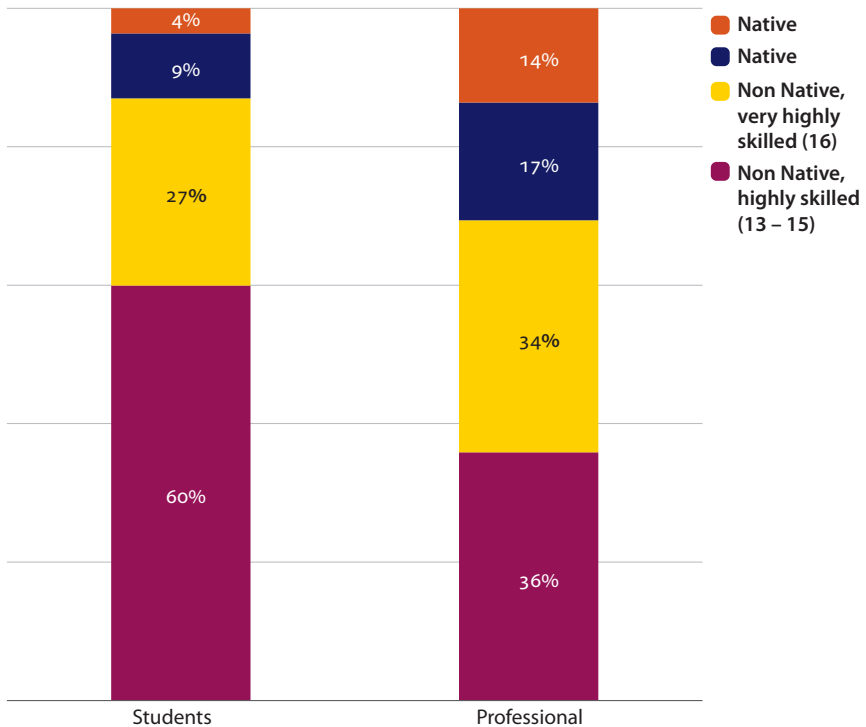
Figure 26.6 Skills in English of the two responding populations

4.   The linguistic dimension of work environments

The notion of centrality of English sets the ground for the next step of this analysis, which concerns the linguistic peculiarities of the work environment. It is important to stress that from this moment on the student population is left outside the purview of this investigation. Next steps will focus on those of the respondents who are professionally active. This means, in terms of numbers, that the sample is reduced by 20%, from 683 responses to 590.

Structural aspects and characteristics of the corresponding work environments ($N = 590$) are presented in Figure 26.7.

As the *Observatoire de la Finance* has strong linkages with research, it is not surprising to see that about 40% of the respondents are affiliated with academia and education; 25% are active in financial institutions and commercial companies, while public administration, international organisations and NGOs account for about 20% of responses and the remaining 13% come from other fields of activity such as the media.

		Professionals
Field of activity	Academia & education	41%
	Financial enterprise & Commercial service company	25%
	Public administration, Public international	20%
	Other	13%
Position	Top management / Institution Director	35%
	Middle management / Unit Director	37%
	Rank employees	28%
Employee at establishment	0–50 employees	40%
	51–500 employees	26%
	Over 500 employees	34%
Organisation structure	Single-establishment	57%
	Multi-establishment	43%

Figure 26.7 Structural aspect of work environment of professionally active respondents ($n = 590$)

In terms of size of institutions, 40% respondents are working in small establishments, with staff of 50 or less, while, at the other extreme, 34% are active in large units (over 500 staff). Many of these units belong to complex structures with multiple branches, some of which employ over 10,000 worldwide. In terms of positions, most of the respondents have tertiary education (see Figure 26.2), which explains why about 70% of them have managerial responsibilities.

Figure 26.8 looks at the work environment from the perspective of the role played by English. By and large, for 64% of the respondents English plays a significant role in the organisations in which they work. In 34% of situations, English is the only official language, while it shares this status with other languages in another 20% of cases. In 9% of the organisations surveyed, English is dominant in internal communication without having any official role.
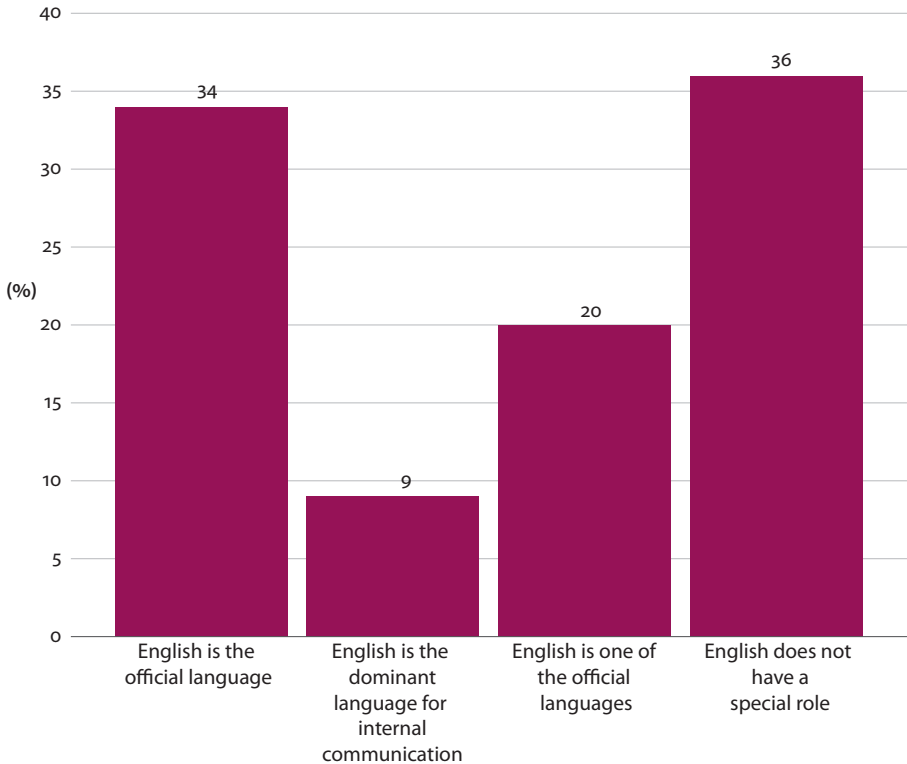
Figure 26.8 Role of English in the organisation

Regarding the role of English, financial and commercial companies differ from other workplaces, as in more than 80% of situations English plays a role. At the opposite end of the spectrum, in national public administrations or media, in less than 35% of work environments.

For the next steps of this exploration, the total population of professionally active respondents ($N = 590$) will be split into two sets according to whether English plays a special role in their work environments ($N = 377$) or not ($N = 213$).

5. Ethical dilemmas in professional context

This section explores respondents' perception of and exposure to ethical dilemmas. Before looking at the data, it starts by recalling the notion of ethical dilemmas in professional contexts.

An ethical dilemma arises in the professional realm when actors recognise that behind apparently technical alternatives and choices they are in fact confronted with competing affects, emotions and hierarchies of values. At this point they become aware that making a personally meaningful decision requires prior ethical discernment and positioning (Dembinski, 2017). In this connection Badaracco (1997) speaks of 'defining moments', and Dembinski of 'structuring moments'.

An ethical professional dilemma does not exist in the abstract – it is always embedded in a concrete situation confronting a specific actor. Therefore, the corresponding situation must first be recognised and perceived by the actor as an ethical dilemma. This requires the actor to (a) be aware of the possible occurrence of dilemmas, and (b) be able to identify them. Only after the situation has been properly identified can it be addressed from the perspective of ethical values, possibly discussed with others, and finally decided and acted upon.

Robert Jackall showed back in late 1980 that the world of corporations is a 'moral maze'. This is why identifying and confronting ethical dilemmas requires not only awareness and alertness, but also courage. According to Jackall, "in a world, however, where actions are separated from consequences, where knowledge is fragmented and secreted, where private agreements are the only real way to fashion trust in the midst of ongoing competition and conflict, where relationships with trusted colleagues constitute one's only real means both of defence and opportunity, and where, one knows, even coincidental association with a disaster can haunt one's carrier years later, keeping silent and covering for oneself and for one's fellows become not only possible but prudent, indeed virtuous courses of action" (Jackall, 1988: 133).

As the above quotation suggests, the corporate environment (and, by extension any organisational context) potentially confronts individuals with extremely different issues, from the purely factual and technical to the highly emotional.

The first step is to assess whether the respondents (N = 590) are aware of potential existence of ethical dilemmas in their workplaces. To identify this awareness, respondents were asked to draw on their experience by selecting no more than two aspects of professional activity (out of four) in which they had experienced value tensions, i.e. situations of insufficient or unsatisfactory alignment between values. The four answers proposed are based on the typology developed by the Mind the Gap method used for investigating value tensions in organisational cultures (Dembinski, 2017). The four categories just mentioned are (a) dilemmas related to

'intrinsic quality of action', such situations arising when the moral rectitude of be-haviour or sheer quality of products, services or their delivery are called into ques-tion –such dilemmas may be termed 'virtue ethics dilemmas'; (b) dilemmas related to the implementation or interpretation of rules, procedures or laws – dilemmas of this kind may be termed 'deontological' or 'duty ethics dilemmas'; (c) dilemmas pertaining to the social and environmental impacts of the organisation's activi-ties – such dilemmas concern implications for third parties and may be termed 'ethical impact dilemmas'; (d) tensions over economic performance and the way it is achieved, also referring to consequences of actions, but focusing on the utility derived by the organisation itself. These may be termed 'ethical performance-related utilitarian dilemmas'. It is worth stressing that the two last sets of dilemmas both refer to consequences and are therefore 'consequentialist ethical dilemmas'.

Figure 26.9 provides the relevant statistical information. It appears that most respondents are fully aware of possible ethical dilemmas. The information shows where the respondents see the triggers ethical tensions. The most frequent value tensions involve 'virtue ethics dilemmas', while the two sets of consequentialist dilemmas are the least frequent. Ethics- related value tensions are also present, but with an intermediate score.

	N = 590	
Virtue ethics dilemmas	304	52%
Deontological dilemmas	239	41%
Consequentialist utilitarian dilemmas	137	23%
Consequentialist impact dilemmas	131	22%
TOTAL	811	138%

Figure 26.9 Type of value tensions as perceived by respondents (max. two answers) ($n = 590$)

The second step of this analysis assesses how the sample addresses potential dilemma-like situations. The majority identify the dangers of ethical fragmentation – in other words, they stress the importance of integrity in ethical matters. Indeed, 60% of the respondents pledge that the same set of values governs – whatever happens – their professional and private lives; 29% admit that the overlap is not always perfect and the remaining 11% state that their values in professional and private lives are different.

The third step is to determine the proportion of those who actually have faced ethical dilemmas in their work environment. As memories fade, when exploring actual dilemmas, the questionnaire focused on situations no more than three years old. Out of 590 respondents, 52% said they had been confronted with at least one ethical dilemma, while for 9% such dilemmas had been more frequent. In the majority of situations (38% of the total) the dilemmas arose in tensions between

personal values and a decision the respondent was expected to take or implement on behalf of the organisation. In 80% of such situations, respondents were ready to defend their personal values so as to change the decision. The questionnaire did not explore the ultimate outcomes of these situations. Suffice it to say that 42% of the total 590 respondents have experienced pressures during the last three years because of their ethical stance, most often from colleagues or superiors.

The fourth step focuses on the role linguistic variables may play in understanding the level of awareness of ethical dilemmas and ability to identify them. The questions to be addressed and explored further on therefore concern the role of variables such as command of and preference for English on the one hand and the role English plays in relevant work environments on the other. This is the reason why the next section proposes the 'linguistic asymmetry' indicator and applies it to the data to answer the above-mentioned questions.

6.   Linguistic asymmetry in ethical matters

The growing literature concerning 'foreign language effects' (FLEs) on moral judgements has produced interesting results which suggest that in ethical issues the use of a native or foreign language may alter the outcome (Sediyy, 2016). Operating in a foreign language may arguably impair one's affects or intuitive and emotional processing, thus leaving only the consequentialist or utilitarian side of thought processes to address ethical dilemmas (Costa et al., 2014; Polonioli, 2018). In line with these findings, Geipel et al. (2015, 2016) showed that a foreign language tends to favour outcomes over intentions or, put in ethical categories, consequentialist outcomes over virtue ethics ones. Wellman (1960) argues that ethical meanings are carried by all kind of sentences, from emotional to factual and descriptive. Thus full understanding of ethical dilemmas requires the actor to have corresponding transverse, as opposed to truncated, linguistic skills.

Similarly, risk/benefit judgments are altered when described in a foreign language. Positive outcomes seem to be overestimated, which increases the likelihood of a risky option being selected when presented in a foreign language (Hadjichristidis et al., 2015). Volk, Köhler and Pudelko (2014) also show that in a workplace the introduction of an official language can lead to skewed or distorted decision-making by some non-native speakers. The management literature on the implementation of a corporate *lingua franca* shows that the choice of language(s) matters and is not devoid of consequences. It can lead to disempowerment, exclusion, new power structures (Deneire, 2008; Kankaaranta et al., 2018), a new operational culture (Charles, 2007) with reduced informal interaction (Lauring & Tange, 2010; Louhiala-Salminen et al., 2005). Language is thus far from neutral when it comes to ethical questions.

In the context of this research, the results mentioned above generated the following question: does acuteness of perception of ethical issues by actors depend on their command of the language used in the context in which the issue arises? In other words, are native speakers working in their own linguistic environment more able to identify ethical dilemmas?

The evidence provided by existing literature is mainly based on laboratory situations where the same situation is presented to two groups: in a native language for one, and in a foreign one for the other. For the time being, studies of the impact of FLEs in real-life contexts are lacking. This is why this paper attempts to explore FLEs in more detail by explicitly taking into account the linguistic characteristics of work environments in which actors make their ethical choices, as well as actors' linguistic capabilities. To address such situations, FLEs should be captured indirectly, as compatibility or otherwise between the linguistic characteristics of the work context and the actors' linguistic capabilities and/or preferences. The following pages will present such an indicator, the 'linguistic asymmetry' indicator.

Drawing on preceding sections, the level of 'linguistic asymmetry' level will be assessed by combining three elements: (a) linguistic skills in English; (b) preferred use of English in the professional context; (c) linguistic characteristics of the work environment, the sample being split – as discussed above – into two groups according to whether English does or does not play a special role.

The table in Figure 26.10 focuses entirely on respondents working in environments where English plays a role ($N = 377$). It cross-tabulates the level of competence in English and the respondents' preference for its use in various contexts. The way competence has been assessed on the scale from 1 to 16 is presented above, in Section 2. The respondents are classified into four categories depending on their score: natives, very highly skilled (maximum score of 16), highly skilled (score 15 to 13 included), and the last category with lower skills (12 and below). Preference for the use of English in various contexts was also discussed in Section 2 together with the 'centrality indicator'. Based on the linguistic preferences in each of the six domains, situations have been aggregated into three categories: respondents who prefer to use English in professional contexts, those share this preference but like to use English in any of the other five contexts, and finally those who refrain from using English in any of the six contexts.

By combining preference for and skills in English into categories, we can organise respondents into three groups as follows:

- Native speakers, $N = 75$
- High skills in and high preference for the use of English, $N = 147$
- Low skills in or low preference for the use of English, $N = 155$

Work environment with English	English used in professional domain	English not used in professional domains but used in another domain	Centrality = 0 (English not used in 6 domains)	Total
Native	71	1	3	75
Non native, very highly skilled	56	6	13	75
Non native, highly skilled	67	18	48	133
Non native, lower skills	28	15	51	94
Total	222	40	115	377

Figure 26.10 Level of competence in> English and preference across domains (*n* = 377)

The last 'low/low' group seems above all to be a residual one. In order to gain deeper insight into it regarding actual command of English in matters related to ethics, an additional variable reported by the questionnaire has been used. This variable is derived from the question about linguistic fluency in specifically ethical matters. The respondents were asked to compare their fluency in these matters in foreign languages with corresponding fluency in their mother tongue. The consequence of this additional analysis is the division of the 'low/low' group into those who in ethical matters have greater fluency in their mother tongue than in any other language they speak (*N* = 125), and those who have a similar level of fluency (*N* = 30) in foreign language such as English.

At this stage, and keeping in mind that this particular analysis only concerns those respondents (*N* = 377) who are working in environments where English plays a role, four level indicators of 'linguistic asymmetry in ethical matters' can be constructed. The four groups are as follows:

– No asymmetry – native speakers (*N* = 75);
– Low asymmetry – the 'high/high' group, as referred to above (*N* = 147);
– High asymmetry – members of the 'low/low' group, with relatively high fluency in English in ethical matters (*N* = 30);
– Very high asymmetry – members of the 'low/low' group with low fluency in ethical matters in English (*N* = 125).

This being said, the available data allow the construction of another group with no (or low) linguistic asymmetry. It is made up of respondents who work in environments where English plays no role and who live and work in their native countries (*N* = 140) and have full fluency in ethical matters in their mother tongue. This geographically and linguistically heterogeneous group can be considered as experiencing no linguistic asymmetry whatsoever, just as native English-speakers do not experience
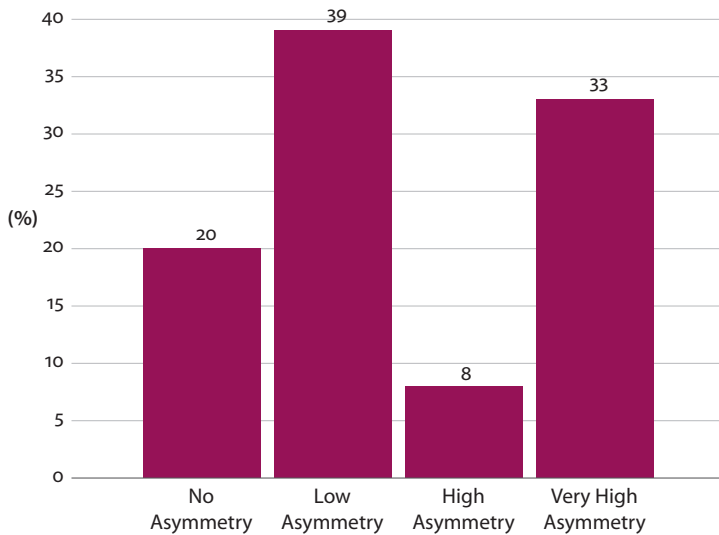
Figure 26.11 Levels of linguistic asymmetry

asymmetry when working in environments where English plays a role. Although this group is not involved in this part of the investigation, it can be used as an external reference point. This is why it is included in Figure 26.12.

The last, and critical, step of this analysis is to assess the explicative power of the linguistic asymmetry indicator discussed above in relation to perception of ethical dilemmas. In line with the existing evidence, the underlying hypothesis is that the larger the asymmetry, the lower will be the level of perception of ethical dilemmas. As mentioned above, the rationale for this hypothesis is that the spectrum of linguistic skills used in professional context – especially where science, finance, business and administration are concerned – is focused on factual and descriptive contents and logical reasoning, whereas the one needed to address ethical issues also requires a command of linguistic nuances able to express (and understand) values, feelings and emotions across a variety of forms of expression. Consequently, those working in given linguistic environment without having all the linguistic skills (factual and emotional) necessary to convey (and understand) the full range of contents to their colleagues are also expected to perceive ethical dilemmas less often. In other words, linguistic asymmetry is expected to impair a proper perception of existing ethical dilemmas in professional life.

In order to confront the above hypothesis with the statistical evidence, the asymmetry indicator is arranged in four levels (from 1 for no asymmetry to 4 for very high asymmetry). Figure 26.12 shows how often a group with a given level of linguistic asymmetry perceived being confronted with ethical dilemmas. The corresponding figure indicates this group's ability to identify ethical dilemmas.

Figure 26.12 shows the final results of this analysis. There seems to be a clear relationship between the two variables: the higher the asymmetry, the lower the proportion of respondents that perceived being faced with ethical dilemmas. Indeed, the most able to perceive ethical dilemmas are native speakers (with no linguistic asymmetry). This ability decreases with rising levels of linguistic asymmetry: the proportion of those having experienced dilemmas drops to 54% for those with low asymmetry, and to 47% and 43% for those with high and very high asymmetry.
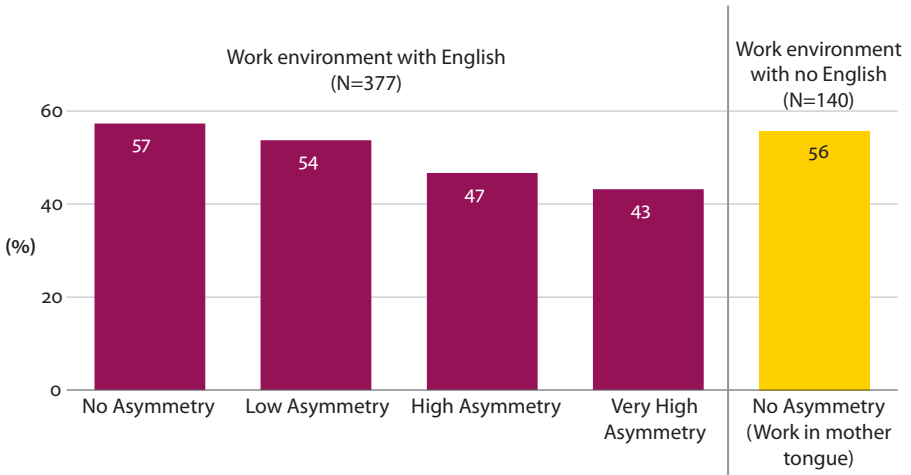
Figure 26.12 Linguistic asymmetry and ethical dilemmas

It may be worth mentioning that the 'geographically and linguistically' heterogeneous group of native speakers reaches almost the same level of ability to identify ethical dilemmas as native speakers working in environments where English plays a role.

From a purely statistical perspective, the relationship between linguistic asymmetry and ability to identify ethical dilemmas is significant according to the Kruskall-Wells test. The significance level of 0.3 is well below the threshold of 0.5 beyond which the null hypothesis should be accepted. This being said, the assumption implicit to this analysis is that situations where dilemmas can be identified are evenly distributed across the whole population, with ability involving only the perception of dilemmas, rather than their existence.

These results, and their statistical significance, are in line with the growing literature on FLEs in moral judgements describing experiments conducted in laboratory-like conditions. The added value of this analysis derives from the real-life situations captured by the survey.

As mentioned above, the literature about the effects of FLEs on moral judgment explains the statistical result by differentiating the required level of linguistic agility to convey emotional or factual contents. The ethical choices made in a foreign language

are less often based on intuitions and emotions than those made in a native language, because conveying relevant emotional contents in a foreign language requires more effort and higher linguistic skills. This is the reason why one would expect native speakers to opt more often for virtue ethics (moral rectitude) concerns, whereas users of a foreign language prefer consequentialist ones. Our data also support – at least partially – this latter hypothesis, as shown in Figure 26.13. Ability to identify virtue ethics dilemmas decreases with growing levels of linguistic asymmetry, while ability to identify related consequentialist dilemmas grows. This being said, ethical and performance-related dilemmas do not depend on the level of asymmetry. The hypothesis is thus only partially supported, as performance-related dilemmas are also in the consequentialist category.

	No asymmetry	Low asymmetry	High asymmetry	Very high asymmetry
Virtue ethics dilemmas	59%	50%	43%	45%
Deontological dilemmas	40%	40%	43%	38%
Consequentialist utilitarian dilemmas	23%	24%	23%	23%
Consequentialist impact dilemmas	16%	18%	30%	26%
Number of respondents	75	147	30	125

Figure 26.13 Type of ethical alertness by linguistic asymmetry

These results provide arguments for employers of non-native speakers working in English-speaking environments to help non-native speakers increase their language skills beyond technicalities and jargon. Linguistic skills beyond areas related to work technicalities should help increase ability to identify virtue ethics dilemmas.

However, this exploratory study of real-life situations should be confirmed by a larger sample from a population with more diverse levels of English language ability.

7. Conclusion: Beyond 'Wall Street English'

This research presents the results of a survey administered to a population of students and a population of professionals. It helps shed some light on the 'Global English conundrum' by providing some statistical evidence in exploring the following research question: does the use of Global English in the workplace affect non-native English speakers' ability to perceive ethical dilemmas? Our results tend to confirm that the level of linguistic asymmetry does indeed influence ability to perceive in the workplace. In fact, this ability decreases with rising linguistic asymmetry: the proportion of those having experienced dilemmas drops to 54% for those with low asymmetry, and to 47% and 43% for those with high and very high asymmetry.

The findings of this research have practical implications for a number of fields of activity, including global professional sectors. As a language becomes a major component of the globalisation process, it reaches global prominence (Gural & Smokotin, 2014). It is a language but also a mental framework in which people 'between cultures' who inhabit 'world cities' communicate (Reszat, 2000) and further expand global – placeless – spaces. As such, Global English participates in the 'lifting out of social relations from local contexts' (Giddens, 1990: 20) and enhances the growing importance of 'spaces beyond cultures and territories'. In many ways, the role of places, by definition geographically and culturally bounded with local meanings (home, city, region, nations and states), has been supplanted by global placeless spaces, characterised by velocity, fluidity, movements of data and heterogeneity (Giddens, 1990). No industry better exemplifies the dominance of global spaces over local places than the modern financial sector. Financial markets, whose importance increased during the 'euphoric years of finance' in recent decades, are but continuous flows of information quoting market price variations (Dembinski, 2017). Furthermore, in leading universities and business schools all over the world, finance is taught in English. English is the working language of international banks and financial services companies. Financial news and analyses are supplied in English. The results of this study suggests that Global English could play a role in individuals' (reduced) ability to identify ethical issues. Further research should therefore focus more precisely on financial activities, in which what some language schools call 'Wall Street English' is the main tool of communication.

Fraud, corruption and price manipulation scandals have made the headlines since the outbreak of the great financial crisis in 2007–2008. This has led to much criticism of the incentive structure within financial institutions and a culture of greed and cynicism in finance (Partnoys, 2003; Morgenson, 2011), but few have questioned the role Global English may play in individuals' ability to identify and respond to ethical issues.

In this context, our results may deserve to be considered in the interpretative framework of Kohlberg's theory of stages of moral development (Lind, 1989; Titus, 2008). According to Kohlberg – a cognitive psychologist – three main stages should be distinguished in children's moral development: pre-conventional, conventional and post-conventional. At the pre-conventional level, moral concerns are limited to fear and self-interest, at the conventional level social norms and bonds come into play, while at the post-conventional level moral principles and virtues have a dominant role in guiding ethical judgment. In this context, extrapolated to adults, linguistic asymmetry – and more globally the use of Global English – could possibly be seen as a factor either inhibiting moral development beyond the conventional level, or as a factor enhancing a kind of 'moral regression' towards the same conventional level. As has been suggested here, the importance of the inhibiting/

regressive factor increases with the level of linguistic asymmetry. However, such considerations and hypotheses deserve further exploration in experimental and real-life situations using an interdisciplinary framework that can blend (business) ethics, organisation and communication theories, linguistics and psychology (Titus, 2013; Rest et al., 2000).

Acknowledgements

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This book stems from the joint effort of 25 research teams across Europe, representing a dozen disciplines from the social sciences and humanities, resulting in a radically novel perspective to the challenges of multilingualism in Europe. The various concepts and tools brought to bear on multilingualism are analytically combined in an integrative framework starting from a core insight: in its approach to multilingualism, Europe is pursuing two equally worthy, but non-converging goals, namely,

the mobility of citizens across national boundaries (and hence across languages and cultures) and the preservation of Europe's diversity, which presupposes that each locale nurtures its linguistic and cultural uniqueness, and has the means to include newcomers in its specific linguistic and cultural environment. In this book, scholars from applied linguistics, economics, the education sciences, finance, geography, history, law, political science, philosophy, psychology, sociology and translation studies apply their specific approaches to this common challenge. Without compromising the state-of-the-art analysis proposed in each chapter, particular attention is devoted to ensuring the cross-disciplinary accessibility of concepts and methods, making this book the most deeply interdisciplinary volume on language policy and planning published to date.

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